EDITED BY ALICIA J. BATTEN AND KELLY OLSON

DRESS IN MEDITERRANEAN ANTIQUITY



Greeks, Romans, Jews, Christians

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Alicia dedicates this book to the memory of Andrew Bentham Batten (1963–2019), beloved brother, dressed in bright colours …

Kelly dedicates this book to her colleague and friend James Miller, dandy extraordinaire.

CONTENTS

ILLUSTRATIONS

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ABBREVIATIONS

AB	Anchor Bible
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AJP	*American Journal of Philology*
AMI	*Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*
ANRW	Temporini, Hildegard and Haase, Wolfgang, eds. *Aufstieg und Niedergang in der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Rom sim Spiegel der neueren Forschung*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1972–
ANTC	Abingdon New Testament Commentaries
ARW	*Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*
AUSS	*Andrews University Seminary Studies*
BA	*Biblical Archaeologist*
BAR	*Biblical Archaeology Review*
BAR-IS	British Archaeological Reports International Series
BDAG	Danker, Frederick W., Walter Bauer, William F. Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich. *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*. 3rd edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
BibInt	*Biblical Interpretation: A Journal of Contemporary Approaches*
BICS	*Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*
BNP	Hubert Cancik, Helmuth Schneider, Christine Salazar and David Orton, eds. *Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopedia of the Ancient World*. Leiden: Brill, 2002–11.
BTB	*Biblical Theology Bulletin*
CAJ	*Cambridge Archaeological Journal*
CB	*Cultura biblica*
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum: Series Latina, Turnhout: Brepols, 1953–
CÉFR	*Collection de l'École française de Rome*
CGRN	Carbon, J.-M., S. Peels and V. Pirenne-Delforge. *A Collection of Greek Ritual Norms (CGRN)*, Liège 2016– (http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be, consulted in 2019).
CH	*Church History*
CJ	*The Classical Journal*
ConBNT	Coniectanea Biblica: New Testament series
CP	*Classical Philology*

CQ	*Church Quarterly*
CRINT	Compendia rerum iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
DSD	*Dead Sea Discoveries*
ECA	Eastern Christian Art
EPRO	Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FIFAO	Fouilles de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale
GCI	Getty Conservation Institute
GHI	Tod, M. N., ed. *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933–48.
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HvTSt	*Hervormde teologiese studies*
IG I^2	Hiller von Gaertringen, Friedrich F., ed. *Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno anteriores*. 4 vols. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1913–40.
IG I^3	Lewis, D. and L. Jeffery, eds. *Inscriptiones Graecae. Editio Tertia.* Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1981.
IG II	Kirchoff, A., Friedrich Hiller von Gaertringen, Ulrich Koehler, and Wilhelm Dittenberger, eds. *Inscriptiones Graecae, consilio et auctoritate Academiae Litterarum Borusssicae editae*. 12+ vols. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1873–
IG II^2	Kirchner, Johannes, ed. *Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno posteriores.* Inscriptiones Graecae II. 4 vols. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1913–40.
IG V, 1	Kolbe, W., ed. *Inscriptiones Laconiae et Messeniae*, part 1. Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1913.
IG VII	Dittenberg, W., ed. *Inscriptiones Megaridis et Boeotiae*, Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1893 [1903].
IG XII, 6	Hallof, Klaus, ed. *Inscriptiones Graecae. Inscriptiones Chii et Sami cum Corassiis Icariaque.* Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2000.
	Matthaiou, Angelos, ed. *Inscriptiones Icariae insulae*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2003.
ILS	Dessau, Hermann. *Inscriptiones latinae selectae.* 3 vols. Berlin: Weidmann, 1892–1916. Repr., Dublin: Weidmann, 1974; repr., Chicago: Ares, 1979.
Int	*Interpretation*
JAH	*Journal of Ancient History*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JECS	*Journal of Early Christian Studies*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JNG	*Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte*
JRA	*Journal of Roman Archaeology*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
JSJSup	Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism

JSNT	*Journal for the Study of the New Testament*
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LNTS	Library of New Testament Studies
LSAM	Sokolowski, Franciszek. *Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure. École française d'Athènes*. Travaux et mémoires, fasc. 9. Paris: E de Boccard, 1955.
LSCG	Sokolowski, Franciszek. *Lois sacrées des cités grecques. École française d'Athènes*. Travaux et mémoires, fasc, 18. Paris: E de Boccard, 1969.
LSCGSup	Sokolowski, Franciszek. *Lois sacrées des cités grecques: supplément. École française d'Athènes*. Travaux et mémoires, fasc, 11. Paris: E de Boccard, 1962.
LSJ	Liddell, Henry George, Robert Scott, Henry Stuart Jones. *A Greek English Lexicon*. 9th edition with revised supplement. Oxford: Clarendon, 1996.
MANN	Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli
MDAIR	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung
NTL	New Testament Library Series
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
OpRom	*Opuscula Romana*
PBSR	Papers of the British School at Rome
PLOS	The Public Library of Science
Proc R Microsc Soc	Proceedings of the Royal Microscopical Society
REG	*Revue des Études Grecques*
RHR	*Revue de l'histoire des religions*
RIC	*Roman Imperial Coinage*. 10 vols. London: Spink. 1923–94.
RPC	Burnett, Andrew M., and Michel Amandry. *Roman Provincial Coinage*.10 vols. London: British Museum Press, 1993-.
RRC	Crawford, Michael. *Roman Republican Coinage*. 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974.
RSR	*Recherches de science religieuse*
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLDS	SBL Dissertation Series
SBLSymS	Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series
SEG	*Supplementum epigraphicum graecum*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1923–
SNTS	Society for New Testament Studies
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilizations
TAPA	*Transactions of the American Philological Association*
TSAJ	Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

ALICIA J. BATTEN AND KELLY OLSON

WHY THIS BOOK?

Dress scholarship is on the rise. As the chapters in the 'Methods' section of this book demonstrate collectively, there is now an established body of literature on dress history, as well as analyses of dress practices and fashion in the current world. It is a burgeoning field and of interest to a wide array of disciplines.[1] The study of dress touches on so many elements of human life and behaviour: identity, culture, religion, economics, gender, environmental questions … the list could continue.

Collections of essays on dress have been produced by classical historians, art historians and archaeologists,[2] as well as by scholars of ancient Judaism and Christianity,[3] but it is less common to bring these various fields together in a single volume. Moreover, many studies of Mediterranean antiquity, including some of the chapters in this book, employ theories and ideas from the social sciences (especially anthropology and sociology) as analytical tools for examining their evidence. Thus, we wanted to assemble scholarship from a range of people working in different areas, including some in the social sciences who study dress in the current day. By bringing together essays from different disciplines, readers from a variety of backgrounds may see real or potential links, whether material or theoretical, that foster further multidisciplinary and/or collaborative research. There are many points of contact between the chapters presented here. However, we hope that readers will find more and will be able to make connections to other examples of dress and dress practices, whether historical or contemporary, that they have encountered. In addition to providing information and analysis of dress in specific contexts, this book thus aims to encourage and promote continued cross-disciplinary work as people study dress in a range of times and places.

TERMINOLOGY

Are we doing the history of clothing, dress, costume or fashion? Each of these words has different meanings and connotations, even of different approaches.[4] 'Costume' is problematic in that for

[1]See, for example, the Bloomsbury Fashion Central website with access to a variety of dress and fashion databases. Online: www.bloomsburyfashioncentral.com.

[2]For example, Cynthia S. Colburn and Maura K. Heyn, eds., *Reading a Dynamic Canvas. Adornment in the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008).

[3]Kristi Upson-Saia, Carly Daniel-Hughes and Alicia J. Batten, eds., *Dressing Judeans and Christians in Antiquity* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014).

[4]Negley Harte, 'Review: John Styles, The Dress of the People', *Costume: The Journal of the Costume Society* 43 (2009): 176.

English speakers, the word denotes 'exceptional' dress: Halloween costume, masquerade costume and so forth.[5] 'Fashion' implies access to the status and lifestyle of the upper-class Euro-American, a privileged position.[6] A section on the nature of dress in ancient society in a recent book chapter by Laura Gawlinski wonders if ancient Greece was a 'clothing society' (a sartorially static society) or a 'fashion society' (tied to 'consumerism, bulk production, swift changes, and innovation'), and if so whether theories and comparative evidence on fashion are very useful for ancient society (and concludes that perhaps we ought to see these categories as more ideological rather than economic).[7] Many historians have settled on the term 'clothing' or 'dress' as the most neutral. As a perusal of the table of contents in this book makes clear, the chapters address a variety of topics beyond clothing, including shoes, hair and jewellery. Thus, we use the term 'dress' in a broad manner to include clothing, to be sure, but also these other aspects of adornment and bodywear commonly worn by people in the ancient Mediterranean.

SECTION A: METHODS

As dress is implicated in so many dimensions of human existence, it can be approached from a variety of angles. Given that this book examines Mediterranean antiquity, including chapters predominantly by classicists, archaeologists, biblical and rabbinic scholars, we have limited the 'Methods' section to four chapters, but there could have been more. People who study the ancient world often borrow models and insights from anthropology and sociology, however, and therefore we thought it appropriate to include a chapter from these respective fields. Readers will later see that some chapters in the 'Meanings' section explicitly engage the ideas of social scientists as they tackle specific dress questions in antiquity.

Kelly Olson ('Dress and Classical Studies') is one of the pioneers of Roman dress studies and thus is well qualified to provide, as she does, an overview of dress studies written in English within classics. She highlights some specific areas of interest then offers her thoughts on future directions, including the importance of paying more attention to sensory experience and dress, as well as the importance of thinking about social identity and dress.

Also noting the importance of the bodily senses in her chapter, Alicia J. Batten ('Dress and Religious Studies') points out that the broad field of religious studies uses multiple methods, and that some scholars are paying much more attention to materiality and the senses in the study of that hard-to-define term, 'religion'. She then describes a few areas in which the study of dress and religion can be illuminating, both for historical questions and for today's world.

Next, cultural anthropologist Lynne Hume ('Dress and Anthropology') provides a wide-ranging and informative survey of scholarship on dress in anthropology and highlights in particular the interrelationships between dress and culture, and the significance of dress as a form of

[5]See Suzanne Baizerman, Joanne Eicher and Catherine Cerny, 'Eurocentrism in the Study of Ethnic Dress', *Dress* 20 (1993): 23; Emma Tarlow, *Clothing Matters: Dress and Identity in India* (London: Huest, 1996), 25; Lou Taylor, 'Fashion and Dress History: Theoretical and Methodological Approaches', in *The Handbook of Fashion Studies*, ed. Sandy Black et al. (London and New York: Bloomsbury, 2013), 27.
[6]Baizerman, Eicher and Cerny, 'Eurocentrism', 26.
[7]Laura Gawlinski, 'Theorizing Religious Dress', in *What Shall I Say of Clothes: Theoretical and Methodological Approaches to the Study of Dress in Antiquity*, ed. M. Cifarelli and L. Gawlinski (Boston: Archaeological Institute of America, 2017), 164.

communication. She demonstrates just how important it is to think about dress when examining varying notions of identity, kinship, religious ideas and many other dimensions of human existence.

Also comprehensive and valuable is Beth E. Graybill's contribution ('Dress and Sociology'). Using examples from a diversity of contexts, including those of contemporary Amish and Mennonite women (Graybill's specific area of research), she supplies a helpful review of sociological approaches to dress, including attention to concepts of modesty, agency, gender and the notion of 'anti-fashion'.

SECTION B: MATERIALS

This volume has a wide chronological range, from *c.* 1200 BCE to CE 500, and takes the reader not just to ancient Greece and Roman Italy but also to Egypt, Persia, North Africa and Judaea. Clothing the body is 'inherently complex'.[8] One can access dress in the ancient world through literature, but this needs to be supplemented by the study of material and visual culture such as sculpture, painting and mosaic and inscriptions. These chapters are examinations of the building blocks of ancient self-presentation: dyes, textile production and repair, and jewellery. They deal with the *realia* of dress, as opposed to the social construction of appearance. And as each of these fields is large, the chapters will focus on material culture in a given context.

Glenys Davies's valuable contribution ('Clothing in Marble and Bronze: The Representation of Dress in Greek and Roman Sculpture') asks if we can use sculpture as evidence for how clothing was worn and what some of the pitfalls are in attempting to do so. Statues seem to give a strong visual impression of how dress was supposed to look, how drapery might behave, and how garments might be draped, but the dress historian looking at statues and relief sculpture as evidence needs to bear in mind the artistic style of the time and the interests of the sculptor as an artist, as well as the purpose of the statue and who it represents.

Laura Gawlinski's chapter ('Greek Dress from the Inscriptional Evidence') focuses on what inscriptions bring to the investigation of ancient Greek dress. She centres upon (often underused) inscriptional evidence for what it might tell us of the production and sale of garments; the types of dress objects that existed; and the use of garments in various social settings. Using such diverse sources as loomweights and inventories of temple treasuries, she links dress to broader issues of gender, religion and the economy, and the ways in which these spheres were intertwined.

Cecilie Brøns examines colour in her chapter ('The Colours of Ancient Greek Dress'), and argues that colour speaks to broader issues of gender, society and economy. Brøns adopts a multi-methodological approach, juxtaposing the diverse source material consisting of preserved textiles, practical knowledge of ancient dyes, written sources and iconography, and new methods for looking at polychromy in ancient art and in ancient textile fragments.

Courtney A. Ward ('*Ornamenta Muliebria*: Jewellery and Identity in the Roman Period') uncovers new evidence to show that women's jewellery indicated such things as age, political,

[8] Liza Cleland, Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones and Mary Harlow, 'I Wear This Therefore I Am: The Clothed Body in the Ancient World', in *The Clothed Body in the Ancient World*, ed. Liza Cleland, Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones and Mary Harlow (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2005), xv.

social and marital statuses (as well as economic background), and ethnicity, all interrelated to create diverse identities that could have been displayed through personal adornment. While it has been suggested that the main function of jewellery was to demonstrate the wealth and status of women in the Roman world, she concludes that while *ornamenta muliebria* were not practically functional, such adornment did have important cultural purposes in Roman society.

In a subsequent chapter, Lise Bender Jørgensen ('Dress in the Desert: Archaeological Textiles as a Source for Work Clothes in Roman Egypt') employs the rich physical remains from Egypt to examine ancient clothing. She uses the textile finds from the quarries, ports and *praesidia* of the Eastern Desert, which primarily derive from rubbish dumps and which are rags, worn-out garments and torn or cut-off scraps. Currently more than 12,000 dated and provenanced fragments have been processed and recorded, and all are extremely useful for talking about the construction, reuse and recycling of ancient garments.

Lisa A. Hughes ('Roman Women Dressing the Part: The Visual Vocabulary from Paintings and Mosaics') gives us a detailed look at select wall frescos and mosaics from Roman Pompeii and Herculaneum, with an aim of providing additional insights into the styles, textile colours and textures of dress for female ritual participants, diners, entertainers and workers. She also briefly highlights methodological considerations concerning conservation, preservation and archaeological context. This foray into select Pompeian examples from the late Republican and early Imperial periods discloses a rich source of evidence in terms of the diverse nature of clothing.

Next, Lorelei H. Corcoran ('"They Leave Behind Them Portraits of Their Wealth, Not Themselves:" Aspects of Self-Presentation in the Dress of the Deceased in Mummy Portraits and Portrait Mummies from Roman Egypt') provides information not just about clothing and adornment in Roman Egypt but about the mummy portraits themselves in this splendidly detailed chapter. The men, women and children depicted in mummy portraits are shown in what might appear to us to be very plainly made clothing but which was undoubtedly their most formal attire, and Corcoran examines *clavi*, garment colour, gendered clothing, stereotypical motifs and jewellery and gemstones. She concludes that the men and women who chose the mummy portraits as a means of self-presentation for themselves and their children wished to be commemorated for eternity in images that recorded them in an ideal state; thus much of what they wear must be termed 'aspirational'.

SECTION C: MEANINGS

It is in this section that we examine the social construction of appearance in antiquity and try to recover aspects of ancient sartorial experience. Each of the chapters in this section is a meticulous look at a small and focused area of dress studies, and they proceed more or less in chronological order although there is overlap and some chapters engage multiple with eras and places.

The section begins with a chapter by Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones ('Dress and Ceremony in Achaemenid Persia: The '*Gaunaka'). Surprisingly, not as much work has been done in the area of ancient Near Eastern dress as has been for ancient Greece and Rome.[9] The study of ancient Persian appearance

[9]See Olson, 'Dress and Classical Studies', this volume.

is valuable in and of itself, but also for the influence it wielded on classical Greek clothing. This chapter is not just about the coat but also about clothing and kingship. The **gaunaka* was a kind of overcoat with wide, often overlong, sleeves, usually worn hanging from the shoulders, a garment of considerable cost and a clear indicator of wealth and status. Llewellyn-Jones examines how this costly iconic court garment was an item of significant exchange in which notions of loyalty and patronage were codified and through which gestures of humility, obedience, privilege and status could be negotiated and played out.

Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones's second chapter ('Hair and Social Status in the Near East and Early Greece, *c*. 900–300 BCE') looks at hair in the ancient Near East and Homeric worlds. Hair was crucial to an ancient man or woman's self-presentation: the physical trait most conspicuously stressed in Near Eastern images of kingship is the hair; hair in Homer is a vital part of that outward code of inner worth which enables heroic governance. In this chapter Llewellyn-Jones explores how notions of power and status were articulated through the cultural traditions of growing, dressing and displaying hair in the ancient Near East and in Homeric Greece: both civilizations shared similar preoccupations with hair as status display.

Sue Blundell's piece ('Stepping over the Line: Shoes and Boundary-Crossing in Ancient Greece') examines the fascinating subject of how shoes, shoe-handling and shoe-behaviour indicated boundaries for the ancient Greeks. To the ancient Greeks shoes meant mobility and quite often transitions or boundary-crossings. In fifth-century Athens, shoes could carry one across a number of social and political boundaries: shoes could function as a badge of citizenship, and as a sign of going off to battle or dressing for love, marriage or death. Shoe-handling could also signify a movement between the secular and sacred spheres. In ancient Greece, shoes had many meanings, but in almost every case we find the concept of movement at their core.

Kelly Olson's contribution in this section ('Dress and Religious Ritual in Roman Antiquity') examines the dress of Roman religious not by discrete categories of Roman male or female religious (Vestal, *flamen*, etc.) but by qualities which were held to be important in religious dress: apotropaism of wool and purple, the concern with girding or binding, the concept of 'double'. There was no special religious dress for priests and priestesses (with a few exceptions), but there were special features of ritual dress.

Neville McFerrin ('Andromeda Unbound: Possession, Perception and Adornment in the House of the Dioscuri') gives us a beautifully close and detailed reading of the two paintings through the lens of clothing and ornament, much as Hughes's chapter does (above). In this chapter McFerrin juxtaposes depictions of Medea and Andromeda in the House of the Dioscuri (Pompeii VI.9.6-7). She examines their spatial interplay and their relation to one another, and uses dress and adornment to explore Roman constructions of femininity and self-presentation.

Andrew Gallia's chapter ('On the Ambivalent Signification of Roman Crowns') is framed by two significant moments: the refusal of Caesar to accept the diadem Mark Antony offered him at the Lupercalia festival on February 15, 44 BCE, and a (much later) Christian soldier's refusal to don a laurel wreath (the subject of Tertullian's *de Corona*). Gallia explores the significance that Romans attached to the custom of adorning one's head in this manner, and his chapter is an excellent and much-needed overview of Roman crowns.

In the next contribution, Joshua Schwartz ('Clothes Make the Jew: Was There Distinctive Jewish Dress in the Greco-Roman Period?') tackles the debated issue of whether there was distinctive dress for Jews in Greco-Roman society and if so, would such dress be obvious to other Jews and to non-Jews? Although Jews wore the same garb as most people, men may have worn specific items in

public that would identify them as Jews, while women, if they followed specific rabbinic directives on modest dress, would have been identifiable both by other Jews and by non-Jews.

Following up on her book *What Did Jesus Look Like?*,[10] Joan E. Taylor asks the same question about Mary Magdalene ('What Did Mary Magdalene Look Like? Images from the West, the East, Dura and Judaea'). Taylor engagingly traces the manner in which Mary Magdalene has been depicted in Western film and art, then compares such depictions to the third-century image of the figure at Dura Europos. She then considers some of the material evidence found near the Dead Sea in order to imagine how Mary, as a first-century woman in Judaea, would have dressed thereby offering a description that is much more authentic.

In the next contribution, Janelle Peters ('Robes of Transfiguration and Salvation in Early Christian Texts') addresses the symbolic meanings of celestial robes in a great range of texts including the gospels, Pauline traditions and non-canonical literature. She argues that the transfigured robes of Jesus at the Transfiguration map onto the clothes of those around him. When believers don their baptismal robes at baptism, therefore, their clothes reflect their identity in Christ.

Judith Butler's theory of gender performativity and the notion of 'citationality' are at the forefront of Kelsi Morrison-Atkins's intriguing contribution ('Worn Stories: (Ad)dressing Wives in 1 Peter'). Morrison-Atkins analyses how the letter of 1 Peter constructs the figure of Sarah as a model of submission and seeks to ensure wifely subordination by exhorting wives to specific dress practices. She probes whether the need to construct such a model points to the possibility that there were other traditions about Sarah to which wives could have appealed.

Harry O. Maier makes use of anthropological and sociological approaches to dress in his masterful study of the Book of Revelation ('Exposed! Nakedness and Clothing in the Book of Revelation'). Maier compares the images of nakedness in Revelation to those in a variety of ancient literatures (Hebrew Bible, Qumran, Apocalyptic literature) before turning to Roman imperial iconography. He demonstrates how comparison with this range of materials in light of social scientific theory is productive for the exegesis and interpretation of John's Apocalypse.

Drawing from anthropological insights about dirt and pollution, Alicia J. Batten addresses several NT texts that refer to dirty and clean dress ('Dirty Laundry in the Christ Cult'). In some literature, grimy dress connotes pollution and moral dissolution, while clean (and white) dress points to upright behaviour (Letter of Jude, Revelation). However, there are moments when the poor person in a dirty garment is designated an heir to the kingdom, such as in the Letter of James. Images of soiled clothes can therefore have quite varied representative power in the literature of the Christ cult.

Turning to rabbinic literature, Gail Labovitz's examination of texts related to women's clothing during the period of the Tannaim ('"He Must Buy Her New Clothes for Winter": Women's Attire in the Rabbinic Imagination of the Tannaitic Period') effectively demonstrates how attention to dress can reveal insights about how the rabbis perceived the ideal married woman. Not only should the proper wife be attractive and economically subordinate to her husband, she should be sexually subordinate as well.

Finally, Katie Turner's chapter returns to some methodological issues in her helpful contribution ('Textual Problems in Textile Research: The Use of the Talmud in Studies of

[10] Joan E. Taylor, *What Did Jesus Look Like?* (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2018).

Ancient Jewish Dress'). Turner reminds us of the importance of integrating both textual as well as archaeological and artistic evidence when approaching ancient dress. She demonstrates that while the Talmud is a key resource for studying dress within ancient Judaism, its study should be supplemented with attention to material remains.

Taken together, we hope the chapters in this volume spark further interest in and new research on ancient dress. The social role of the body and its self-presentation, the complexity of ancient visual culture, the ways in which the ancients constructed social meaning – these are all highlighted and made real by dress. In the ancient world, the clothed body was often the civilized body, 'the yardstick by which social behaviour was measured'.[11] The cultural importance of ancient dress cannot be overestimated.

[11]Cleland et al., *The Clothed Body*, xii.

SECTION A

Methods

CHAPTER TWO

Dress and Classical Studies

KELLY OLSON

There is much cultural importance embedded in the 'trivial' details of clothing which social and economic historians have long ignored or derided.[1] In 2009, Negley Harte was able to write (of modern dress studies) that prior to the 1990s:

> Historians were defeated by clothes. Archaeologists fussed about the surviving evidences of their absence; art historians were interested only in the portraited upper classes; social historians were torn between thinking clothes were either too trivial to bother with or too complex to master, and economic historians could not count them and therefore paid no attention. Clothes were dismissed from academic history … [and were] left to art colleges plus a few enthusiastic eccentrics.[2]

This 'unhappy and unsatisfactory' situation[3] has now happily been corrected, and interest in dress has exploded over the last three decades.

APPROACHES

There is a multitude of different approaches to dress, and the ancient dress historian does well to acquaint himself or herself with contemporary approaches, some of which are applicable to ancient dress, while others not. Theory is a large part of modern dress studies. Fashion theories take into account the myriad of factors that shape why fashion is what it is: the history of dress; the structure and economics of the fashion industry; artistic influences on taste; the social organization of a culture (which determines categories such as 'femininity', for example); and factors that shape continuity and change. The study of fashion as an academic subject is a relatively recent phenomenon, and there are several ways of approaching it.

Early historians of Western dress began by cataloguing and classifying of articles of dress over time,[4] a necessary work but an approach which leaves many questions unanswered: Why are certain styles fashionable at any one point? Why do fashions change over time? Do cycles of fashion correlate with political changes to a society? How have changing gender norms/sexual codes influenced fashion? Older anthropological[5]/ethnographic approaches to fashion were more often

[1]Lou Taylor, 'Fashion and Dress History: Theoretical and Methodological Approaches', in *The Handbook of Fashion Studies*, ed. Sandy Black et al. (London and New York: Bloomsbury, 2013), 29.
[2]Negley Harte, 'Review: John Styles, The Dress of the People', *Costume: The Journal of the Costume Society* 43 (2009): 176.
[3]Ibid., 177.
[4]The section which follows here has been drawn from Jennifer Craik, *Fashion: The Key Concepts* (London: Bloomsbury, 2009), 8–14, 109–17.
[5]See Hume, this volume.

interested in 'grand theories' of culture and society, and used fashion as an instance of their general principles. Sociologists (and social psychologists)[6] were interested in individual motivations and needs; the indiscriminate adoption of fashion items by groups; how clothes denote social status; and the psychological dimensions and aesthetic impulses that underlay fashion behaviour.[7] From the 1960s and onward a more interdisciplinary model of fashion theory gained currency, which draws on more than one branch of learning, looking at fashion as a cultural code rather than 'seeing fashion as exemplifying general principles'. There is now a wealth of new approaches to and developments in researching and theorizing dress and fashion history, and a 'clear escalation of interdisciplinary research'.[8]

Since the 1960s, there have emerged at least twenty different ways of theorizing fashion, some of which are applicable to ancient dress.[9] The following are the most popular approaches to dress studies:

1. Historical approaches: dress and textile history, which looks at the formal properties of clothes;[10] social history, which locates clothing in its social context.[11]
2. Consumer culture: clothing items as material objects that are the building blocks of a specific cultural formation;[12] the history of consumption;[13] marketing/management studies; industrial relations and political studies (e.g. workers in the fashion industry).
3. Cultural forces: the cultural history of fashion (using the minutiae of fashion);[14] sociology of culture theory;[15] diasporic/ethnic studies of fashion.[16]
4. Communicative relationships: semiotics (i.e. clothing as a system of signs, a theory which applies a semiotic/linguistic model to garments themselves and the ways that clothes enable or equip the body to perform as a social body through gesture and performance[17]); subcultural analysis;[18] art history and visual culture.[19]

[6]See Graybill, this volume.
[7]See Craik, *Fashion*, 9–10.
[8]See Craik, *Fashion*; 10 Taylor, 'Fashion and Dress History', 23.
[9]Set out in Craik, *Fashion*, 115–17.
[10]For example, Lou Taylor, *Mourning Dress: A Costume and Social History* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1983).
[11]For example, Christopher Breward, *The Hidden Consumer: Masculinities, Fashion, and City Life 1860–1914* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1999).
[12]See, for example, Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. R. Nice (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984).
[13]For example, Susan Mosher Stuard, *Gilding the Market: Luxury and Fashion in Fourteenth-Century Italy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006).
[14]For example, Daniel Roche, *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the Ancien Régime*, trans. J. Birrell (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
[15]For example, Joanne Finkelstein, *The Fashioned Self* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991); Joanne Eicher, Mary-Ellen Roach-Higgins and Kim Johnson, *Dress and Identity* (London: Bloomsbury, 1995).
[16]For example, Monica Miller, *Slaves to Fashion: Black Dandyism and the Styling of Black Diasporic Identity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009).
[17]For example, Roland Barthes, *Système de la mode* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1983); Craik, *Fashion*, 110–12.
[18]For example, Dick Hebdige, *Subculture: The Meaning of Style* (London and New York: Routledge, 1979).
[19]For example, Anne Hollander, *Seeing through Clothes* (New York: Viking Press, 1978); Valerie Steele, 'The Social and Political Significance of Macaroni Fashion', *Costume* 19 (1985): 89–101.

5. Gendered and gender-dependent practices: feminist;[20] psychological approaches/fashion as subconscious;[21] masculinity/queer studies.[22]

Many scholars combine two or more of the above approaches; many of these bleed together. Christopher Breward holds that cultural studies is the defining framework for contemporary fashion theory. Fashion theories can thus be filed under one of four main headings: textual analysis (semiotics and visual culture); audience and consumption studies (ethnography, history, sociology); ideology (hegemony, subcultures, pleasure); and political identity (race, gender, sexuality).[23] And of course, in using any theoretical approach we need to be aware of our own contemporary cultural and historical assumptions. 'These are often so deeply embedded in our minds that it is hard to even realize their presence, and they can catch us unawares and lead to errors in dating garments or a false decoding of their historical social place and cultural meanings.'[24]

Dress historians who have access to whole, worn garments have noted that clothes themselves have agency:[25] patterns of wear, repair and reuse have value to the social historian, speaking volumes about the person who owned and wore the garment. Assessing historical clothing is another way of 'penetrating the heart of social history'.[26] Of course, such dress historians use paintings and art as well as literature as a way to breathe 'life, emotion, and movement into our historical study of clothing'; such work is done by all clothing historians working before 1550–1700 (before which the survival of actual pieces is rare).[27]

DRESS AND CLASSICAL STUDIES

Ancient dress history is as demanding a field as any other type of ancient history.[28] Often viewed as soft or frivolous by more traditional scholars, cultural studies (of which ancient dress is a subfield) is in actuality tremendously challenging, as the scholar must draw on vastly disparate types of sources in research: visual in a range of media; sources written in a multiplicity of genres; inscriptions and papyri. Just as in other historical subjects, one must have a firm grasp of bibliography and method.

Classicists for the most part cannot do object-based material cultural analysis of dress. Instead, 'we rely heavily on visual representations in a range of media, and literary texts from a range of

[20]For example, Kathy Peiss, 'Making Faces: The Cosmetics Industry and the Cultural Construction of Gender 1890–1930', *Genders* 7 (1990): 143–69.

[21]For example, John Flügel, *The Psychology of Clothes* (London: Hogarth Press, 1930).

[22]For example, Shaun Cole, *Don We Now Our Gay Apparel: Gay Men's Dress in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2000).

[23]Christopher Breward, 'Cultures, Identities, Histories: Fashioning a Cultural Approach to Dress', *Fashion Theory* 2, no. 4 (1998): 305.

[24]Taylor, 'Fashion and Dress History', 39.

[25]Daniel Miller, 'Introduction', in *Clothing as Material Culture*, ed. Susanne Kuchler and Daniel Miller (Oxford: Berg, 2005), 2.

[26]Roche, *The Culture of Clothing*, 5.

[27]Taylor, 'Fashion and Dress History', 33.

[28]Steele, 'Macaroni Fashion', 96.

genres'.[29] In addition, Llewellyn-Jones reminds us that the historian of ancient costume is 'coping with an incomplete vocabulary of changing technical and colloquial terms'; many clothing terms have unexplainable meanings. 'We have probably lost many nuanced and colloquial terms for items of clothing which varied according to time and place. The ancient Greeks themselves were very relaxed about naming their items of dress',[30] as indeed are we: the word 'jacket' in English, for instance, has a wide range of meanings and changes depending on context and speaker.

Writing on ancient Greek and Roman costume in English has not kept up with the output of fashion studies in other fields, and until recently there was very little published, although important observations concerning ancient dress occur in many modern studies of ancient art, literature and religion.[31] One scholar has termed clothing in ancient society 'shamefully undervalued';[32] another notes that until her own book (published 2015), no single-authored monograph on Greek dress had appeared for more than a century.[33] Happily, 'scholars are now beginning to turn their attention to major studies of dress in its social environment and are stressing more than ever the importance of using dress, in ancient literary and visual representations, as a tool for investigating ancient life, ancient mores, and ancient cultural responses'.[34]

Near Eastern and Egyptian clothing has not attracted as much attention as Greek and Roman dress until a short time ago and is a growing field of dress studies.[35] Margaret Miller has come to important conclusions regarding ancient Persian dress,[36] and three new collections which include essays on ancient Near Eastern dress are especially noteworthy.[37]

[29]Mary Harlow, 'Dress in the *Historia Augusta*: The Role of Dress in Historical Narrative', in *The Clothed Body in the Ancient World*, ed. Liza Cleland, Mary Harlow and Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2005), 143.
[30]Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones, *Aphrodite's Tortoise: The Veiled Woman of Ancient Greece* (Swansea, Wales: Classical Press of Wales, 2003), 25.
[31]Mireille Lee, *Body, Dress, and Identity in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 1.
[32]Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones, 'Introduction', in *Women's Dress in the Ancient Greek World*, ed. Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones (Swansea, Wales: Classical Press of Wales, 2002), vii.
[33]Lee, *Body, Dress, and Identity*, 1.
[34]Mary Harlow, Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones and Liza Cleland, 'Introduction', in Cleland et al., *The Clothed Body*, xiii.
[35]See Mary Galway Houston, *Ancient Egyptian, Mesopotamian and Persian Costume and Decoration*, 2nd edition (London: A&C Black, 1954); Gillian Vogelsang-Eastwood, *Pharaonic Egyptian Clothing*. Studies in Textile and Costume History 2 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1993); Eleanor Guralnick, 'Fabric Patterns as Symbols of Status in the Near East and Early Greece', in *Reading a Dynamic Canvas: Adornment in the Ancient Mediterranean World*, ed. Cynthia S. Colburn and Maura K. Heyn (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008), 84–114; Benjamin R. Foster, 'Clothing in Sargonic Mesopotamia: Visual and Written Evidence', in *Textile Terminologies in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean from the Third to the First Millenia BC*, ed. Cécile Michel and Marie-Louise Nosch, Ancient Textiles Series 8 (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2010), 110–45; Mary Harlow, Cécile Michel and Marie-Louise Nosch, eds., *Prehistoric, Ancient Near Eastern and Aegean Textiles and Dress* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2015); Kiersten Neumann, 'Gods among Men: Fashioning the Divine Image in Assyria', in *What Shall I Say of Clothes: Theoretical and Methodological Approaches to the Study of Dress in Antiquity*, ed. Megan Cifarelli and Laura Gawlinksi (Boston: Archaeological Institute of America, 2017), 3–23; Neville McFerrin, 'Fabrics of Inclusion: Deep Wearing and the Potentials of Materiality on the Apadana Reliefs', in *What Shall I Say of Clothes: Theoretical and Methodological Approaches to the Study of Dress in Antiquity*, ed. Megan Cifarelli and Laura Gawlinksi (Boston: Archaeological Institute of America, 2017), 143–59; Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones, this volume.
[36]Margaret Miller, *Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century B.C.: A Study in Cultural Receptivity* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1997); 'Orientalism and Ornamentalism: Athenian Reactions to Achaemenid Persia', *Arts: The Proceedings of the Sydney University Arts Association* 28 (2006): 117–46; 'Persians in the Greek Imagination', *Meditarch* 19, no. 20 (2006/07): 109–23.
[37]Colburn and Heyn, *Reading a Dynamic Canvas*; Cifarelli and Gawlinski, *What Shall I Say of Clothes?*; Megan Cifarelli, ed., *Fashioned Selves: Dress and Identity in Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2019).

Greek clothing was not quite so 'richly invested in symbolic meaning' as Roman but is still a fascinating subject of study.[38] On Greek dress usage in English,[39] Lady Maria Millington Evans published her study of Greek dress in 1893; Ethel Abrahams published hers in 1908.[40] E. Gullberg and P. Åström published their work *The Thread of Ariadne: A Study of Ancient Greek Dress* in 1970.[41] There were a few articles on Greek dress published in the late twentieth century,[42] but the field really began to explode in the 2000s, with the work of Llewellyn-Jones,[43] Lee,[44] Cleland,[45] Brøns[46] and others.[47] Several important new collections cover Greek, Roman and Near Eastern dress,[48] or ancient textiles;[49] one new volume concerns only footwear.[50]

Roman dress seems to have attracted slightly more attention than Greek. On the Roman side, Lillian Wilson's *The Roman Toga* and *The Clothing of the Ancient Romans* appeared in 1924 and 1938 respectively.[51] Meyer Reinhold published two seminal studies on clothing: the history of

[38]Jonathan Edmondson and Alison Keith, 'Introduction: From Costume History to Dress Studies', in *Dress and the Fabrics of Roman Culture*, ed. Jonathan Edmondson and Alison Keith (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 7.

[39]For reasons of space, for the most part I cover here only work on ancient costume published in English. For bibliography in other languages, see Kelly Olson, *Masculinity and Dress in Roman Antiquity* (London and New York: Routledge, 2017), 2; Lee, *Body, Dress, and Identity*, 10–18.

[40]Now published together conveniently as *Ancient Greek Dress*, ed. Marie Johnson (Chicago: Argonaut, 1964).

[41]Elsa Gullberg and Paul Åström, *The Thread of Ariadne: A Study of Ancient Greek Dress* (Göteborg: P. Astrom, 1970).

[42]Harrianne Mills, 'Greek Clothing Regulations: Sacred and Profane', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 55 (1984): 255–65. A. G. Geddes, 'Rags and Riches: The Costume of Athenian Men in the Fifth Century', *CQ* 37.2 (1987): 307–31; Margaret Miller, 'The *Ependytes* in Classical Athens', *Hesperia* 58, no. 3 (1989): 313–29.

[43]Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones, ed., *Women's Dress; Aphrodite's Tortoise*.

[44]Mireille Lee, 'The Ancient Greek *Peplos* and the "Dorian Question"', in *Ancient Art and Its Historiography*, ed. Alice A. Donohue and Mark Fullerton (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 118–47; 'Problems in Greek Dress Terminology: *Kolpos* and *Apoptygma*', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 150 (2004): 221–4; 'Constru(ct)ing Gender in the Feminine Greek *Peplos*', in *The Clothed Body in the Ancient World*, ed. Lisa Cleland, Mary Harlow and Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2005), 55–64; *Body, Dress, and Identity*.

[45]Liza Cleland, 'The Semiosis of Description: Some Reflections on Fabric and Colour in the Brauron Inventories', in Cleland et al., *The Clothed Body*, 87–93.

[46]Cecilie Brøns, 'Sacred Colours: Purple Textiles in Greek Sanctuaries in the Second Half of the 1st Millennium BC', in *Treasures From the Sea: Sea Silk and Shellfish Purple Dye in* Antiquity, ed. Hedvig L. Enegren and Francesco Meo. Ancient Textiles Series 30 (Oxford & Philadelphia: Oxbow Books, 2017), 109–17.

[47]Linda Jones Roccos, 'Back-Mantle and Peplos: The Special Costume of Greek Maidens in 4th Century Funerary and Votive Reliefs', *Hesperia* 69 (2000): 235–65; Beth Cohen, 'Ethnic Identity in Democratic Athens and the Visual Vocabulary of Male Costume', in *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity*, ed. Irad Malkin (Washington, DC: Center for Hellenic Studies, 2001), 235–74; Hans Van Wees, 'Clothes, Class and Gender in Homer', in *Body Language in the Greek and Roman Worlds*, ed. Douglas Cairns (Swansea: The Classical Press of Wales, 2005), 1–36; Silvia Milanezi, 'Beauty in Rags: On *Rhakos* in Aristophanic Theatre', in Liza Cleland et al., *The Clothed Body*, 75–86. Laura Gawlinski, 'Dress and Ornaments', in *A Companion to the Archaeology of Religion in the Ancient World*, ed. Rubina Raja and Jörg Rüpke (Malden, Mass: Wiley-Blackwell, 2015); Gawlinski, 'Theorizing Religious Dress'.

[48]Colburn and Heyne *Reading a Dynamic Canvas*; Cifaraelli and Gawlinski, *What Shall I Say of Clothes?*; Liza Cleland, Glenys Davies and Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones, *Greek and Roman Dress from A-Z* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007); Cleland et al., *The Clothed Body*.

[49]Carole Gillis and Marie-Louise Nosch eds., *Ancient Textiles: Production, Craft, Society* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2007); Mary Harlow and Marie-Louise Nosch, *Greek and Roman Textiles and Dress*: *An Interdisciplinary Anthology* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2014). Religious dress: Cecilie Brøns and Marie-Louise Nosch, eds., *Textiles and Cult in the Ancient Mediterranean*. Ancient Textiles Series 31 (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2017).

[50]Sadie Pickup and Sally White, eds., *Shoes, Slippers and Sandals: Feet and Footwear in Classical Antiquity* (London and New York: Routledge, 2019).

[51]Lilian Wilson, *The Roman Toga* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1924) and *The Clothing of the Ancient Romans* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1938).

purple (1970) and the usurpation of status symbols (1971).[52] Bonfante-Warren began her invaluable work on the clothing of the Etruscans in 1973.[53] But for many years studies of ancient clothing, when they appeared at all, fell under the category of 'costume history for antiquarians': being concerned with the exact shade of Tyrian purple, for example, or how to recreate a toga.[54] Several publications and a more sophisticated theoretical framework appeared in the 1990s, among them Sebesta and Bonfante's *The World of Roman Costume*, which looks at various aspects of male and female dress.[55] But it is really only since 2000 or so that interest in the field has exploded. Alexandra Croom's *Roman Clothing and Fashion* was published in 2002; there followed the work of Harlow,[56] Olson,[57] Sebesta,[58] Rothe,[59] as well as collections of essays on various aspects of Roman dress,[60] and two volumes have been published concerning aspects of ritual or religious dress in Roman antiquity.[61] The *Purpureae Vestes* series, volumes which spring out of conferences, have some English chapters and are also noteworthy.[62]

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[52]Meyer Reinhold, *History of Purple as a Status Symbol in Antiquity* (Brussels: *Coll. Latomus* 116, 1970) and 'The Usurpation of Status and Status Symbols in the Roman Empire', *Historia* 20 (1971): 275–302.

[53]Larissa Bonfante, *Etruscan Dress*, 2nd edition (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003).

[54]For an excellent summary of the move within the field from costume history to modern dress studies, see Florence Gherchanoc and Valérie Huet, 'S'habiller et se déshabiller en Grèce et à Rome (I): pratiques politiques et culturelles du vêtements: essai historiographique', *Revue Historique*, no. 641 (2007): 5–10; Edmondson and Keith, 'Introduction'; Lee, *Body, Dress, and Identity*, 10–32.

[55]Judith Sebesta and Lariussa Bonfante, eds., *The Word of Roman Costume* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994); Judith Sebesta, '*Tunica Ralla, Tunica Spissa*: The Colors and Textiles of Roman Costume', in Sebesta and Bonfante, *World of Roman Costume*, 65–76; Caroline Vout, 'The Myth of the Toga: Understanding the History of Roman Dress', *Greece and Rome* 43, no. 2 (1996): 204–20; Judith Sebesta, 'Women's Costume and Feminine Civic Morality in Augustan Rome', *Gender and History* 9, no. 3 (1997): 529–41; Alice Christ, 'The Masculine Ideal of "The Race That Wears the Toga",' *Art Journal* 56, no. 2 (1997): 24–30; Robert E. A. Palmer, 'Bullae Insignia Ingenuitatis', *American Journal of Ancient History* 14 (1998): 1–69.

[56]Mary Harlow, 'Dressing to Please Themselves: Clothing Choices for Roman Women', in *Dress and Identity*, ed. Mary Harlow (Oxford: Archeopress, 2012), 37–46; 'Dressed Women on the Streets of the Ancient City: What to Wear?' in *Women and the Roman City in the Latin West*, ed. Emily Hemelrijk and Greg Woolf (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 225–42; 'Little Tunics for Little People: The Problems of Visualising the Wardrobe of the Roman Child', in *Children and Everyday Life in the Roman and Antique World* ed. Christian Laes and Ville Vuolanto (London and New York: Routledge, 2017), 43–59.

[57]Kelly Olson, '*Insignia lugentium*: Female Mourning Garments in Roman Antiquity', *American Journal of Ancient History* 3–4 (2004–05): 89–130; *Dress and the Roman Woman: Self-Presentation and Society* (London and New York: Routledge, 2008); *Masculinity and Dress.*

[58]Judith Sebesta, 'The *Toga Praetexta* of Roman Children and Praetextate Garments', in Cleland et al., *The Clothed Body*, 113–20.

[59]Ursula Rothe, *The Toga and Roman Identity* (London: Bloomsbury, 2019), and see below.

[60]Cleland et al., *The Clothed Body*; Edmondson and Keith, *Roman Dress*; Harlow, *Dress and Identity*; Mary Harlow ed., *A Cultural History of Fashion vol I: Antiquity* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017).

[61]For example, Maureen Carroll and John Peter Wild, eds., *Dressing the Dead in Classical Antiquity* (Gloucestershire: Amberley, 2012). For other works on clothing and Roman ritual, see Olson, this volume.

[62]For example, Carmen Alfaro Giner, John Peter Wild and Benjamí Costa, eds., *Purpureae Vestes: Actas del I Symposium Internacional sobre Textiles y Tintes del Mediterráneo en época romana* (Valencia: University of València, 2004); Carmen Alfaro Giner and L. Karali, eds., *Purpureae Vestes II: Vestidos, textiles y tintes. Estudios sobre la producción de bienes de consumo en la Antigüedad* (Valencia: University of València, 2008); Carmen Alfaro Giner, Jean-Pierre Brun, Philippe Borgard and Rafaela Peirobon Benoit, eds., *Purpureae Vestes III: Textiles y tintes en la ciudad Antigua* (Valencia: University of València, 2010).

Other areas of dress have received scholarly attention as well: Roman military historians have also achieved much in the area of military dress,[63] for example. Dress in the Roman provinces has also been investigated.[64] There is also now a wealth of publications on dress in Late Antiquity and on early Christian attitudes to clothing, with the work of Batten,[65] Upson-Saia,[66] Daniel-Hughes[67] and Morgan,[68] among others.[69]

FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The newest work on ancient dress stresses the interactiveness of dress. These scholars see dress not just as a static marker of identity but as dynamic and transformative, as something that shapes its wearer and their experience of being dressed, in all its haptic splendour.[70] One scholar reminds us that while we primarily engage with and understand ancient dress through sight, an ancient wearer would have engaged with dress through scent, touch and hearing as well, all of which would have reinforced the identity a garment conferred.[71] The rattle of earrings,

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[63]On military dress, see most recently Graham Sumner, *Roman Military Clothing I: 100 BC–AD 200* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2002) and *Roman Military Dress* (Gloucestershire: The History Press, 2009); and the essays in Marie-Louise Nosch and H. Koefoed, eds., *Wearing the Cloak: Dressing the Soldier in Roman Times* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2012).

[64]For example, Ursula Rothe, *Dress and Cultural Identity in the Rhine-Moselle Region of the Roman Empire*. BAR International Series S2038 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2009), and 'Whose Fashion? Men, Women and Roman Culture as Reflected in Dress in the Cities of the Roman North-West', in Hemelrijk and Woolf, *Women and the Roman City*, 243–68. See also Elizabeth Greene's work: 'If the Shoe Fits: Style and Function of Children's Shoes from Vindolanda', in *Life in the* Limes: *Studies of the People and Objects of the Roman Frontiers*, ed. Rob Collins and Frances McIntosh (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2014), 29–36; 'Footwear and Fashion on the Fringe: Stamps and Decoration on Leather and Shoes from Vindolanda (1993–2016)', in *Embracing the Provinces: Society and Material Culture of the Frontier Regions*, ed. Tatiana Ivleva, Jasper De Bruin, Mark Driessen (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2018), 143–52; and 'Metal Fittings on the Vindolanda Shoes: Footwear and Evidence for Podiatric Knowledge in the Roman World', in *Shoes, Slippers and Sandals*, ed. Pickup and Waite, 310–24. See also Judith Rosten, 2008. 'Appearance, Diversity, and Identity in Roman Britain', in Colburn and Heyn, *Reading a Dynamic Canvas*, 194–215; Maura K. Heyn, 'Western Men, Eastern Women? Dress and Cultural Identity in Roman Palmyra', in *What Shall I Say of Clothes?*, 203–19.

[65]Alicia J. Batten, 'Neither Gold nor Braided Hair (1 Timothy 2.9; 1 Peter 3.3): Adornment, Gender and Honour in Antiquity', *New Testament Studies 55* (2009): 484–501; 'Clothing and Adornment', *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 40, no. 3 (2010): 148–59; and '(Dis)orderly Dress', in *Scribal Practices and Social Structures among Jesus' Adherents: Essays in Honour of John S. Kloppenborg*, ed. William E. Arnal, Richard S. Ascough, Robert A. Derrenbacker and Philip Harland; BETL 285 (Leuven: Peeters, 2016), 567–84.

[66]Kristi Upson-Saia, *Early Christian Dress: Gender, Virtue, and Authority* (London and New York: Routledge, 2011).

[67]Carly Daniel-Hughes, *The Salvation of the Flesh in Tertullian of Carthage: Dressing for the Resurrection* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

[68]Faith Pennick Morgan, *Dress and Personal Appearance in Late Antiquity: The Clothing of the Middle and Lower Classes* (Leiden: Brill, 2018).

[69]See the special issue of *Antiquité Tardive* 12 (2004): *Tissus et vêtements dans l'antiquité tardive*; Maria Parani, 'Defining Personal Space: Dress and Accessories in Late Antiquity', in *Objects in Context, Objects in Use: Material Spatiality in Late Antiquity*, ed. Luke Lavan, Ellen Swift and Toon Putzeys (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 497–529; and the essays collected in Kristi Upson-Saia, Carly Daniel-Hughes and Alicia J. Batten, eds., *Dressing Judeans and Christians in Antiquity* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2014).

[70]See the important essays by Alexis Caster, 'Surface Tensions on Etruscan and Greek Jewelry'; McFerrin, 'Fabrics of Inclusion'; Megan Cifarelli, 'Costly Choices: Signaling Theory and Dress in Period IVb Hasanlu, Iran'; Gawlinski, 'Theorizing Religious Dress', all collected in Cifarelli and Gawlinki, *What Shall I Say of Clothes?*

[71]Cifarelli, 'Costly Choices', 155–6. See Hume, this volume; Graybill, this volume.

the smooth sensuousness of drapery, the smell of Tyrian purple were all part of the ancient wearer's sensations. Items of dress were 'active elements in the construction of identity, social reproduction, and embodied personhood', and Cifarelli urges dress historians to avoid reading dress 'like a text' and instead examine how social identity is negotiated and re-negotiated through dress.[72] Clothes are important. Much social and cultural work was performed by artefacts,[73] and through study of the dress habits and dress artefacts of ancient societies we are brought very close to 'the breath of the past'.[74]

[72]Cifarelli, 'Costly Choices', 104.
[73]John Styles and Amanda Vickery, *Gender, Taste and Material Culture in Britain and North America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 21.
[74]Taylor, 'Fashion and Dress History', 39.

CHAPTER THREE

Dress and Religious Studies

ALICIA J. BATTEN

INTRODUCTION

Today one need not look far to find an issue in the world associated with dress and religion. In Canada, for example, the province of Québec legislated in 2019 that public servants may not wear visible religious symbols. The law, called Bill 21, restricts the display of such items as Muslim headscarves, Sikh turbans, Jewish kippahs or Christian crosses while the individual is at work. Although popular throughout the province, the law has attracted much controversy and critique as it has derailed career prospects for many. Some individuals have moved elsewhere because wearing a turban or *hijab*, for example, is a non-negotiable aspect of their religious practice. As critics of the law have made clear, Bill 21 presupposes a very narrow idea of religion, as if 'belief' is the basic component of faith, and does not take into account that for some religious traditions, how one dresses is fundamental to religious identity and practice.[1]

Examples such as the one in Québec illustrate how dress is an important topic for the study of religion and how the study of religion is helpful for understanding why people may dress in the manner that they do. However, the analysis of dress, at least by those trained in religious studies, is in its beginnings. Dress analysis in this area is not as developed as it is in sociology, anthropology and classical studies, even though those disciplines are also in the early stages of this area of research, as some of the other chapters in this 'Methods' section make clear.[2] Fortunately, the situation is changing. This chapter begins by providing a brief background of the discipline of religious studies before turning to some of the contributions that studies of religion and dress are making. Of course, this brief examination is by no means exhaustive and engages work not exclusively but primarily in Western traditions that trace their roots to the cultures of the ancient Mediterranean and Near East. It also must be clear that bringing together questions of religion and dress is not exclusively the domain of scholars trained in religious studies but emerges from other disciplines in the Humanities and Social Sciences as well.

RELIGIOUS STUDIES

The fact that there is ongoing debate about the discipline of religious studies, including whether or not it *is* its own discipline given that it encompasses a wide range of methods and subject matter,

[1]See Laura Morlock, 'Quebec's Controversial Secularism Bill Creates and Reinforces Division', *Waterloo Region Record* (5 April 2019).
[2]See the chapters by Graybill, Hume and Olson ('Dress and Classical Studies') in this volume.

makes it difficult to describe succinctly. There is also no universally agreed-upon definition of 'religion'. I will therefore only paint a few broad strokes about the field in general.[3]

Religious studies examines religious traditions such as Buddhism, Judaism and Christianity, but it also considers a vast array of categories including belief, ritual, culture, text, notions of the human person, space, time and so forth.[4] The discipline does not presuppose that the scholar has religious commitments, which makes it different from the theological enterprise as most theologians work, however critically, within a religious tradition.[5] Of course, scholars in religious studies do not claim to be objective but situate themselves and identify their biases with regard to their subject as best they can.

Subjectivity is one of the reasons why it is so difficult to come up with a universal definition of 'religion'. A list of characteristics often privileges certain elements, such as doctrine, at the expense of practice,[6] especially because much of the early analysis of religion in the West emerged from post-Enlightenment thinkers heavily influenced by Protestant Christianity. Therefore, any attempt at a definition of 'religion' must be somewhat flexible and open to revision. Here, I have found Bruce Lincoln's work to be helpful. He determines four main features of religion:[7]

1. discourse that transcends the human, temporal and contingent. Religion makes claims to be 'true' and authoritative on the basis of something greater than humans. In this way, any act or idea can claim to be religious;
2. a set of practices that provide expression for religious beliefs and values;
3. a community of people who construct their identity in relation to the discourse and practices;
4. an institution that regulates the discourse, practices and community. Without an institution, no matter how informal, a religion cannot continue to exist over time.

With this working definition, a variety of phenomena might be called 'religious' although they may not identify themselves in such a way.

There is also no evidence that people in Mediterranean antiquity understood 'religion' to be something separate from other elements of their lives. Indeed, they engaged in ritual activities, sacrificed to the gods, wrote texts and in some cases linked their moral behaviour to transcendent discourse, but they did not think about these things as 'religion' in the same fashion that many moderns do. The Latin *religio* could refer to 'binding', while the Greek θρησκεία could simply mean 'practice'. Translating either word as 'religion' would not be accurate.[8] Again, one could say

[3]For discussion of key terms in the field of religion, see Willi Braun and Russell T. McCutcheon, eds., *Guide to the Study of Religion* (London: Continuum, 2000).
[4]For essays on some of the topics that religious studies may engage, see, for example, Mark C. Taylor, ed., *Critical Terms for Religious Studies* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1998) and John R. Hinnells, ed., *The Routledge Companion to the Study of Religion* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005).
[5]There is considerable discussion about the role and influence of theology in the development of the field of religious studies in the West. See, for example, William E. Arnal, Willi Braun and Russell McCutcheon, eds., *Failure and Nerve in the Academic Study of Religion* (New York: Routledge, 2014).
[6]This is one of the critiques of Talal Asad, *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 27–54.
[7]See Bruce Lincoln, *Holy Terrors. Thinking about Religion after September 11*, 2nd edition (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 5–7.
[8]See Carlin A. Barton and Daniel Boyarin, *Imagine No Religion. How Modern Abstractions Hide Ancient Realities* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2016).

that people throughout antiquity engaged in what moderns think of as 'religious' activities, but the ancients would not have categorized them as such, and some scholars of the ancient world therefore avoid the term 'religion' altogether as it would be misleading when trying to describe antiquity.[9]

Methods in religious studies vary tremendously. In this volume, Graybill, Hume and Olson all give examples of how scholars in their respective fields engage questions related to either contemporary religious phenomena or various types of ritual life and behaviour in antiquity, and religious studies scholars will employ such methods as well. Some scholars of religion may be trained primarily as anthropologists, as sociologists or as linguists. Others may come from the fields of philosophy, history, phenomenology, psychology or gender studies, and any introductory textbook in the field will survey these different approaches.[10] The fact that social scientists[11] have explored questions of dress and religion has fuelled work on dress within religious studies, and the historical research on the ancient Near East, Classical Antiquity and the Middle Ages – when ritual life was embedded so deeply in other aspects of existence – by classicists, archaeologists[12] and medievalists[13] has enriched the study of religious practices in these periods. Those in religious studies working historically thus interact with others who come from different disciplines but with whom they have mutually shared interests. There is no single way to study what we now call 'religion' and as in any field, methods and approaches are always evolving, and a certain degree of interdisciplinarity is a given.[14]

THE BODY, MATERIALITY AND RELIGIOUS STUDIES

As mentioned, Protestant Christianity in particular has heavily influenced notions of 'religion' in the West whereby people think of religion as consisting primarily of 'beliefs', something internal and personal, or they privilege ideas, concepts and doctrines over practices and materiality. Such notions of religion have come under challenge in Western scholarship. This is not to say that beliefs are not important to study but to point out that for many religious traditions, what one *does* is much more significant than what one *believes*. And, by paying more attention to religious *practice*, including how it interacts with beliefs, there is more sensitivity to materiality.

In addition, the rise of attention to the human body in the field of religion has fostered more study of religion and material culture.[15] As humans interact with the world through their bodies,

[9]See, for example, John S. Kloppenborg, *Christ's Associations. Connecting and Belonging in the Ancient City* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2019), 10–18.

[10]For a sample 'reader' featuring many of these approaches, see Carl Olson, *Theory and Method in the Study of Religion. A Selection of Critical Readings* (Belmont, CA: Thomson Wadsworth, 2003).

[11]See, for example, the work of Lynne Hume, *The Religious Life of Dress. Global Fashion and Faith* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), and Joanne B. Eicher who edits the 'Dress, Body, Culture' series for Berg.

[12]For example, Cecilie Brøns and Marie-Louise Nosch, eds., *Textiles and Cult in the Ancient Mediterranean* (Oxford and Philadelphia: Oxbow Books, 2017).

[13]See, for example, Valerie R. Hotchkiss, *Clothes Make the Man: Female Cross Dressing in Medieval Europe* (New York and London: Routledge, 2012).

[14]For more on 'interdisciplinarity', see Joe Moran, *Interdisciplinarity*, 2nd edition, The New Critical Idiom (London and New York: Routledge, 2010).

[15]The American historian Colleen McDannell has been instrumental in illustrating the benefits of more attention to the study of material culture, especially with her book, *Material Christianity: Religion and Popular Culture in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995). See also the important collection of essays in David Morgan, ed., *Religion and Material Culture. The Matter of Belief* (London and New York: Routledge, 2010), and in Benjamin J. Fleming and Richard D. Mann, eds., *Material Culture and Asian Religions: Text, Object, Image* (New York and London: Routledge, 2014).

scholarship has emerged that tries to understand the significance of the senses as they pertain to religion. David Morgan has done considerable work on religious visual culture – the role of *seeing* in religious life[16] – while S. Brent Plate has explored the significance of the senses more broadly.[17] Plate also co-founded the academic journal *Material Religion: The Journal of Objects, Art, and Belief*, thereby furnishing a platform for scholars of religion to share their work on materiality. For Plate, the senses are fundamental to religion. As he says:

> Religion, at a certain base level, operates in accord with basic, natural experiences of eating and breathing, seeing and speaking. The natural world – from flora and fauna to the sun, moon, and stars – has its cycles, its seasons, and its smells and colors. Religious life grew up in correspondence with these cycles, keeping humans in tune with nature's rage and blessings.[18]

Plate does not ignore beliefs and ideas in the development of religion, but he is, along with other scholars, attempting to recalibrate the field to some extent in order that researchers pay more attention to the physicality and materiality of religious life.

DRESS AND RELIGIOUS STUDIES

The study of dress and religion fits well within the rising interest in materiality and sensory perception in religious studies. We wear clothes on our bodies and as a result, various dimensions of dress bear considerable consequence. For example, the origin of an item of dress can matter a great deal. If a garment was worn by a founding figure or saint, then it is sometimes believed that a certain sanctity is passed on through the clothing.[19] Donning the item is understood to *affect* the wearer. Dress can thus be a means of transferring spiritual power from a holy person to the next person who wears his or her garments, as illustrated in a variety of traditions, including Sufi Islam.[20]

In addition, whether clothing is too loose or too tight can have an impact on how people move and how they think. Umberto Eco has explained this phenomenon based on his own experience of wearing jeans.[21] Eco observes that monastic clothing fulfilled the 'requirements of demeanor' (majestic, flowing, all of a piece, so that it fell in statuesque folds), it left the body (inside, underneath) completely free and unaware of itself … Thought abhors tights'.[22] Monastic dress could thus undergird a kind of intellectual freedom that constricting or uncomfortable clothing could not because the wearer is much more aware of the physical presence of clothing on the body

[16]David Morgan, *Visual Piety: A History and Theory of Popular Religious Images* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), *Protestants and Pictures: Religion, Visual Culture, and the Age of American Mass* Production (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), *The Sacred Gaze: Religious Visual Culture in Theory and Practice* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), *The Lure of Images: A History of Religion and Visual Media in America* (London: Routledge, 2007), *The Embodied Eye. Religious Visual Culture and the Social Life of Feeling* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2012).

[17]S. Brent Plate, *A History of Religion in 5½ Objects: Bringing the Spiritual to Its Senses* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2014).

[18]Ibid., 16.

[19]Compare Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones, 'Dress and Ceremony in Achaemenid Persia: The *Gaunaka', this volume.

[20]Wearing the robe of a Sufi master or patching a robe with fabric from a garment that was endowed with spiritual qualities aids a Sufi to advance in mysticism. See Jamal J. Elias, 'The Sufi Robe (*Khirqa*) as a Vehicle of Spiritual Authority', in *Robes and Honor. The Medieval World of Investiture*, ed. S. Gordon (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 275–89.

[21]Umberto Eco, 'Lumbar Thought', in *Fashion Theory: A Reader*, ed. Malcom Barnard (Oxford: Routledge, 2007), 315–17. Eco points out that his experience of wearing jeans changed his behaviour. As he says: 'I lived for my jeans … I assumed a *demeanor*' (p. 316).

[22]Eco, 'Lumbar Thought', 317.

and as a result, more conscious of the body itself. It is perhaps no surprise, then, that those who have transitioned from wearing a religious 'habit' to donning regular 'secular' dress have sometimes faced challenges, for they became more self-conscious about their body shape, and also of their hair, which may have been covered up by a wimple which caused some of it to fall out.[23] These examples demonstrate that the topic of dress is an obvious one when thinking about the roles of the body, the senses and religion.

RELIGION AND DRESS IN THE PRESENT DAY

Dress continues to cause friction today. Given the complex geopolitical situations throughout the world, minority cultures and diaspora religions often struggle to engage in particular dress practices. Issues of racism, politics and nationalism all figure in the resistance of dominant cultures and religions to the dress of minorities. The head covering of Muslim women is probably the most obvious example of a clothing practice that has become a target and sparked negative responses in parts of North America and Europe.[24] Globally, more countries restrict women's religious dress than require it.[25] The study of the regulation of dress in the present day therefore highlights, in some instances, systematic racism and discrimination in countries that claim to respect religious freedom and cultural diversity.[26]

Dress can be a religious practice that is non-negotiable, that is, it is not something that a community or individual can separate from their religious identity and faith, as illustrated by the example in Québec with which I began this chapter. However, communities are influenced by a variety of factors and thus the manner in which they engage in religious dress can be affected by many elements. For example, being fashionable is of no less interest to many 'religious' people as it is to those who do not identify with a particular religion. Again, probably the best example here is the fashion world in Muslim majority countries, with runway shows and shops displaying gorgeous outfits, scarves and head pieces that are fully compatible with prescriptions about modest dress.[27] A similar phenomenon occurs in other religious traditions, including Orthodox Judaism, where some women seek to dress fashionably in styles consistent with the teachings in their communities about what needs to be covered.[28]

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[23]See Susan O. Michelman, 'Fashion and Identity of Women Religious', in *Religion, Dress, and the Body*, ed. Linda B. Arthur (Oxford, New York: Berg, 1999), 135–45.

[24]See, for example, Eléonore Lépinard, 'Migrating Concepts: Immigrant Integration and the Regulation of Religious Dress in France and Canada', *Ethnicities* 15 (2015): 611–32. Regional and local factors also make a considerable difference. See, for example, Brenda A. Anderson and F. Volker Greifenhagen, 'Covering Up on the Prairies: Perceptions of Muslim Identity, Multiculturalism and Security in Canada', in *Islamic Fashion and Anti-Fashion: New Perspectives from Europe and North America,* ed. Annelies Moors and Emma Tarlo (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 55–72.

[25]Pew Research Center, 'Restrictions on Women's Dress', 5 April 2016. Online: pewresearch.org (accessed 5 February 2020). See also Mohja Kahf, 'From Her Royal Body the Robe Was Removed', in *The Veil*, ed. Jennifer Heath (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 27–43.

[26]On the discrimination against predominantly African American Muslim men in US prisons, see K. Morin, 'Men's Modesty, Religion, and the State: Spaces of Collision', *Men and Masculinities* 16 (2013): 307–28. Morin points out that prison authorities in various states often forbid incarcerated Muslim men the ability to engage in religious dress practices such as keeping a short beard or wearing a tarboosh (close-fitting hat) even though they allow others to wear baseball caps (p. 317). The denial of particular forms of religious dress to certain groups reveals a clear anti-Muslim bias.

[27]See Elizabeth Bucar, *Pious Fashion. How Muslim Women Dress* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2017).

[28]See, for example, the storefront and online shop, www.mimumaxi.com, based in New York City, which sells fashionable clothing for women within the Hasidic Jewish community.

In addition, increasing awareness of the amount of waste that discarded clothing creates, as well as gender issues, has exerted their influence on the adaptations of religious dress. Dress is therefore an interesting site for examining how various identities and commitments – religious, environmental, gender – play out for particular groups. Zabeen Khamisa has examined, for example, how these different aspects of identity function for some North American Sikhs who participate in the 'Sikh chic' look within the competitive capitalist economic market.[29]

Christian images have also featured in the fashion industry in North America. One has only to think of the glittery crosses that some people wear or the use of religious paintings and images on dresses and shirts, and shoes.[30] In the United States, the popularity of T-shirts with explicitly evangelical Christian themes has sparked imitations from other companies, but it is not entirely clear if such imitations are 'authentically' Christian or not.[31] Some companies also produce explicit parodies of this Christian fashion in order to criticize Christianity and advocate an atheist perspective. Therefore, fashion becomes a site for advancing, potentially profiting from, or attacking particular religious perspectives.

DRESS, POWER, RESISTANCE

As many have observed, dress can serve as an instrument of power. Sometimes dress invests a person with a sense of strength because they feel good in what they are wearing.[32] There are also instances of religious groups that enforce dress codes on their members, especially upon women within the community, as a means of wielding power over them.[33] Dress becomes a measure against which a person can be judged whether he or she is adhering to the regulations of the community and as an indication of one's degree of commitment. Because there are often many rules about dress, what one wears and how one wears it is subject to scrutiny. The refusal to wear particular types of dress can even cause schisms, leading to the formation of new communities.[34]

The representative power of dress is also very important to consider when thinking about questions of power and religion. One witnesses the symbolic power of dress blatantly when there is a conflict or controversy over it. In various historical contexts, some groups thought that dress (or undress) was suffused with theological power. The early Christian theologian Tertullian, for example, was so concerned about women's, and especially virgins', dress that he penned treatises on the topic.[35] For Tertullian, there were theological and even soteriological issues at stake in whether or not Christian virgins veiled.[36] In fourth- through eighth-century Egypt, certain Coptic Christians

[29]Zabeen Khamisa, 'Disruptive Garb: Gender Production and Millennial Sikh Fashion Enterprises in Canada', *Religions* 11 (2020): 160. Online: doi: 10.3390/rei11040160 (accessed 13 April 2020).

[30]See Lynn S. Neal, *Religion in Vogue*: *Christianity and Fashion in America* (New York: New York University Press, 2019).

[31]Lynn S. Neal, 'OMG: Authenticity, Parody, and Evangelical Christian Fashion', *Fashion Theory* 21 (2016): 223–44. Neal points out that some companies that produce these Christian T-shirts advertise with skimpily clad models in seductive poses, which raises questions about their motives.

[32]See the essays in Kim K. P. Johnson and Sharron J. Lennon, eds., *Appearance and Power* (Oxford: Berg, 1999).

[33]For example, see Gayle Veronica Fischer, 'The Obedient and Disobedient Daughters of the Church: Strangite Mormon Dress as a Mode of Control', in *Religion, Dress, and the Body*, 73–94.

[34]As an example, see Marlene G. Epp, 'Carrying the Banner of Nonconformity: Ontario Mennonite Women and the Dress Question', *Conrad Grebel Review* 8 (1990): 237–57.

[35]Tertullian, *Cult. Fem.; Virg.* See Carly Daniel-Hughes, *The Salvation of the Flesh in Tertullian of Carthage: Dressing for the Resurrection* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

[36]See Carly Daniel-Hughes, '"Wear the Armour of Your Shame!" Debating Veiling and the Salvation of the Flesh in Tertullian of Carthage', *Studies in Religion/Sciences religieuses* 39 (2010): 179–201.

wore tunics embroidered with scenes of Christ's life during worship. Stephen Davis wonders if these Copts perceived that by wearing such garb in ritual settings, they were 'mimetically (and visually) assimilating themselves to Christ's incarnation',[37] given the kinds of theological discussions that were occurring at the time. This practice instigated tension and conflict, as bishops condemned and forbade such vestimentary behaviour. A response from church leaders of this nature is an indication that wearing these 'Christ-bearing' tunics must have had a certain representational power and influence such that it disturbed those higher up within the ecclesiastical hierarchy. My own work on the varying perceptions and uses of the pearl in antiquity points to the underlying forces of economics and trade that can contribute to the valuation or criticism of items of adornment, and the degree to which it will take on a positive representational power or earn scorn as a symbol of luxury and degradation.[38]

Despite the heavy emphasis upon the importance of conforming to gender dress expectations,[39] women have sometimes worn male dress in order to participate in activities that were not generally accessible to females. Joan of Arc may be the most famous instance in Western traditions,[40] but there are a variety of examples of women doing this in antiquity as well.[41] For women, cross-dressing could furnish a degree of power and protection, although it could earn condemnation too. Men in the ancient world had to be very careful not to show signs of effeminacy, and therefore, *not* to adopt elements of what was classified as female dress, but to clothe and comport themselves in a manner consistent with the ideals of masculinity (strong, controlled, virile, etc.). In Late Antiquity we see Christians clearly embracing the traits of Roman masculinity; as Maria Doerfler has written: 'The Christian God and his earthly representatives were supremely qualified to function as guarantors of Roman manliness.'[42] Such adoption meant that Christian men should by no means adopt the dress of the opposite sex (and nor should women), as stipulated, for example, by Deuteronomic Law. Assuming the dress associated with the model Roman male, Christian men allied themselves even more with imperial power.

As intimated earlier, accepting or rejecting certain types of dress can be a form of resistance. In a variety of Muslim majority countries, for example, some women (and men) oppose veiling (the *hijab*) because for them, it represents an absence of choice for women. However, other women, especially young female university students, have adopted wearing the *hijab* by choice, at least in Egypt. They argue that wearing the veil is an 'affirmation of an Islamic identity and morality and a rejection of Western materialism, consumerism, commercialism, and values'.[43] What may appear to outsiders as an acquiescence to patriarchy is in fact, for these women, a feminist statement. Thus both veiling and refusing to veil can be acts of resistance that are connected to different

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[37]Stephen J. Davis, 'Fashioning a Divine Body: Coptic Christology and Ritualized Dress', *HTR* 98, no. 3 (2005): 355.

[38]Alicia J. Batten, 'The Paradoxical Pearl: Signifying the Pearl East and West', in *Dressing Judeans and Christians in Antiquity*, ed. Kristi Upson-Saia, Carly Daniel-Hughes and Alicia J. Batten (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 233–50.

[39]In Rabbinic Judaism the distinctions in dress between men and women were sharply defined. Women, moreover, were expected to dress and adorn themselves in order to attract men, while men were supposed to be attractive to God. See David Kraemer, 'Adornment and Gender in Rabbinic Judaism', in *Envisioning Judaism*, vol. 1, ed. Ra'anan S. Boustan, Klaus Herrman, Reimund Leicht, Annette Yoshiko Reed and Giuseppe Veltri (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 217–34.

[40]See Hotchkiss, *Clothes Make the Man*, 49–68.

[41]See Kristi Upson-Saia, *Early Christian Dress: Gender, Virtue, and Authority* (New York and London: Routledge, 2011).

[42]Maria E. Doerfler, 'Coming Apart at the Seams: Cross-dressing, Masculinity, and the Social Body in Late Antiquity', in *Dressing Judeans and Christians in Antiquity*, 49.

[43]Fadwa El Guindi, 'Veiling Resistance', *Fashion Theory* 3 (2015): 58.

sorts of feminisms that in turn may be rooted in different conceptions of gender.[44] In addition, the geopolitical context, culture and economics all play significant roles in contributing to some of these complex developments.

Such forms of resistance also occur in North America, where some people choose to dress quite 'conservatively' or unusually in an effort not to conform to typical ways of dressing. Some women, for example, choose to wear a head covering, whether they are Muslim, Jewish or Christian, because they want to make it obvious that they are members of these religious traditions and even when they experience odd looks from strangers and/or objections from family and friends. Studies of women who choose to wear a head covering in a range of different faiths has shown that they do this, at least in part, as acts of 'resistance to the so-called mainstream and its underlying assumptions'.[45] Refusing to wear religious dress can be a form of resistance, but as this example of women who adopt head coverings illustrates, so can donning it.

CONCLUSION

Just as other disciplines engage materiality, the body and the senses, so does religious studies. In such a research context, dress becomes a fascinating lens through which scholars can analyse how religious traditions and communities adapt and work themselves out in different ways. This chapter has only highlighted a few aspects of the ways in which dress and religion intersect. Future work could go in many directions with regard to both historical and contemporary studies. Contrary to predictions from the past, there is no indication that religion is on decline throughout the world, although it is changing. Today the fastest growing religion is Islam, and it is quite likely that different forms of Islamic fashion will expand and develop globally. The discussion of gender identities is also more complicated today,[46] and it will be interesting to observe if and how forms of religious dress shift, given the increasing challenges to binary notions of gender. Religious dress will very likely continue to serve as a type of sartorial resistance, in certain contexts, and force nations and governments to confront questions of human rights and religious diversity. We will need scholars of religion to attend to such issues.

[44] Ibid., 68.

[45] Sally Campbell Galman, 'Un/Covering: Female Religious Converts Learning the Problems and Pragmatics of Physical Observance in the Secular World', *Anthropology and Education Quarterly* 44 (2013): 423–41.

[46] See Abby L. Ferber, Kimberly Holcomb and Tre Wentling, eds., *Sex, Gender, and Sexuality: The New Basics. An Anthology* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

CHAPTER FOUR

Dress and Anthropology

LYNNE HUME

INTRODUCTION

With the notable exception of Cordwell and Schwarz,[1] 'dress' as an object of anthropological study has been somewhat marginalized in the past, considered principally to be a woman's domain (and therefore of little importance to the scientific enterprise) or included as an aside to other aspects of structural significance. This no doubt erroneously contributed to the notion that dressing the body is not really of serious anthropological concern as a focus for anthropologists. However, what one puts on the body can reveal much about both individuals and human groups. Fortunately, anthropologists are now more inclined to acknowledge the importance of body and dress, recognizing that the body itself can be a rich source for theoretical insights.

As defined by Eicher and Roach-Higgins, dress is 'an assemblage of modifications of the body and/or supplements to the body',[2] the purpose of which is to cover or to adorn. This broader definition of dress encourages multidisciplinary research, for the body, whether covered or uncovered, in fact reveals much information of interest to social scientists, especially anthropologists.

Rather than treating dress as merely one item of wearing apparel, which is of more interest to the fashion industry, dress becomes a phenomenon in itself. 'Getting dressed' takes on a multiplicity of cultural meanings. Whether in the ancient Mediterranean or contemporary Australia, the dressed body as an epiphenomenon becomes highly pertinent and a significant tool for discovering what anthropologists want to know – the threads that bind human groups or rip them apart.

ANTHROPOLOGY

Anthropology is the science or study of humans as sociocultural beings. It embraces four major areas: biological anthropology (sometimes referred to as physical anthropology or primatology), archaeology, anthropological linguistics and cultural anthropology. The branch which is most pertinent to the study of dress is cultural anthropology. Anthropological knowledge allows us to understand how cultures 'work', cultural similarities and differences, how people understand their worlds, social change, politics, economy, religious beliefs and practices and a myriad of other aspects of what it is to be human and live in a society.

[1]Justine M. Cordwell and Ronald A. Schwarz, *The Fabrics of Culture: The Anthropology of Clothing and Adornment* (The Hague, Paris, New York: Mouton Publishers, 1979).

[2]Joanne B. Eicher and Mary Ellen Roach-Higgins, 'Definitions and Classifications of Dress', in *Dress and Gender: Making and Meaning in Cultural Context*, ed. R. Barnes and J. B. Eicher (Oxford: Berg, 1992), 15.

The early nineteenth-century 'armchair' anthropologists, so-called because they contemplated other cultures from the comfort of their own homes, surmised what life might be like in far-flung places principally from traveller's tales and missionary accounts. It was when anthropologists moved out of their living rooms and into 'the field' to explore first-hand what a culture was like that anthropology as a discipline took a great leap forward. To wake up in situ and go about the daily rounds of activities with others, to hear the sounds, learn the language, smell the food and feel the heartbeat of a culture led to rich cultural data and invaluable insights that cannot be obtained in any other way. Thus, long stints of fieldwork using *participant-observation* became the research strategy par excellence for learning about all things cultural. This continues to be an important facet of the discipline.[3] Indeed, one's first stint of 'fieldwork' could be said to be a rite of passage for the fledgling anthropologist.

The questions that a researcher takes into the chosen field of study might necessitate years of submersion and/or multiple visits to a particular culture. Some questions might require a wide comparison among several different cultures to articulate the diversity of practices cross-culturally. Alan Barnard describes these aspects as:

a) *observing a society as a whole*, to see how each element of that society fits together with, or is meaningful in terms of, other such elements;

b) *examining each society in relation to others*, to find similarities and differences and account for them.[4]

Following Barnard, in (a), for example, one might want to know how politics is linked with economy or with social relationships, or (employing a dress focus) how might dress inform us about kinship, religion or political hierarchies within a particular society? With respect to (b), how might one culture differ from another with regard to such questions and why?

The 'field' might necessitate multi-sited locations,[5] with the anthropologist travelling to more than one location for the information sought. As well, a geographically broad, yet focused, approach on a particular aspect of culture could require the combined efforts of several ethnographers working in different cultures, enhancing analysis from various perspectives.

During the two hundred or so years of the discipline of anthropology there have been concentrations of particular theoretical approaches to the study of humans and culture, the major ones being evolutionism, diffusionism, historical particularism, functionalism, culture and personality, structuralism, neo-evolutionism, cultural ecology and cultural materialism.[6] At times there have been debates about the appropriateness of each one for the focus of any particular research and surges of interest from one theoretical line of thinking to another (one might almost say 'fashions' of theory).

In longitudinal studies (*diachronic*) a researcher might want to follow changes in a culture over a long period of time that might affect the social fabric of other parts of the society. A good example of long-term research is the work of environmental and cognitive anthropologist

[3]Daniel Bradbury, *Being There: The Necessity of Fieldwork* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1998).

[4]Alan Barnard, *History and Theory in Anthropology* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 6.

[5]George Marcus, 'Ethnography in/of the World System: The Emergence of Multi-Sited Ethnography', *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24 (1995): 95–117.

[6]See Nurazzura Mohamad Diah, Dewan Mahboob Hossain, Sohela Mustari and Noor Syafika Ramli, 'An Overview of the Anthropological Theories', *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science* 4, no. 10 (2014): 155–64.

Susan Crate,[7] who began research with indigenous communities in Siberia in 1988. With long stints of fieldwork and many visits over a period of more than twenty-five years, she documented convincing and cataclysmic climate changes in the villages under study. To the naysayers of climate change, her thorough research from year to year leaves no doubt as to the effect of climate change. She has since followed through on the subject of climate change elsewhere, comparing communities as far apart as Canada, Peru and Kiribati,[8] to show how climate changes have effected not only the land itself but other important aspects of the economy and social life in these different geographical locations.

A *synchronic* focus looks at the relations of things together at a particular time. Attention might turn to themes or areas such as gender relations and power, religion and hierarchy or the effects of tourism on a small island community, creating new theories and adding to the anthropological enterprise as a whole. The introduction of a single material item from outside a small subsistence culture can result in cataclysmic shake-ups with enormous repercussions, as exemplified in the classic anthropological study of Lauriston Sharp[9] who studied the effect of the introduction of steel axes into a remote Australian Aboriginal community. Because of the function of stone axes in the Yir Yiront culture, this innovation caused far-ranging and disruptive consequences. Nowadays, with globalization, the effects of high technology (such as smartphones and other artefacts of social media – or even introduced items of dress) might have effects of a different, but equally disruptive, nature, or conversely, bring people together in positive new ways.

It was thought for some time that as anthropology was a social science, the fieldworker could engage with members of a culture and participate in everyday events while maintaining objectivity, a requirement of the scientific method. However, it became apparent that complete objectivity is not possible. Each of us carries with us our own viewpoints, interpretations and biases no matter how hard we try to be objective. In trying to understand the 'other', we may only be seeing mirrored images of ourselves, and our own interests and assumptions will be reflected back to us in the answers we receive from the questions we ask. While the participant-observation method was always recognized as being highly valid, the researcher needed to be aware of his or her own bias in the collection of data.

The thoroughly scientific and objective view of reality began to be questioned when ethnographers noted that a *reflexive* research practice[10] could lead the researcher to more valuable, in-depth information. In reflexive anthropology, one reflects on one's own subjective experiences of engagement and process of observing, and includes the voices and perspectives of people in their actual worlds,[11] paying close attention to their viewpoints. In some studies, 'radical participation' in events will lead to an experiential component that allows the fieldworker to understand what a subject is describing. Examples might include the full participation in rituals that entail altered states of consciousness or engaging in the everyday lives of individuals through experiencing the everyday as they do, rather than merely observing them.[12]

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[7]Susan Crate, *Anthropology and Climate Change: From Action to Transformation* (London: Routledge, 2016).

[8]Ibid.

[9]Lauriston Sharp, 'Steel Axes for Stone-Age Australians', *Human Organization* 11, no. 2 (1952): 17–22.

[10]James Clifford and George Marcus, *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986).

[11]See Dan Rose, *Living the Ethnographic Life* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1990); Jay Ruby, ed., *A Crack in the Mirror: Reflexive Perspectives in Anthropology* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982).

[12]See David E. Young and Jean-Guy Goulet, eds., *Being Changed by Cross-cultural Encounters: The Anthropology of Extraordinary Experience* (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 1994).

Reflexivity can change the lives and viewpoints of the anthropologists themselves, as Jim Birckhead[13] revealed in his reflections on absorbing the experiential worlds of fundamentalist Christian serpent-handlers in the southern United States. Others have recognized that even the difficulties and challenges that are encountered in doing fieldwork provide rich information that is valuable to others. Susan Beckerleg and Gillian Lewando Hundt,[14] who worked among heroin users in a coastal Kenyan town, realized that a difficult and sensitive situation required 'physical, ethical, and emotional strategies' that involved a great deal of subjective involvement with the people with whom they worked. Sylvie Tourigni's research on the survival strategies of disadvantaged minority families in inner-city Detroit took her even deeper into the dangerous zone that some fieldworkers encounter, to the point that she found herself having a shotgun muzzle pointed into the window of the car she was in and needing to think very quickly how to deal with the situation.[15] Anthropology can place one in highly dangerous situations, on the one hand, but on the other there may also be long stints of boredom and loneliness. Nevertheless, one can come out of the field in either case, with new theoretical insights. Such theoretical insights are subsequently useful for those scholars, such as historians, who obviously cannot engage in participant-observation of peoples and cultures of the past.

With the increase of women and indigenous anthropologists, feminism and standpoint theory, gender studies, identity, symbolism, postmodernism and reflexivity, social scientists turned attention to the body as an important focus in itself.

ANTHROPOLOGY AND THE BODY

Erving Goffman demonstrated that the body, and what is put on the body, is a form of non-verbal communication, full of symbolic meanings through which individuals locate themselves within their society, giving them personal and social identity.[16] The suggestion, by Pierre Bourdieu, that the body is an unfinished entity which develops according to social forces[17] placed the body squarely in the area of anthropology. The interface of body and society continued with Mary Douglas's positing how the social body is played out symbolically through the physical body.[18] The body became recognized as a social metaphor for identity that brought into play 'culturally anchored ambivalences'.[19]

Skin marking in the form of scarification, tattooing, piercing, painting and staining (such as henna) has been part of early anthropological interest in indigenous practices. The visible outer boundary of the body has appeared in the ethnographic literature generally in relation to questions of identity, gender, age, political status and religious beliefs. While bodily inscriptions might be

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[13]Jim Birckhead, 'Reading "Snake Handling": Critical Reflections', in *Anthropology of Religion: A Handbook*, ed. Stephen D. Glazier (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1997), 19–84.

[14]Susan Beckerleg and Gillian Lewando Hundt, 'Reflections on Fieldwork among Kenyan Heroin Users', in *Anthropologists in the Field: Cases in Participant Observation*, ed. Lynne Hume and Jane Mulcock (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 127–39.

[15]Sylvie Tourigny, '"Yo Bitch ..." and Other Challenges: Bringing High-Risk Ethnography into the Discourse', in *Anthropologists in the Field*, 111–26.

[16]Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (New York: Overlook Press, 1973).

[17]Pierre Bourdieu, 'Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction', in *Knowledge, Education and Social Change*, ed. R. Brown (London: Tavistock), 71–112.

[18]Mary Douglas, *Natural Symbols* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982).

[19]Fred Davis, *Fashion, Culture and Identity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 25.

publicly viewed, their symbolism generally requires deep probing on the part of the fieldworker. Body painting, scarification or items of apparel might be of a secret-sacred nature, gleaned only through the methodological skills of the anthropologist. The full spectrum of a society's sacred knowledge might only be revealed by a series of rituals, each performance peeling off ignorance like layers of winter clothing with the coming of summer.

Rites of passage often involve many painful bodily procedures to mark the transition from one developmental stage in human life to another (particularly puberty rites that mark the status of a person entering adulthood). They have been described in great detail by many ethnographers since van Gennep first introduced the topic of *rites de passage*.[20] As puberty rites indicate that the person is expected to act and behave as a man (or woman) from that time on, it is a precise event, acknowledged by the whole community in which the individual belongs. Thus, marking the body itself through scarification, tattooing or painting is a sign to all that certain necessary community procedures have been fulfilled and indicates the individual's social place as an adult. Here, the body becomes of prime importance in linking other aspects of social structure, practices and relationships. Western puberty rites are much more nebulous, indeed mostly they do not exist unless it is within a specific religious context and teenagers approaching adulthood can be flummoxed as to when they are actually considered an adult, unlike the passage from single to married person, where marriage elicits an elaborate display of dress and a public recognition of the change in status.

Anthropologists such as A. Strathern and M. Strathern (on New Guinea),[21] James Faris (on the African Nuba)[22] and A. Gell (on Polynesia)[23] showed how both temporary and permanent forms of inscribing the body can involve boundaries, belonging and exclusion, social stratification, spirits, warfare, gender distinctions and the quest for beauty. Modern Western representations of invasive (tattooing, scarification and piercing) and non-invasive (painting) skin-marking practices have been shown to articulate interfaces between individuals and contemporary society, as well as interfaces between indigeneity and modernity. Travellers seeking out cultural ways of decorating their own bodies have brought back cultural designs to Western tattoo parlours or have had their skin inscribed on location.[24]

As decorative practices (rather than indicating psychological problems such as cutting and self-harm), skin modifications in contemporary Western cultures have been attributed to the search for the exotic, group allegiances, religious identity, personal adornment, spiritual leanings and even memorial markers. The return of indigeneity through a revival of tattooing practices, sometimes lost through the ruptures of diaspora, has also been investigated,[25] reflecting the postmodern turn in anthropology. The body as a phenomenon in itself has been approached via many disciplines, each offering new theoretical insights. For an overview of history and theoretical approaches with regard to inscribing the body, refer to Enid Schildkrout.[26] What is done to the body as punishment in one epoch might emerge in another epoch or culture as fashionably decorative.

[20]Arnold van Gennep, *Les rites de passage* (Paris: E. Noury, 1909).

[21]A. Strathern and M. Strathern, *Self-Decoration in Mount Hagen* (London: Duckworth, 1971).

[22]James Faris, *Nuba Personal Art* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972).

[23]A. Gell, *Wrapping in Images: Tattooing in Polynesia* (Oxford; Clarendon: Oxford University Press, 1993).

[24]For photographic depictions of indigenous and modern urban revivals, see Rufus C. Camphausen, *Return of the Tribal* (Rochester, VT: Park Street Press, 1997).

[25]C. Balme and A. Carstenssen, 'Home Fires: Creating a Pacific Theatre in the Diaspora', *Theatre Research International* 26, no. 1 (2001): 35–46.

[26]Enid Schildkrout, 'Inscribing the Body', *Annual Review of Anthropology* 16 (1987): 409–48.

The body as an object of religious significance has been of interest to scholars of religious studies for some time. If one tunnels through religious resource material, there is a wealth of information to be unearthed. Ioan P. Culianu[27] suggested that in studies of the body in Western civilization, there has been a shift in emphasis through various periods of history. In very sweeping terms, Late Antiquity focused more on the male body and male sexuality; in the Middle Ages the emphasis was on women's bodies and nutrition; and in the modern period, emphasis turned to women's bodies, fashion and what he referred to as the 'secularization of penitential practice'. Howard Eilberg-Schwartz wrote that after taking feminist criticism seriously, he recognized that gender, sexuality, desire and the body were indispensable in understanding religion.[28]

The body has variously been viewed as a sacred temple containing the soul or as unimportant to the religious endeavour. It has been preened and punished, decorated and flagellated, despised and desired. Missionaries in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when missionary zeal was at its pinnacle throughout the world, had their own particular notions of morality, one of which was that the nude or semi-naked body needed to be covered appropriately. Many photographs from those decades show puzzled indigenes stiffly posing in the same style of dress as that worn by their masters and mistresses. In some religions when negative asceticism has been at its height, the body has been treated as an object of fleshly sins necessitating punitive measures in order to quell sexuality or as a mimetic object to reflect the suffering of the divine figure, such as Christ.

In the Hindu festival of Thaipusam,[29] what began as a simple festival to celebrate the triumph of good over evil has become a visual and startling display of physical mortification. A devotee's gratitude and devotion to Lord Murugan for favours granted during the year (such as the blessing of a child, overcoming an illness, good fortune or a better life) can be shown by simple austerities – such as giving up food, alcohol, sexual intercourse – or through intense demonstrations of painful bodily piercing. One method of piercing is the insertion of metal fish hooks into the skin on the back with weights attached, another by perforating the tongue or cheeks with steel spikes.[30] The most extreme of these bodily austerities is called the *kavadi*, or 'burden', which, in its most striking form, consists of a large heavy metal arc frame attached to the body, weighing up to thirty kilos, with numerous needles or spikes extending from the frame to pierce the bare flesh of the *kavadi* bearer. Different parts of the face might also be inserted with hooks and spikes, creating a spectacular form of self-torture.[31]

If researchers were to ponder, with an anthropological eye, the *kavadi* as a phenomenon in itself, they might ask an individual Hindu bearer questions about their *kavadi* burden that would lead to information of great anthropological interest: Why and how they had chosen to attend the festival? How it felt to carry such a painful weight on the body? What was its significance? Could women don such a burden? What had happened during the year that they might choose to show gratitude in such a way? From there, they might learn the details of the origins of the festival, the intricacies of Hindu beliefs, other rituals, household composition, social status, kinship relations, social structure and so on. To discover more about the *kavadi* might entail engaging in multidisciplinary

[27]Ioan P. Culiani, 'Introduction: The Body Reexamined', in *Religious Reflections on the Human Body*, ed. Jane Marie Law (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1995), 1–18.

[28]Howard Eilberg-Schwarz, 'God's Body: The Divine Cover-Up', in *Religious Reflections on the Human Body*, 137–48.

[29]Held in honour of Lord Subramaniam, one the major gods in the Hindu pantheon and a son of Lord Shiva in his aspects as Lord Murugan.

[30]A. Hullet and A. Roces, 'Thaipusam', *Geo: Australasia's Geographical Magazine* 3, no. 4 (1981): 70–97.

[31]Lynne Hume, *The Religious Life of Dress: Global Fashion and Faith* (London and New York: Bloomsbury, 2013).

research into the production of the frame itself, the history of the festival, the significance of pain in religious ceremonies, the sensorial nature of *kavadi*, the personal experience of bearing *kavadi*, and so on, all of which could result in a complex research-based study leading to a fully extended, highly evocative publication and perhaps new theoretical insights.

The importance of the body and its interface with society and culture has led to a plethora of publications that address the politics and mores around the gender divide: power, subordination, modesty, ownership and control –not only of the body per se but specific parts of the body. Hair, for example, is laden with social, political and religious connotations: short hair/long hair/shaved heads have each at different epochs and different places articulated power, shame, control, male/female expectations, rebellion, piety and spiritual meanings.[32]

ANTHROPOLOGY, THE BODY AND DRESS

The phenomenon of the 'dressed' body brought more attention to the cultural symbols and meanings to be harvested through bodily additions and supplements.

Early humans donned clothing for at least three reasons: protection from the environment, protection from their enemies and protection from supernatural sources. Later, as several of the chapters in this volume illustrate, clothing and adornment developed into ways of displaying power, importance in the community, wealth, personal attraction and social status. Yet, as Ronald A. Schwarz commented, 'descriptions of clothing are so rare in some texts of social anthropology that the casual reader might easily conclude the natives go naked'.[33] An exception to this is the following paragraph from Lhote's 1955 colourful description of the seminomadic Islamic people of North Africa, the Tuareg, where it is the males who wear a veil:

> With blue veils falling from the bridge of the nose to below the chin, little shows of them except hands, feet and the area around their eyes. Even the small exposed sections of skin have a blue tinge, the result of the dye rubbing off the cloth, and the overall impression given by one of the fully armed warriors is almost awesome.
>
> The style of wearing the veil, of placing the different parts about the head, may vary from one tribe to another and some individuals give their preference, according to personal taste, to certain local styles .... But beside these different fashions, there is also the turn, the knack which makes it more or less elegant.
>
> Similarly there is a psychology of the veil; by the way in which it is set, one can gain an idea of the mood of the wearer just as among us the angle of the cap or hat permits analogous deductions. There is the reserved and modest style used when one enters a camp where there are women, the elegant and *recherché* style for going to courting parties, the haughty manner of warriors conscious of their own importance, like the whimsy of the blustering vassal or slave. There is also the detached and lax fashion of the jovial fellow, the good chap, or the disordered one of the unstable man of irritable character. The veil may also express a transient sentiment. For example, it is brought up to the eyes before women or prestigeful persons, while it is a sign

[32]See, for example, Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones's chapter on hair in this volume.

[33]Ronald A. Schwarz, 'Uncovering the Secret Vice: Toward an Anthropology of Clothing and Adornment', in *The Fabrics of Culture: The Anthropology of Clothing and Adornment*, ed. Justine M. Cordwell and Ronald A. Schwarz (The Hague; Paris; New York: Mouton Publishers, 1979), 23.

> of familiarity when it is lowered. To laugh from delight with a joke, the Tuareg will lift up the lower part of his veil very high on his nose, and, in case of irritation, will tighten it like a chin strap to conceal his anger.[34]

The *visible* signs of dress, when read correctly, contain a multitude of symbolic significances pertaining both to the individual and to the society in which the body is located.

This colourfully written piece detailing the nuances of how and why the veil is manipulated to convey certain messages takes us to the heart of Tuareg male vanity: sexual attraction in the marriage marketplace, selection of partners for marriage and subsequent important kinship connections involving economy and politics.

Robert Murphy's question with regard to the Tuareg was: Why do Tuareg males cover their faces so completely that only areas around the eyes and nose may be seen?[35] The question led to an anthropological analysis that included detailed descriptions of male clothing, the way the cloth is wrapped around the head, the differences between male and female clothing, kinship lineages and relationships, how the veil is cleverly left on while a man is eating, how it is manipulated to reveal status, and even the difficulty of smoking given the veil's restrictions, and the age at which a male begins to veil. The veil, as a means of symbolic communication, he wrote, provides 'the idiom of privacy upon its wearer and allows him to stand somewhat aloof from the perils of social interaction while remaining a part of it'.[36] Murphy started with the veil and used it to articulate the Tuareg social system and the importance of social distance.[37]

The *invisible* signs of dress (clothing items hidden from view, body parts not permitted to be viewed) also contain information of great cultural and personal significance. The extent to which the body is required to cover itself varies over time. In Queen Victoria's era, the nineteenth-century British woman's body was well covered, with glimpses of ankles considered *risqué*. However, 'covered' does not always conceal the lure of the female body. The fashion of the day focused on the morally respectable and demurely feminine shape of a woman's body which resulted in the top half of the body accenting unnaturally tiny waists, brought about by way of punishingly tight whale-boned corsets. These were eventually abandoned due to the health problems they caused. The nineteenth century also heralded the introduction of the pantaloon for women and accompanied the suffragette movement. By the 1920s, much more of women's bodies was revealed in the scandalous short hemlines of the more liberating Roaring Twenties flappers. When the bikini was introduced to swimwear in the 1950s, beach inspectors in Australia scanned the sandy beaches to measure the permissible height of the bikini bottoms, and in the 1960s miniskirts (long by later standards) were considered shocking only when they first came on to the fashion scene.

Since the 1980s, social scientific academic scholarship on dress has grown through journal articles, monographs and edited collections. Berg's book series, *Dress, Body, and Culture*, has been responsible for a plethora of academic books concentrating on the topic of dress from across disciplines to such

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[34]Quoted in Schwarz.

[35]Robert F. Murphy, 'Social Distance and the Veil', *American Anthropologist* 66, no. 6 (1964): 1257–74. It is interesting to note that Tuareg females did not veil at the time of Murphy's writing and enjoyed high status and privileges not known in other Muslim societies.

[36]Murphy, 'Social Distance and the Veil', 1257.

[37]For another perspective, see Susan Rasmussen, '*Veiling without Veils: Modesty and Reserve in Tuareg Cultural Encounters*', in *Veiling in Africa*, ed. Elisha Renne (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), 34–57.

an extent that the combined efforts of Berg and Bloomsbury Publishers could be said to be the first port of call for multidisciplinary academic works in English on the subject of dress as a whole. The focus on agency, practice, performance and globalization as theoretical underpinnings in cultural research formed no small part in this burgeoning interest in body and dress.

In 2004, Karen Tranberg Hansen articulated the upsurge of anthropological interest in clothing research and the dressed body over the two decades since the 1980s,[38] and her more recent bibliographic guide provides a wealth of information on anthropological dress scholarship.[39] One reason for the increase of interest, she posits, is that globalization is a process in which the local and the global interact, but the most important factor, she writes, is that consumption, usually viewed through markets and economic actors, can be seen to entail cultural processes that construct identity.

Fashions,[40] textiles,[41] the production and consumption of clothing manufacture and their anthropological significance[42] together with religion[43] and competing discourses around politics and women's dress[44] fast-forwarded attention to the significance of all facets of dress to disciplines outside the fashion, design and business industries. Archaeological textile studies have ranged from analysing degraded fibres to the comparative history of textile studies and clothing traditions.[45]

The advent of sensorial anthropology[46] highlighting a 'senses' approach provided even wider scope for researchers and an additional impetus to dress as embodied practice – to smell, feel, hear and touch[47] the decorative items that we put on our bodies and move with a total ensemble: 'jewellery that glitters, tinkles and clangs; fabrics that rustle, shine, cling and change bodily form; the sparkling light from a woman's nose ring; or the constant adjusting and straightening of an unfixed or free-flowing piece of fabric', such as the sari or the veil of the Tuareg male, embraces even more of the essence of the cultural aspects of dress.[48]

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[38]Karen Tranberg Hansen, 'The World in Dress: Anthropological Perspectives on Clothing, Fashion, and Culture', *Annual Review of Anthropology* 33 (2004): 369–92.

[39]Karen Tranberg Hansen, 'The Anthropology of Dress and Fashion', in *Bibliographical Guides* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015). http://dx.doi.org/10.5040/9781474280655BG004 (accessed 5 September 2018).

[40]N-G. K. Singh, 'Sacred Fabric and Sacred Stitches: The Underwear of the Khalsa', *History of Religions* 43, no. 4 (2004): 284–302.

[41]John Gillow, *Textiles of the Islamic World* (London, UK: Thames and Hudson, 2013); Irene Good, 'Archaeological Textiles: A Review of Current Research', *Annual Review of Anthropology* 30 (2001): 209–26. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.anthro.30.1.209

[42]Jianhua Zhao, *The Chinese Fashion Industry: An Ethnographic Approach* (London and New York: Bloomsbury, 2013); Clare Wilkinson-Weber, *Fashioning Bollywood: The Making and Meaning of Hindi Film Costume* (London and New York: Bloomsbury, 2012).

[43]Hume, *The Religious Life of Dress*; E. Silverman, *A Cultural History of Jewish Dress* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013); Linda Arthur, ed., *Undressing Religion: Commitment and Conversion from A Cross-Cultural Perspective* (London and New York: Berg, 2010); Linda Arthur, ed., *Religion, Dress and the Body* (Oxford: Berg, 1999).

[44]F. El Guindi, *Veil: Modesty, Privacy and Resistance* (Oxford: Berg, 1999); Emma Tarlo, *Visibly Muslim: Fashion, Politics, Faith* (London and New York: Berg, 2010).

[45]See Good, 'Archaeological Textiles'; Jane Schneider, 'The Anthropology of Cloth', *Annual Review of Anthropology* 16 (1987): 409–48; Annette Weiner and Jane Schneider, *Cloth and Human Experience* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989).

[46]David Howes, ed., *The Varieties of Sensory Experience: A Sourcebook in the Anthropology of the Senses* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991); ed., *Empire of the Senses: The Sensual Cultural Reader* (Oxford: Berg, 2005).

[47]Constance Classen, *The Book of Touch* (Oxford: Berg, 2005); *The Deepest Sense: A Cultural History of Touch* (Champagne: University of Illinois Press, 2012).

[48]Hume, *The Religious Life of Dress*, 2.

Dress is what some refer to as a hybrid subject with its eclectic mix of cultures and religions. On the subject of piety and modesty, much has been said about the Islamic practice of women and veiling. Elizabeth Bucar writes that while modest clothing can be used as a form of social control in some Islamic cultures (as some assert), and religion is an important factor in what Muslim women choose to wear, Muslim women negotiate a variety of aesthetic and moral pressures in their selection of what to put on their bodies.[49] This can vary enormously.

While maintaining the religious foundations of dress, modern interpretations of long-held traditions allow a certain leverage, enhancing their adaptability to fashion and making them more culturally relevant or modernizing them to appeal to a wider audience.

For example, in Australia, with the majority of the population living on the extensive coastline of the continent, the beach is home for many, and the hot summer climate has little regard for clothing that makes heavy top-to-toe modesty appealing. Beach dress consists mainly of various ways to uncover the body without being completely nude. Young Muslims living in Australia who want to adhere to Muslim dress codes, yet participate in beach culture and water sports, are faced with a dilemma: the Australian choice of minimal coverage or adhering to the Islamic code of total coverage. This dilemma was creatively resolved by Lebanese Australian designer Aheda Zanetti and her invention of the *burqini* (a conflation of burqa and bikini). The head, neck and arms are completely covered by a thigh-length, long-sleeve dress, which is worn over fitted pants reaching to the ankles. The only parts of the body revealed are the face, hands and feet. It is a swimsuit that is chlorine-resistant with low water absorbency, is very quick to dry and available in different colours.

The national Skin Cancer Council's slogan advises all Australians to 'slip, slop, slap',[50] don protective hats and cover themselves with suntan lotion when exposed to the punitive Australian summers. The Council also promotes bodily coverage in the form of long-sleeve Lycra Rash Guards (known popularly as 'rashies') and hats that have a back extension to cover the neck, in order to avoid the highly prevalent problem of skin cancer in this sun-loving country. Because of this health trend to protect the body, the *burqini*, in spite of its almost total bodily coverage, fails to attract more than a passing glance. Some young Muslim women have even joined local Surf patrols, their *burqinis* matching the colours of the local lifeguards' swim apparel. As well, there is an increasing number of successful Muslim clothes designers opening up shops of their own, and/or supplying and promoting their more creatively appealing 'modesty' designs (with or without head apparel) to mainstream stores and boutiques, thus catering for a more expansive clientele while maintaining their Islamic preference for coverage.

The modernization of religious dress can also be seen in other religions. Eric Silverman gives a comprehensive account of the history and culture of Jewish dress in *A Cultural History of Jewish Dress*[51] and includes a section on the hybrid nature of being young and Jewish in modern America, one that is 'hip, sexy, and cheeky' and at the same time 'cool'. Traditional non-leather shoes worn at Yom Kippur, for example, might appear as canvas sneakers or colourful plastic Crocs, and *yarmulkes* (male head coverings) might be promoted as 'lids for Yids'.

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[49]Elizabeth Bucar, *Pious Fashion: How Muslim Women Dress* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2017).

[50]A health campaign in Australia and New Zealand exhorting people to 'slip on a shirt, slop on sunscreen, and slap on a hat' when they go out in the sun in order to prevent skin cancer.

[51]Eric Silverman, *A Cultural History of Jewish Dress* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013).

Other contemporary dress studies embrace conflations of styles and ideas, demonstrating the unbounded nature of creativity with which to convey messages of anthropological interest. Anthropologist Brent Luvaas has investigated the phenomenon of 'street style' blogging, its rise in popularity and how bloggers with no formal training in fashion or photography can influence tastes and trends.[52] He explores the structural shifts in the global fashion industry, the evolution of street style photography, and adds early anthropological fieldwork photos into the mix, to arrive at a unique ethnographic account of style that blurs street style with New York fashion. Photographer Daniele Tamagni's *Fashion Tribes: Global Street Style*[53] covers a broad cultural view of world dress and the power of clothing to create personal style in subcultures wherein individuals might come from marginalized fringes of society, from heavy metal rockers in Botswana to dandies in the Congo.

British anthropologist Emma Tarlo won the Victor Turner Prize for Ethnographic Writing in 2017, with her book *Entanglement: The Secret Lives of Hair*,[54] demonstrating new ways anthropologists can approach, and write about, any aspect of dress and the body in a colourfully exciting and engaging manner. There are still so many ways that social scientists, among others, can fruitfully and imaginatively convey the dressed body and the experience of being dressed.

A theme of the 2018 New York Met Gala fashion show turned religious piety on its head and showed yet another way of bringing religion into the fashion spotlight. The theme, 'Heavenly Bodies: Fashion and the Catholic Imagination', was designed to create a dialogue between fashion, religious art and ecclesiastical garb. Organizers even persuaded the Vatican to approve not only the theme itself but the loan and shipping of clothing and paraphernalia from the Sistine Chapel sacristy, much of which had never been seen outside the Vatican. Roman Catholic ecclesiastical vestments as fashion statements worn by high-profile entertainers resulted in some original 'profane' twists to 'sacred' clothing usually donned only by males of the Roman Catholic hierarchy. This public interface of faith and fashion could have provided anthropological analysis and commentary with regard to the relationship between the material, the social and the religious as constitutive of each other.

CONCLUSION

As a phenomenon in itself, dress benefits from the theory and analysis of a host of disciplines, among them history, art history, textile, design, politics, economics and studies in religion. In 2010 the ten-volume *Encyclopaedia of World Dress and Fashion* was published by Berg Publishers; it is a major reference work covering dress from all over the world and from different disciplines.[55] Another encyclopaedia focusing on religion and dress is underway, as well as an anthology of the seminal writings of anthropology.[56] Bloomsbury's categories of existing publications under the

[52]Brent Luvaas, *Street Style: An Ethnography of Fashion Blogging* (London and New York: Bloomsbury, 2016).
[53]Daniele Tamagni, *Fashion Tribes: Global Street Style* (New York: Abrams, 2015).
[54]Emma Tarlo, *Entanglement: The Secret Lives of Hair* (London: Oneworld Publications, 2016).
[55]Joanne B. Eicher and Phyllis G. Tortora, eds., *Berg Encyclopedia of World Dress and Fashion* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2010).
[56]Brent Luvaas and Joanne B. Eicher, eds., *The Anthropology of Dress and Fashion: A Reader* (London and Oxford: Bloomsbury, 2019).

rubric of Anthropology in the Academic and Professional section of their webpage lists twenty-four subsections, almost all of which could include in some manner the topic of dress, from *Animals and Society*, at the top of the list, to *Visual Anthropology*, at the end. It is clear that dress plays a pivotal part in all aspects of culture, from thousands of years ago to today, and there is no end to the possibilities that can arise from a phenomenology of dress. We have only begun to tap into the wealth of raw material for researchers with an eye for the unusual, the creative and its link with culture and society.

CHAPTER FIVE

Dress and Sociology

BETH E. GRAYBILL

INTRODUCTION

Sociology studies human behaviour, patterns of social interaction and relationships, societal groups and cultures of everyday life. As a social science, sociology draws on history, psychology, statistics and economics while sharing some methods with anthropology, notably ethnography. (Applied sociology, a specific type of sociological practice, is led by the research questions and concerns of clients and centrally concerned with social change.)

Sociologist Thomas Reed argues that the goal of sociological explanation 'is to get inside the various layers of social meanings', particularly salient when we examine dress, since clothing is a means of multi-layered communication.[1] Interviews and participant observation are two long-standing modes of inquiry into the interpretation of meaning. Scholars in sociology look to clothing for information about social roles (age, gender, sexuality, racial/ethnic identity), social systems and institutions (education, the family, religion), social stratification (e.g. economic status as conveyed through work uniforms[2] or professional dress standards) and societal change by examining sartorial differences through time.

DRESS AND COMMUNICATION

For sociologists, dress can be analysed as non-verbal communication in diverse ways such as the study of the materials used in dress construction and their look and feel on the body. (The term 'somaesthetics' has been used to describe this experience of felt bodily perception and presentation through clothing.[3]) Another angle of vision is clothing production, fabrication and marketing, which moves us into the realm of style and fashion, a relatively recent area of study for sociologists.

[1]Isaac Reed, 'Justifying Sociological Knowledge: From Realism to Interpretation', *Sociological Theory* 26 (2008): 101–29.

[2]In fact, uniforms perform important identification in a variety of jobs, from manual labour workers to police to religious organizations and to the military. For more on uniforms, see Jennifer Craik, *Uniforms Exposed: From Conformity to Transgression* (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2005) and Nathan Joseph, *Uniforms and Nonuniforms: Communication through Clothing* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986). I have written elsewhere of how, for conservative Mennonite women, a particular style of plain dress functions almost like a uniform, identifying their belonging to a defined religious group. See Beth E. Graybill, '"To Remind Us of Who We Are": Multiple Meanings of Conservative Women's Dress', in *Strangers at Home: Amish and Mennonite Women in History*, ed. Kimberly D. Schmidt, Diane Zimmerman Umble and Steven D. Reschly (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 53–77.

[3]The philosopher Richard Shusterman coined the term 'somaesthetics'. For its use in analysing clothing, see Giovanni Matteucci and Stefano Marino, eds., *Philosophical Perspectives on Fashion* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017). Hume discusses this concept in her chapter in this volume.

This aspect includes changes in retailing and manufacturing (home-tailoring, ready-made clothing, sweatshop production, runway fashion shows, Internet shopping) and the economics of fashion. We can also study how clothing is cared for (wash-and-wear fabrics or delicate brocades) and by whom (servants or owners), and consider what this implies about the social value and place in society of a given article of clothing. Finally, we can compare clothing from various locations and eras in history: What comparisons can we make between articles of dress made decades or centuries apart, and what does this suggest about cultural connection or difference across time and space? Using these multiple angles of observation to assess clothing yields insights into the meanings of dress in any given society, fundamental to cultural understanding.

SOCIOLOGICAL METHODS AND MATERIAL CULTURE

Sociologists employ a variety of research methods in meaning-making that generally fall into broad categories of quantitative and qualitative approaches. Sociologists may analyse existing quantitative sources, such as demography, or develop their own measures, such as social surveys, audits and questionnaires. Qualitative approaches include interviews, focus groups, case studies and observational research, especially participant-observation and ethnographic fieldwork. (Additionally, sociologists may employ controlled human experiments to generate original data, with test hypotheses to prove or disprove.) Through these methods, sociologists develop interpretive cultural analyses.

One particular methodology used in the social sciences, and beneficial in interpreting cultural meanings of dress, is the framework of material culture studies, also known as materiality and meaning.[4] Beginning with many of its earliest writings, sociology has a long tradition of theorizing the relationship between artefacts and social relations. By definition, material culture study refers to the physical objects that people use to define their culture and the meanings associated with those objects. Clothing *is* material culture (as are tools, architecture, food and hundreds of other artefacts and objects from quilts and kitchen tools to motorcycles and shaving gear). Material culture refers to the 'stuff' of our daily lives, and analysing it yields valuable insights for sociologists.

Using the prism of material culture to study dress illuminates the variety of meanings – both tangible and practical, as well as figurative and emotive – that attach to it. In every society, clothing serves functional properties such as warmth (insulation), protection (from sun, wind or rain) and safety (e.g. hard hat, hiking shoes). But dress also demonstrates emotive, intangible dialectics such as modesty or impropriety, comfort or confinement, simplicity or ostentation, mundaneness or originality, respectability or offensiveness, refinement or decadence. In these and other ways, clothing communicates as a powerful repository of meanings, and the framework of material culture makes this visible.

[4]See Susanne Küchler and Daniel Miller, eds., *Clothing as Material Culture* (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2005). An example of the power of material culture as a sociological frame of analysis is the fact that the *Journal of Material Culture*, a peer-reviewed, academic journal concerned with the relationship between artefacts and social relations, has been published since 1996. See also Dominik Bartmański and Jeffrey C. Alexander, 'Introduction: Materiality and Meaning in Social Life: Toward an Iconic Turn in Cultural Sociology', in *Iconic Power: Materiality and Meaning in Social Life*, ed. Jeffrey C. Alexander, Dominik Bartmański and Bernhard Giesen (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 1–14. These authors introduce the concept of iconicity, which is applicable to clothing: 'Objects become icons when they have not only material force but also symbolic power', 1.

Contemporary sociologists Diana Crane and Laura Bovone analyse fashionable clothing as a form of material culture through the attribution of symbolic values. These authors argue that dress can be read as a symbolic text that contributes to cultural understanding and identity formation. As they write, 'clothing worn by youth subcultures, counter cultures, metropolitan tribes, and gay cultures contributes to our understanding of how values associated with specific social identities are expressed through clothing and how perceptions of social identity by members of these groups change over time'.[5] These authors argue that symbolic values in clothing are socially constructed through the collective activities of consumers, the media, elites and tastemakers. Thus, fashion has the capacity to shift or reinforce symbolic values in consumers when they acquire and wear these articles of material culture.

Beyond symbolic values, decorative arts scholar Barbara Carson suggests looking at an object of material culture – in this case, clothing – in several ways. *First*, evaluate its design, aesthetics and workmanship: Why does it look this way? How do we assess its artistry or craftwork? This may suggest the esteem in which the article of dress was held. *Second*, evaluate its function and use. What was its purpose (e.g. fashionability, religiosity or some combination of both?) Consider its distribution, availability and affordability. (Was it for elites or working people? For royalty, clergy or laity?) *Third*, in Carson's analysis, consider whether the article of clothing was personal and/ or communal, in order to understand its relationship to society. For what activity or according to what tradition was it made (e.g. social gathering? religious devotion?) Was the article of clothing part of individual or group ceremony or custom? Was it part of gift exchange and circulation? Carson's provocative questions provide another guide for cultural understanding through the lens of material culture that yields useful insights into the study of clothing.[6] In addition, several recent books, beyond the scope of our discussion here, address dress through the sociological lens of material culture.[7]

In the remainder of this chapter, I will explore the role of sociological meaning-making in dress, first through a history of sociology and dress, then briefly addressing anti-fashion, as well as dress and belonging, gender, religion and agency.

SOCIOLOGY AND DRESS – A BRIEF HISTORY

To understand fully the role of clothing within the academic discipline of sociology, a brief historical summary is requisite. In general, until recently, sociology has tended to neglect the field of dress and fashion, viewing it as outside the social sciences and more in line with the arts and costume

[5]Diana Crane and Laura Bovone, 'Approaches to Material Culture: The Sociology of Fashion and Clothing', *Poetics*: *Journal of Empirical Research on Culture, the Media and the Arts* 34 (2006): 319–33 and 321.

[6]Barbara G. Carson, personal communication, March 1996. See also Barbara G. Carson, 'Interpreting History through Objects', *The Journal of Museum Education* 10, no. 3 (1985): 2–5.

[7]See Lydia Edwards, *How to Read a Dress: A Guide to Changing Fashion from the 16th to the 20th Century* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), which analyses dresses from eleven different time periods, 1550 to 1970. See also Ingrid E. Mida and Alexandra Kim, *The Dress Detective: A Practical Guide to Object-Based Research in Fashion* (London: Bloomsbury, 2019), especially 'Appendix I, Checklist for Observation', 216–19. In addition, see also Peter Corrigan, *The Dressed Society: Clothing, the Body and Some Meanings of the World* (London: Sage, 2008). In this book, sociologist Corrigan demonstrates how dress shapes and is shaped by social processes and phenomena such as beauty, time, the body, gift exchange, class, gender and religion. Corrigan analyses topics such as the Islamic clothing controversy in state schools, the Dress Reform movement, the social construction of the body in fashion magazines and the role of the Internet in fashion.

studies. When attire *was* considered by sociologists, it often was little more than one example of overarching social theories related to social development and the economic class structure.

The nineteenth-century social scientist Herbert Spencer, often referred to as a founder of sociology, included manners and style in his understanding of how civilization evolves. While not a major focus of his work, Spencer was one of the first to publish on fashion and society. He viewed manners and fashion as forms of social constraint, structured by symbols and rituals, for example from Quaker coats to nonconformist beards, from the adoption of coats of arms to the civility of removing hats indoors. Spencer argued that male attire and comportment established social rank and status, implying that what was important was not the actual clothes worn but the wearer's social placement, which had the power to uplift society.[8]

In a similar vein but with a sharper critique, the economist and sociologist Thorstein Veblen was concerned with status emulation and consumer culture, including fashion. In a book first published at the turn of the century, and later reprinted in mid-twentieth century as a classic in the field, Veblen coined the term 'conspicuous consumption' to illustrate the display of ostentatious wealth and status by society's elites. The term referred to consumers who bought luxury items to display status and income rather than to cover their actual needs. For the wealthy, maintaining status required that patterns of consumption – including clothing and particularly women's fashion – demonstrate lavish expenditure and conspicuous extravagance. Impractical and elaborate clothing were hallmarks of the leisure class of people who did not need to engage in physical labour to earn a living.

Although concerned with consumption of goods in general, Veblen singled out clothing for special consideration. Noting the desire for fashion over comfort, he wrote, 'it is by no means an uncommon occurrence, in an inclement climate, for people to go ill clad in order to appear well dressed'.[9] According to Veblen, conspicuous consumption, in relation to dress, included both *quantity* – that is, possessing a far greater number of shoes or suits than needed for reasonable daily wear – and *quality*, or ownership of garments distinguished by the expensiveness of their materials or the time-consuming methods of garment construction. Since clothing is a universal item, Veblen argued that it is difficult for anyone to ignore the pressures of conspicuous consumption in dress.

Contemporaneous with Veblen and similarly influential in her day, social reformer Charlotte Perkins Gilman serialized in her magazine the book-length study *The Dress of Women*, in 1915. While outside the formal, academic discipline of sociology, her work was a major analytical treatise on fashion and gender by one of America's foremost sociological theorists. Recently republished in complete book form, *The Dress of Women* examined the social and functional basis for clothing and the degrading aspects of women's clothing in patriarchal societies.[10] Concerned with dress reform, Gilman outlined aesthetic and economic principles of socially responsible clothing design. Hers was the earliest full-length sociological analysis of clothing and the fashion industry.

Georg Simmel was another early twentieth-century social scientist interested in fashion. Simmel is notable for our purposes in that he wrote an academic study of the sociology of fashion in

[8]Herbert Spencer, 'On Manners and Fashion', in *Essays: Scientific, Political, and Speculative*. Volume 3 (London: Williams & Norgate, 1891), 1–51

[9]Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: Macmillan, 1899; repr., 1965), 124. The book is still in print today.

[10]Charlotte Perkins Gilman, *The Dress of Women: A Critical Introduction to the Symbolism and Sociology of Clothing* (London and Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002).

modern urban life. He argued that society, in general, consists of two opposing forces: unity/inclusion/generalization and difference/exclusion/specialization. For Simmel, fashion was a type of social horizon point where individual interests came up against those of the collective. Simmel's argument was largely based on trickle-down, class theory; he wrote that the fashions of the upper stratum 'are never identical with that of the lower; in fact, they are abandoned by the former as soon as the latter prepares to appropriate them'.[11] Fashion's constant renewal is driven by imitation from below motivated by the desire for social distinction from above, according to Simmel.

By contrast, sociologist Herbert Blumer, writing at mid-century, disputed Simmel's trickle-down analysis. Blumer argued that influence can move both ways: fashions can rise up from the working class (e.g. hoodies and shredded jeans as fashion statements) as well as move laterally across social groups. Blumer believed that fashion gave all classes of people the opportunity to both identify with a group and distinguish themselves from it through innovative clothing choices. He thus rejected the class-differentiation model as outdated; although what people wear can shed light on their social standing, that is not all that dress communicates, and under many circumstances, not the most important variable. Instead, Blumer argued for approaching fashion as a massive 'collective selection' process with diverse meanings under the transient and elusive influence of modernity, wherein choices were guided by the development of new tastes in a changing world.[12]

Sociologist Fred Davis, an intellectual descendant of Blumer's in the late twentieth century, shared with Blumer the view that fashion and apparel elucidate the collective aspects of our social identities. According to Davis, as one's identity becomes progressively multiple in modern society, the meaning of fashion becomes increasingly ambivalent. While Davis believed that dress communicates about identity, he was careful to note that these communications are not straightforward. In his pivotal 1992 book *Fashion, Culture and Identity*, Davis discussed ambivalence in the dress of contemporary Western society, corresponding to the fragmented nature of postmodern identity. He discussed tensions over gendered versus androgynous dress, the ambiguity of social status in clothing (what he called fashion 'flaunts and feints') and the sartorial dialectic of erotic versus chaste. Indeed, Davis claimed that these identity oppositions are what fuels fashion. That is, ambivalence is exploited to ensure that fashion keeps moving. In these ways, individuals use clothing choices to construct fluid identities within a modern social system.[13]

Following Davis and into the present, post-modern moment, sociological study of dress and fashion has become increasingly interdisciplinary, wide-ranging and diverse. In addition to clothing, scholars have written about headwear, jewellery, shoes (e.g. high heels and sneakers), body piercing and tattooing. Rather than focusing on high-culture fashion, many sociologists today examine aspects of clothing from the perspective of ordinary people's daily practices; these include new books on urban street style,[14] Goth style, superhero costuming, thrift style and organic, vegan, fair-trade and eco-style clothing choices.

[11]Georg Simmel, 'Fashion', *The American Journal of Sociology* 62 (1957): 546. While Simmel acknowledged reverse trickle-down theory – that is, when consumers stop buying a product because too many others are buying it – and he also noted differentiation that happens *within* social groups, Simmel nevertheless believed that the upper class drove the dress and fashion cycle. In his framework, trickle-down fashion served to unite upper classes and segregate lower classes.

[12]Herbert Blumer, 'Fashion: From Class Differentiation to Collective Selection', *Sociological Quarterly* 10, no. 3 (1969): 275–91.

[13]Fred Davis, *Fashion, Culture, and Identity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

[14]Street style is a specific type of fashion that looks at stylish, urban, ordinary people that comes originally from British fashion culture. See Brent Luvaas, *Street Style: An Ethnography of Fashion Blogging* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016).

Recent writing on Muslim women's clothing bears special mention, as it reflects on dress in counter-intuitive ways. Tarlo and Moors's edited collection on Islamic fashion in northern Europe and North America reveals how such dress can be both devout and stylish. Their book puts to rest simplistic accounts that women whose clothing marks them as visibly Muslim are passive victims of patriarchy. Tarlo and Moors describe how Muslim women have developed 'modest dress' as a subset of fashion that integrates discreet covering with fashionability, combining secular European fashions with religiously mandated items like head scarves in distinctive 'hybrid hijabis'.[15] Moreover, veiling practices and the meanings associated with them are not uniform. Sociologist Caitlin Killian discusses how Islamic veiling demonstrates resistance to Western standards of feminine beauty that demand exposure. In addition, for some immigrant Muslim women, she writes, the veil is a symbol of ethnic pride while for others the headscarf is simply convenient and routine.[16] Thus, these authors challenge our presumptive stereotypes through sociological accounts.

ANTI-FASHION

Muslim women's sartorial choices illustrate a key element in religious dress: that is, the interplay between compliance and individuality. In many religious traditions, prohibitions and prescriptions regarding dress are applied primarily to women.[17] In some cases, as for the conservative Mennonite women I studied, their dress codes fit the definition of 'anti-fashion', developed by authors Patricia Cunningham and Susan Voso Lab. They defined anti-fashion as clothing which goes against what is currently fashionable, a deliberate dis-identification with the cultural mainstream. As they wrote: 'Dress functions as a sign of rejection of the norm and hence the status quo. … [Anti-fashion] makes a statement through its style that clearly says no to the hegemony of the prevailing style of fashion.'[18] They discussed anti-fashion in reference to counter-cultural punk style or oppositional nineteenth-century dress reformers railing against tight corsets, yet anti-fashion also was applicable to the contemporary Mennonite women I studied.

The discipline used by the particular group of Mennonites in my fieldwork specifically prohibited 'fashionable, sporty, or Western styles' of clothing, footwear or headwear for men and women, and reminded male and female members that dress 'should not follow the unhealthful and sensual designs of the world'.[19] Now obviously, a member must have some sense of what the prevailing

[15]See Emma Tarlo and Annelies Moors, eds., *Islamic Fashion and Anti-Fashion: New Perspectives from Europe and North America* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2013). Only in recent decades have Islamic communities migrated to northern Europe in large enough numbers to construct and maintain their own Islamic identity. The interviews conducted with Muslim women reveal fascinating new insights into generational conflicts, gender construction and Islamic immigrant identity. One interesting example of being both modest and Islamic, yet fashionable and contemporary, is development of the burqini, discreet Islamic swimwear designed to facilitate Muslim women's participation in beach and swimming sports, discussed in the Tarlo and Moors's book and by Lynne Hume in this volume. See also Anna-Mari Almila and David Inglis, eds., *The Routledge International Handbook to Veils and Veiling Practices* (New York: Routledge, 2017).

[16]Caitlin Killian, 'Why Do Muslim Women Wear a Hijab?', *The Conversation US, Inc*. https://theconversation.com/why-do-muslim-women-wear-a-hijab-109717 (accessed 27 February 2019).

[17]Exceptions to this are clergy and, at least in the past, religious orders in the Catholic Church, as well as Orthodox Jewish men. See Sally Dwyer-McNulty, *Common Threads: A Cultural History of Clothing in American Catholicism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014) and Eric Silverman, *A Cultural History of Jewish Dress* (London: Bloomsbury Publishers, 2013).

[18]Patricia A. Cunningham and Susan Voso Lab, eds., *Dress in American Culture* (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green State University Press, 1991), 13–14.

[19]*Statement of Christian Doctrine and Rules and Discipline of the Eastern Pennsylvania Mennonite Church and Related Areas* (Ephrata, PA: Publication Board of the Eastern Pennsylvania Mennonite Church, 1993), 15–21.

fashion is in order to dress unfashionably, thus making anti-fashion a conscious, deliberate choice. Likewise, in her study of Holdeman Mennonite women, Arthur described an official anti-fashion dress code, which she defined as 'modest clothing that loosely covered most of the female body' meant to exemplify decency and simplicity within that particular subgroup. Arthur described this as oppositional dress, wherein dress codes were created in defiance of the norms of the larger society.[20]

However, as several of the Mennonite women in my study reminded me, anti-fashion has much to recommend it. Janet told me, 'I don't have to worry about keeping up with the latest style. What I wear is what I wear all the time. It's economical. I mean, styles change constantly, and I don't have to think about it.' Or, as Rebecca noted, 'I spend very little money on clothing, because I can wear the same dress for five years or so, until it wears out. To me, it cuts out a lot of the frivolousness and the worry that I would have about dress otherwise.'[21] In these ways, anti-fashion dress codes may offer practicality and freedom.

DRESS AND BELONGING

In general, all clothing choices reflect some level of interplay between group belonging and individuality.[22] We can either distance ourselves by flaunting convention and dressing to suit ourselves, or we can identify ourselves through dress and appearance as part of a larger collective. Just as my musician friend deliberately wears his hair long to identify with others in the music field, teenage girls may dress in skinny jeans and designer sneakers to show identification with their particular subculture. Our dress choices are influenced by a sense of sartorial belonging.

To give another illustration from my own field of study, for conservative Mennonite and Amish women, the head covering is a powerful symbol, imbued with special meaning. Apart from the biblical rationale (drawing on passages from the book of I Corinthians), used to justify the reasons for women covering their heads (for prayer and to show male headship), the head covering is freighted with other symbolic significance. In a recent blog post, a formerly Amish woman reflected on it this way:

> I feel like a head covering is a symbol. I don't think we can analyze it separately from what it symbolizes: usually belonging and community. … Let's face it, we have all coveted the sense of community that the Amish have. And yet we don't want to make the sacrifices that it would take to become part of that community. There are days when I would gladly don my Amish covering again to feel a part of an Amish quilting or community event. But being Amish, and wearing the covering to show that you are, is not a part-time thing. The Amish preachers used to say, 'You are either Amish or not, there is no in-between.' They have a point. You can have the freedom of an individual, or else

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[20]Linda B. Arthur Bradley, 'Anti-Fashion as a Social Boundary Marker among Holdeman Mennonite Women', *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 37 (2019): 259–77.

[21]Graybill, '"To Remind Us"', 63.

[22]All of us acquiesce to social group convention to some degree, for example by wearing sombre colours to funerals and brighter colours to weddings. Peers can also become dress code enforcers: a recent article on college women documented how they use the discourse of slut-shaming. High-status women from affluent families defined themselves as classy compared to other women whom they viewed as trashy for similar clothing choices. See Elizabeth A. Armstrong, Laura T. Hamilton, Elizabeth M. Armstrong and J. Lotus Seeley, '"Good Girls": Gender, Social Class, and Slut Discourse on Campus', *Social Psychology Quarterly* 77, no. 2 (2014): 100–22.

> you have to sacrifice personal freedom to be part of the community. That usually involves some kind of visual symbol to show that you are part of the group.[23]

For Amish women, prayer coverings are important sartorial markers, carrying symbolic values of community and belonging, values that affect many of our own clothing choices to one degree or another.

GENDER AND DRESS – SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES

Cultural critic Grant McCracken has written that consumer goods, such as clothing, are encoded with private and public meanings by which societal categories such as gender, age, class and occupation are made manifest. 'Consumer goods are one of our most important templates for the self', he writes, because goods help us choose how we will define ourselves.[24]

In my work on the social category of gender, I have found that dress conveys important aspects of gendered identity. Specifically, clothing may exhibit important ideas about sexuality, morality and availability for marriage; it can illuminate the social constructions of physical attractiveness vis-à-vis dress in a given subculture. When studying the past, clothing as a key element of material culture reveals information about women unavailable via other means. Throughout history, women's records and documents seldom were considered important to conserve, yet often the stuff of their lives was preserved intransient. Items of clothing and ornamentation (buttons, sashes), household textiles, needlework, samplers, as well as paintings and photographs thereof, were often passed down through generations, encapsulating women's history in tangible, concrete ways that can shed light on female societal roles and responsibilities in the past.

Specifically, as indicators of gendered identity, dress and fashion can make visible the properties associated with socially constructed categories of masculinity and femininity in a given era. Acknowledging that gender is a fluid concept – exemplified by recent scholarship on unisex clothing, queer fashion and androgyne dress – nevertheless, comparing and contrasting male and female clothing in a given time period highlights gender identities of that era, offering revealing insights into the qualities that the wearers and their culture associated with men and women. For example, Kidwell and Paoletti suggested that American dress historically 'reflects social differences between the sexes, such as women's more restricted public lives, the need for men to project authority and the emphasis on physical attractiveness as the measure of a woman's value'.[25] They note that women adopted more masculine clothing styles in America – from bloomers to trousers

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[23]See comment by Saloma Furlong on 19 February 2014, in Shirley Hershey Showalter, 'Mennonite Bonnet and Covering Stories: Part One', www.shirleyshowalter.com/mennonite-bonnet-and-covering-stories-part-one/. (accessed 3 March 2019). For more on Amish and Mennonite head coverings, see memoirs by Saloma Furlong, *Bonnet Strings: An Amish Woman's Ties to Two Worlds* (Harrisonburg, VA: Herald Press, 2014), and Shirley Hershey Showalter, *Blush: A Mennonite Girl Meets a Glittering World* (Harrisonburg, VA: Herald Press, 2013). See also Jana M. Hawley, 'The Amish Prayer Cap as a Symbol that Bounds the Community', in *The Routledge International Handbook to Veils and Veiling Practices*, ed. Anna-Mari Almila and David Inglis (New York: Routledge, 2017), 292–301.

[24]Grant McCracken, *Culture and Consumption II: Market, Meaning, and Brand Management* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005), 176–7 and 3.

[25]They note: 'We find that not only has truly androgynous dress never existed for adult men and women, but the closest we have ever come to androgyny is for women to dress like men.' See Claudia Brush Kidwell and Jo B. Paoletti, 'Conclusion', in *Men and Women: Dressing the Part*, ed. Claudia Brush Kidwell and Valerie Steele (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989), 158–9.

to shoulder pads to power suits – with the advancing of women's rights, but the reverse, with men adopting everyday feminine styles, has seldom occurred, short of cross-dressing as performance.

In fact, there is often a performative element in dressing the part.[26] Yet gendered dressing is more than role-playing; power relations are inextricably involved. Ann Hollander argued that honour and prestige have more often been ascribed to perceived masculine dress, such as suits.[27] Joanne Entwistle noted that 'we take for granted that the jacket worn by a man exaggerates his broad shoulders and *décolletage* emphasizes a woman's throat and breasts', thus clothing draws attention to the body and imbues it with layers of cultural meanings signifying masculine or feminine attributes.[28] Entwistle notes that the skirt remains the one article of clothing still coded female. No one can dispute the freedom of movement that slacks allow in contrast to dresses; culturally this may translate into greater mobility and bodily expression for men (e.g. consider manspreading), hence a power differential is illustrated sartorially. In sum, McCracken notes that the fact that consumer goods contain a variety of meanings – some freeing and others confining – should not surprise us, since consumer goods such as clothing 'reflect the benign meanings as well as the imprisoning ones'.[29]

RELIGION AND DRESS – SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES

Not only gendered meanings but religious ones can be inferred from a study of clothing. Cultural anthropologist Lynne Hume reminds us that religious dress communicates 'that the wearer chooses to follow a certain set of ideological or religious principles and practices' that function to 'set one religious community apart from other religious communities'.[30] Religious dress illustrates belief and ideology, gender distinctions and ideas of modesty, the latter most often applied to women's dress.

How one clothes the body may offer sartorial clues to religious devotion and one's place in a spiritual community. In my study of conservative Mennonite women in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, I found that small but significant differences in dress were barely distinguishable to my inexpert eye but included the length, colour and tying of head covering strings, and minor ornamentation on dresses (top-stitching with contrasting thread, extra trim, a small ruffle). As Ellen told me about the preceding examples, 'You know, it seems like such a small thing. But it's finally an expression of pride, or rebellion, that's really what it is. … Anything that attracts attention we feel is not consistent with our meek and quiet spirit, like the bible says.'[31] Deeper spiritual meanings were ascribed to dress variations.

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[26]Scholar Elizabeth Patterson applies performance theory to fashion and explores how clothing is a kind of performance of the self. See Elizabeth Patterson, *Fashion as Performance* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015). Cross-dressing, gender impersonation, burlesque and masquerade have occurred throughout American history; examining these illuminates the ways in which all costuming and dress have elements of playing the part. Since in most Western societies demonstrating masculinity is more highly prized than displaying femininity, men dressing as women occurs most often among gay or transvestite men, sometimes for erotic pleasure and sometimes for the fun of dressing in drag. See Vern L. Bullough and Bonnie Bullough, *Cross Dressing, Sex, and Gender* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993).

[27]Anne Hollander, *Sex and Suits: The Evolution of Modern Dress*, reprint edition (London: Bloomsbury, 2016).

[28]Joanne Entwistle, *The Fashioned Body: Fashion, Dress and Social Theory*, 2nd edition (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2015), 141.

[29]McCracken, *Culture and Consumption*, 4.

[30]See Lynne Hume, *The Religious Life of Dress: Global Fashion and Faith* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), 1.

[31]Graybill, 'To Remind Us', 64.

Conservative faith traditions have more prescriptions about dress than do liberal traditions, and religious dress may elicit religious behaviours in those who wear it. Daniel Miller argues for an understanding of clothing that assumes a particular relationship between the interior and exterior. He demonstrates through various ethnographic case studies how clothes affect the wearer, that 'clothing plays a considerable and active part in constituting the particular experience of the self, in determining what the self is'.[32] This connects to my own work. A key informant in my research named Lydia articulated it this way:

> We want people to look at us and think of God. And the way you dress changes how you feel about yourself. … Just because you dress plain isn't the answer. It's the life that must back it up. But the dress, the plain dress, is a help to remind us of who we are.[33]

For certain religious traditions, dress codes serve to assess the religiously minded and cement their identity.

In a similar vein, Linda Arthur Bradley noted that dress was used to interpret levels of spirituality in her research on Holdeman Mennonite women, another conservative group. Traditional women followed the plain dress code very closely, while marginalized women pushed the boundaries on smaller issues such as fabric pattern and construction details. While both groups of women complied with the uniform requirements of the dress code, the marginalized members expressed their individuality through subtle visual cues. How closely believers subscribe to the dress codes of their religious tradition or, conversely, to what degree individuals push the sartorial limits can become important boundary markers as we analyse sociological meaning of clothing.

Finally, the expectations that observers have can also influence members' behaviour. In my research I found that Mennonite women are aware of the expectations they believe outsiders have of them because they dress distinctively. Lydia related how when she caught herself speeding in her plain dress, she worried what observers would think of her faith. Miriam told me that she tended to forgo putting on her heavy black stocking during the summer at home, although she worried that not doing so when she walked to her mailbox at the end of the lane might weaken her witness to her neighbours. In this way, for religious women for whom dress is a key distinctive indicator, uniform clothing enlists onlookers as norm enforcers.[34]

AGENCY IN DRESS

One question in relation to religious dress is the degree of autonomy and self-determination that women exercise regarding dress codes. In the past, scholarship problematically assumed that women in conservative religious traditions lacked agency. However, we have discussed how contemporary Muslim women in Europe make strategic decisions as they thoughtfully negotiate dress and veiling practices according to fashion, custom, culture and religion.

In addition, my own historical research on mid-twentieth-century Lancaster, Pennsylvania, Mennonite women has shown how they collectively took initiative to incorporate small changes in dress codes (reducing the size of the women's head covering, trimming hair, adopting flesh-coloured

[32] Daniel Miller, *Stuff* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009), 40.
[33] Graybill, 'To Remind Us', 65.
[34] Graybill, 'To Remind Us', 66, 73.

stockings in lieu of black ones, raising hems, replacing the cape dress with standard dress designs, moving from home-made to store-bought clothing). As lay historian Grace Wenger reflected in an interview with me:

> In Lancaster, change has come about because people do things and if they aren't stopped, they keep on doing them. Women would try something, and if it wasn't stopped, then it became accepted. .... I don't think there was any philosophy of change for the roles and dress of women. It's just that women were changing things and were more and more accepted.[35]

These sartorial changes *predated* official changes in the church dress codes that eventually altered to ratify women's *existing* clothing practices. This illustrates the sociological process known as cultural drift, that is, incremental cultural change, usually towards modernization.[36]

To give an example from Bradley's research on Holdeman women, she noted how women collectively incorporated small changes away from the traditional shirtwaist-style dresses with high necklines and long sleeves. As women banded together to incorporate collectively other small changes, gradually the norm itself changed. While their dresses are still plain, the style fits more closely to the body and short sleeves are permitted. Moreover, women cover the dresses with fashionable jackets and sweaters, worn with stylish shoes. According to Bradley, the ministers do not challenge these variations so long as many other women are making the same changes at the same time. Illustrating female solidarity and women's agency in adapting worldly fashion into the anti-fashion requirements, Bradley argues that women changed dress norms while upholding the spirituality that undergirds their religion.[37] I learned through my own research with conservative women that subtle changes in dress (covering strings are discontinued, size of the head covering becomes smaller, it moves farther back on the head) may be the first sign that a woman is planning to leave her community. Thus, these examples remind us of the importance of recognizing women's agency within religious dress codes.

CONCLUSION

I conclude with a word of caution. Unlike Alison Lurie's book title, there is no straightforward language of clothing.[38] One must approach the assessing of sartorial meaning with studied consideration. Meaning-making in regard to dress is subject to imitation, artifice and appropriation and what dress historian Jo Paoletti has called 'levels of performance'.[39] Moreover, sociologist

[35]Wenger interview, 15 April 1994. Beth E. Graybill, 'Nonconformed Women and Nonresistant Men: A Feminist Look at "The Anabaptist Vision" and Its Impact on Women, 1940–1960' (unpublished paper, Goshen, IN: Goshen College, 1994).
[36]Historically, some sociologists have referred to this type of slow, almost imperceptible change as cultural drift, a slow modernization of traditional practices without direct action, a cultural analogy of biology genetic drift. See Fred Eggan, 'Cultural Drift and Social Change', *Current Anthropology* 4, no. 4 (October 1963): 347–55. See also Henry C. Koerper and E. Gary Stickel, 'Cultural Drift: A Primary Process of Culture Change', *Journal of Anthropological Research* 36, no. 4 (Winter, 1980): 463–9.
[37]Bradley, 'Anti-Fashion as a Social Boundary Marker among Holdeman Mennonite Women'.
[38]Alison Lurie, *The Language of Clothes* (New York: Random House, 1981). It is true that at particular moments in the past, certain clothing styles have had symbolic and widely recognized meanings: Lurie notes how in eighteenth-century Scotland, tartan was banned by an Act of the British Parliament as a political act, and that following the Irish Rebellion of 1798, wearing emerald-coloured clothing was a life-threatening act. Yet these are exceptions that prove the rule.
[39]Jo B. Paoletti, *Pink and Blue: Telling the Boys from the Girls in America* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2012), 9.

Peter Corrigan differentiates between more knowable, public meanings and more hidden, private motives (such as gifts and appropriation, see below) that may be invisible to the sociologist:

> For example, we cannot tell by mere observation that the shirt worn by that man walking down the street was a present from his daughter, nor that the scarf bedecking the teenage girl who has just moved into our line of vision was surreptitiously removed from her older sister's wardrobe that morning. … That is, the meanings carried by dress are both the public ones familiar to sociology and relatively private ones that may be just as important to the wearers.[40]

Thus, while public meanings can be deduced from clothing, private motivations may be harder to ascertain. Likewise, Davis urged caution when attempting to assign precise meanings to clothing because such interpretation is highly 'context-dependent', based on factors such as the identity of the wearer, the occasion, the place, the company, the nuances of the wearer's social group and 'even something as vague and transient as the wearer's and the viewers' moods'.[41] With the possible exception of tee shirts, whose slogans one author has described as embodied texts and 'living graffiti',[42] the meaning of any item of apparel is seldom so concrete or concise. We do well to hold our dress interpretations lightly until backed by additional evidence of the wearers' private intentions.

In conclusion, this review of sociological theories, methods and interpretive themes/frameworks raises provocative questions and suggests productive agendas for approaching the study of dress as a significant scholarly and sociological subject applicable to many places and time periods. Within sociology and beyond, the study of dress and fashion is gradually gaining the respect and recognition that it rightly deserves.

[40]Peter Corrigan, 'The Clothes-Horse Rodeo: Or, How the Sociology of Clothing and Fashion Throws Its (w)Reiters', *Theory, Culture & Society* 10 (1993): 145–6.

[41]Davis, *Fashion, Culture, and Identity*, 8.

[42]T. R. Young, 'Dress, Drama, and Self: The Tee Shirt as Text', in *The Drama of Social Life: Essays in Post-Modern Social Psychology* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1990), 339–56.

SECTION B

Materials

CHAPTER SIX

Clothing in Marble and Bronze: The Representation of Dress in Greek and Roman Sculpture

GLENYS DAVIES

Sculptural representations, especially free-standing statues, ought to be useful as evidence for Greek and Roman dress: the figures are represented in 3-D, often life-size; they allow the sculptor to demonstrate his virtuosity by reproducing drapery and clothing details in a lifelike and convincing manner. But modern writers on dress tend to be wary of the evidence provided by sculpture and advise using it with caution.[1] Sculptors might take liberties by representing dress in a schematic way, obscuring its details, or reproducing old fashions they no longer fully understood, and they might conceivably make up costumes that never actually existed. Yet early writers such as Lillian Wilson and Margarete Bieber relied heavily on statues for their analysis and description of Greek and Roman costumes.[2] Both experimented with reproducing on living models the garments and drapery seen on classical statues, with quite convincing results: it is possible to make garments and drape them on modern men and women, suitably posed, so that they look like the dress of the statues.

Greek and Roman sculptors used drapery in ways which might not involve strict fidelity to 'real' dress. The focus of artists differed from period to period and the representation of dress was subject to changing artistic styles. Bieber's *Entwicklungsgeschichte der Griechischen Tracht* (1934)[3] includes numerous photographs of marble statues which illustrate the history of the representation of dress in Greek art rather than (as the title suggests) the development of the costume itself. In her later work on Roman copies of Greek statues[4] her main thesis is that while the replication of costume by the original (Greek Classical or Hellenistic) sculptors can be relied on as accurate,

[1]Mireille Lee, *Body, Dress and Identity in Ancient Greece* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 5–6; Mary Harlow and Marie-Louise Nosch, eds., *Greek and Roman Textiles and Dress* (Oxford: Oxbow, 2014), 8: 'Clothing in images does not translate easily into clothing as worn in real life.'
[2]Lillian M. Wilson, *The Clothing of the Ancient Romans* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1938); also *The Roman Toga* idem 1924; Margarete Bieber, *Griechische Kleidung* (Berlin, Leipzig: De Gruyter, 1928).
[3]Margarete Bieber, *Entwicklungsgeschichte der Griechischen Tracht von der vorgriechischen Zeit bis zur römischen Kaiserzeit* (Berlin: Gebrüder Mann, 1934; 2nd ed. 1967).
[4]Margarete Bieber, *Ancient Copies. Contributions to the History of Greek and Roman Art* (New York: New York University Press, 1977).

Roman copyists often got it wrong: some statues reproduce costume more accurately than others, and on some the costume is misunderstood and so may become unintelligible. Even if the dress represented appears to make sense, it may not represent what was actually worn by contemporary people, and at the very least, is likely to be idealized.

Let us assume, however, that statues give a strong visual impression of how dress was supposed to look, how drapery might behave and how garments might be draped. Bieber maintains she identified 12 basic ways and 96 variations on the way the large mantle (*himation*) might be draped by Greek men,[5] and various statue types show how it could be kept under control, by women in particular, using the hands and arms. But statues may provide unreliable evidence for the question of whether women routinely wore the mantle over their head as a veil. This chapter aims to explore the extent and ways in which draped statuary can be used as evidence for Greek and Roman dress and some of the pitfalls in attempting to do so.

GARMENT DESIGN AND IDENTIFICATION

When looking at a clothed statue an obvious question is 'What are they wearing?' One wants to define the garments and work out how they were made and worn. How easy this is often depends on the artistic style of the time and the interests of the artist. The three *korē* figures dedicated by Cheramyes at the Heraion on Samos, dating to *c.* 560 BCE, at first sight look so stylized that they cannot reproduce a 'real' costume, but they do provide a lot of information about the garments worn (see Figure 6.1 for the statue in Vathy).[6] These *korai* wear three or possibly four garments. Each wears a belted dress identifiable as a *chitōn* by the row of fastenings down her left arm with groups of folds radiating out from each one; the skirt is represented by the narrowly spaced parallel grooves running vertically down from her waist and fanning out at the bottom in a 'fishtail'. The dress is long and cut away over her feet to make them visible. Over the *chitōn* she wears a small diagonal *himation* or mantle, which is fastened on her right shoulder with a similar row of fasteners to those of the *chitōn* on the left arm, but the radiating folds are represented by bolder and more widely spaced grooves which run diagonally across her upper body. The *himation* is draped under her left arm; its lower edge arches up in the centre so her belt is visible, and its ends fall down on either side, lower on her right than the left. The third garment, usually identified as an *epiblēma* is the most difficult to fathom. This is a large piece of probably quite thin material represented without the grooves that indicated folds on the other two garments; it appears to be rectangular in shape and is worn wrapped round the *korē*. From the frontal view (Figure 6.1a) we can see that one corner has been tucked into her belt at the centre front with one edge (hem or selvedge) running vertically down on top of her skirt and the other curving down to pass under, and then probably along, her left arm (there is damage at this point which makes it unclear). Another long edge runs down her right arm which hangs down her side and grasps it in her hand (Figure 6.1b). At the lower edge the *epiblēma* ends a little above the hem of the dress, and this can also be seen on the back of the figure (Figure 6.1c). All these edges are marked by a groove running parallel to the edge itself. The *epiblēma* covers all of the back of the

[5]Ibid., 119–20.

[6]Kore in the Louvre, Paris, MA 686; kore in Berlin Staatliche Museum Sk 1750; kore in the Vathy Archaeological Museum, Samos. Katerina Karakasi, *Archaic Korai* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2003), 13–34, nos. 6, 6A and 7, pl. 4–9; Gisela M. A. Richter, *Korai. Archaic Greek Maidens* (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1988), 44–6, nos. 55 and 56, figs. 183–9.



FIGURE 6.1 Statue (*korē*) dedicated by Cheramyes from the Heraion, Samos, in Vathy Museum: (a) front; (b) side; (c) back. Photos: DAI Athens 1985 0466A, 0476, 0479.

figure except for the little bit of the skirt, with its closely spaced grooves, emerging at the bottom. It was probably worn draped over the head as a veil. But there also appear to be two parallel grooves running down the back of the figure, suggesting there were two layers of the *epiblēma*-style drapery here. Although it is not visible on the Vathy statue illustrated (because of damage), on the *korē* in the Louvre it is possible to see that there were two hems, one above the other on the left side of the back of the figure, and the two parallel grooves running down the back form a corner with the upper of the two hems, suggesting a layer over the main part of the *epiblēma*. What is not clear is whether this upper layer of cloth was part of the *epiblēma*, folded over on itself, or a separate piece of material, possibly worn as a veil. Did the sculptor have a clear idea in his own mind of how the *epiblēma* was draped, or has he created confusion by adding extra hems and edges that would not exist in reality?

Similar confusion arises with the later *korē* from the Athenian Acropolis (no. 675, see Figure 6.2).[7] Her costume again consists of a small diagonal mantle worn over a *chitōn*, but looking much fussier and more decorative than the Cheramyes *korai*'s elegant simplicity because of the addition of more complex folds and the survival of added colour and patterns. One question is how the purple-coloured drapery of small crinkly folds seen on her left breast, right upper arm and both shoulders (presumably her *chitōn*) relates to the skirt seen below the *himation* – its colour, apparent texture and decoration having more in common with the *himation* than the *chitōn*. It has also been

[7]Richter, *Korai*, 79–80, no. 123, figs. 394–7; Karakasi, *Archaic Korai*, pl. 174–5, 266–8.



FIGURE 6.2 Kore 675 from the Acropolis, Athens (in the Acropolis Museum). Photo: DAI Athens Acropolis 1338.

suggested that this form of diagonal small *himation* (seen on several other Acropolis *korai*) looks implausible and cannot easily be replicated to look like this.[8]

In addition to dress typical of large numbers of statues (such as *korai*) sculptors also recorded some unusual costumes and garments worn by smaller numbers of people, such as charioteers,[9] or the long-sleeved garment worn by the maidservant attending Hegeso on her grave stele,[10] or the *laena* and characteristic headgear worn by the Roman *Flamines* (priests of the major gods).[11]

[8]Lee states that such draping of the mantle is impossible to replicate in reality (Lee, *Body*, 6). But see Bieber (*Copies*, fig. 768) which illustrates such a *himation* convincingly draped on a living model. Presumably the *himation* consisted of a rectangular piece of material, pinned on the right shoulder but with the two ends allowed to hang freely on either side of the right arm. What is not clear to me is how the frill along the top was achieved, either on *korai* or in Bieber's reconstruction.

[9]Such as the bronze statue of a charioteer at Delphi (Judith M. Barringer, *The Art and Archaeology of Ancient Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 215, fig. 4.21) or the 'Motya charioteer' (Lee, *Body*, 112, fig. 4.16): both wear long dresses held in place by strings round the upper body.

[10]Usually identified as the *chitōn cheirodotos*: Lee, *Body* 121–2, fig. 4.22; see also stele of Myttion in the J. Paul Getty Museum: a sleeved garment which may be the *kandys* (ibid., 123, fig. 4.24).

[11]See the group of priests on the South Frieze of the Ara Pacis (Carly Daniel-Hughes, 'Belief', in *A Cultural History of Dress and Fashion in Antiquity*, ed. Mary Harlow (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), 76, fig. 4.3) and statues in Copenhagen (IN 2027, cat. 544a: Vagn Poulsen, *Les Portraits Romains*, vol. 2 (Copenhagen: Ny-Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1974), 96, no. 78 pl CXXV) and Mérida National Museum (Jonathan Edmondson, 'Public Dress and Social Control in Rome', in *Roman Dress and the Fabrics of Roman Culture*, ed. J. Edmondson and A. Keith (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), fig. 1.5).

Several historians of Greek and Roman dress have found it useful to make replicas of garments to be worn by living models: this necessitates working out the garment's shape and construction, how it was draped on the body and how it was held in place. Such information is hardly ever found in the literary sources and is primarily deduced from artistic sources, especially statues. A good case in point is the Roman toga: changes in its shape and draping over time were charted by togate statues.[12] Quintilian's remarks on the appropriate way of wearing the toga for the Roman orator of the first century CE give a certain amount of information,[13] but the size and shape to which the toga was woven and the way it was draped have to be worked out by observing the many statues made of Roman men wearing the toga. Similarly, the different ways of draping the *peplos* and *chitōn* have mostly been deduced from artistic evidence: the way the *peplos* was left open down one side (usually the wearer's right), the fasteners on the shoulders of both garments and the use of belts at the waist or under the bust are all documented by marble statues and reliefs.

Although literature seldom gives adequate descriptions or practical information about how garments were made and worn, it does provide names for garments and indicates their sociological and ideological importance. Scholars have felt the need to name garments seen in statuary with reference to literature, but art and literature do not always tally. An example of such an inexact fit is the form taken by the Roman matron's *stola*. As far as sculpture is concerned, several statues and portrait busts of Roman women show them wearing over their dress a garment which is suspended from shoulder straps of various kinds, resulting in characteristic V-shaped folds at the neckline (see Figure 6.3).[14] It is difficult to tell what happens below this level even on full-length statues, as the garment is usually covered in the *palla*, a voluminous mantle, but it is likely that the drapery which emerges below the *palla* is part of the same garment as the shoulder straps. This drapery is very full, with lots of small crinkly folds, and falls over the feet, trailing on the ground. It is usually identified, plausibly, as the *stola*. Discussion has focused on the precise structure of this garment, based on interpretations of a number of literary references to the *stola* and the *instita*, interpreted as a part of the *stola*.[15] Wilson asserted that the *instita* was a border or band sewn onto the lower edge of the dress, possibly a 'flounce'; Bieber was equally convinced that the term *instita* referred to the shoulder straps seen on the statues, also 'sewn' onto the *stola*, and had nothing to do with flounces.[16] Bieber's interpretation became the standard view,[17] but more recent commentators have resuscitated the idea that the *instita* was an added border at the bottom of the *stola* while still seeing the shoulder straps as a defining part of the garment.[18] So what was the *instita*, and what part did

[12]See Wilson, *Clothing* and *Toga*; Hans Ruprecht Goette, *Studien zu Römischen Togadarstellungen* (Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern, 1990). It is generally agreed that the Republican toga was an elongated approximately semicircular shape (though opinions differ about its exact shape), while the later imperial toga was more of an ellipse, folded over lengthways.

[13]Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria* 11.3.137-144.

[14]Statue of a woman from Pompeii, in Naples Archaeological Museum, inv. 6041.

[15]For *instita*: Horace *Satire* I.2.29; Ovid *Ars Amatoria* 1.32 *and Tristia* II.248; for *stola*: Tibullus I.65; Ovid, *Ex Ponto* III 653; *Fasti* VI 654; *Tristia* II.253.

[16]Wilson, *Clothing*, 156–9; Bieber, *Copies* 23.

[17]Judith Lynn Sebesta, 'Symbolism in the Costume of the Roman Woman', in *The World of Roman Costume*, ed. J. L. Sebesta and Larissa Bonfante (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), 49, gives a spirited defence of Bieber's view against that of Wilson. Lena Larsson Lovén also identifies the shoulder straps as *institae*: 'Roman Art: What Can It Tell Us about Dress and Textiles?' *Greek and Roman Textiles*, 268; also in 'Visual Representation', in *A Cultural History*, 148–9, where she represents the straps as the defining feature without mentioning the *instita*.

[18]Edmondson, 'Public Dress', 24; Kelly Olson, *Dress and the Roman Woman. Self-presentation and Society* (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), 27–33.



FIGURE 6.3 Statue of a woman wearing the *stola*, from Pompeii, in Naples Museum, inv. 6041. Photo: DAI Rome 76.1157.

it play in the structure of the *stola*? There does not appear to be any indication on the statues that there was a border sewn onto the bottom of the garment that has the straps, though such a border, if in a contrasting colour to the rest of the *stola*, might have been indicated in paint (which no longer survives).[19]

The straps of the (presumed) *stola* on statues and busts take such varied forms and are shown in such detail that they would seem to represent features the sculptor observed in real life. Other details of clothing also give the sculpted forms an air of verisimilitude, and the representation of selvedges, starting and closing borders and cords which end in small bobbles, knots, loops or tassels indicate how the garment was made. Hero Granger-Taylor's analysis of the tunic of the bronze togate statue known as *L'Arringatore* or *The Orator* (Figure 6.4) shows that the sculptor carefully reproduced details from which its method of manufacture can be deduced, even though only one

[19]Edmondson, 'Public Dress', 24, maintains in relation to the statue of a woman illustrated in his fig. 1.2 that 'to its bottom hem was attached a ruffle (*instita*) that covered the ankles'. However, I cannot see any evidence of the attachment of a piece of material on this image. Olson (*Dress*, 30) suggests that the border was a *limbus* and that it made the *stola* visible and recognizable even if the straps were covered by the *palla*. A contrasting colour could have been woven into the fabric of the garment rather than made separately and sewn on.

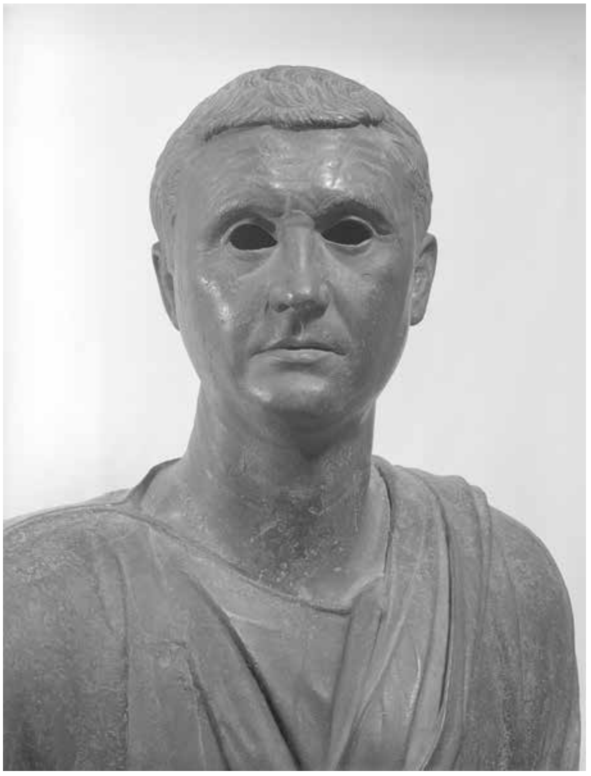


FIGURE 6.4 Bronze statue of *L'Arringatore* (*The Orator*), detail of head and shoulders. Photo: DAI Rome 63.608.

shoulder is visible.[20] The tunic was made from two pieces of cloth, sewn together at the sides (leaving room for the armhole) and on the shoulders (leaving a space for the neck). Both pieces of cloth are used sideways on: the top and bottom of the tunic were formed by the selvedges, while the two starting edges were sewn together down the figure's left side, and the two closing edges were on his right side (the side visible on the statue). Granger-Taylor deduces this from her identification of the representation of the closing cords visible down the side of the tunic and the marking of the selvedges along the top edge and neck-hole by three rows of tiny scratches. The shoulder seams show that the two pieces were sewn together with cross-stitches. Granger-Taylor similarly examines the Orator's toga, deducing that the weaving began with the straight edge: the end of the starting cord has been clearly marked at the corner on the back of the statue; the 'border' seen at the lower edge of the toga on the front of the statue, assumed by most commentators to be the purple band of the *toga praetexta*, sewn onto the curved edge of the toga, she asserts (convincingly to my mind) to be no such thing. It cannot be described as *praetexta* (woven first) and is better explained as a reinforced closing band. The artist who made this statue seems to have had a detailed

[20]The statue is in the Florence Archaeological Museum. Hero Granger-Taylor, 'Weaving Clothes to Shape in the Ancient World: The Tunic and Toga of the Arringatore', *Textile History* 13, no. 1 (1982): 3–25.

understanding of the structure of the garments represented, but this is rare, and few statues, Greek or Roman, reach this standard. Nevertheless, statues of the later Classical, Hellenistic and Roman periods often show details such as the small weights placed at the corners of the *peplos* overhang or *himation*,[21] and some drapery shows press fold lines (the marks left when garments were stored folded up in a chest): these take the form of lightly incised lines crossing at right angles to form squares. They were originally identified on drapery worn by male figures[22] but have more recently been seen on Hellenistic statues of women.[23] Their presence on a statue has been explained as an indicator of (or pretension to) high status.[24]

CHANGES IN CLOTHING FASHION AND ARTISTIC STYLE

Sculpture also documents some changes in fashion, such as the various ways of draping the toga[25] or the popularity of the *peplos* as opposed to the *chitōn*, but it is not a reliable guide to the fashions actually worn at the time the statue was made. The Roman sculptors who made portrait statues of women, for example, reiterated types such as the large and small Herculaneum women which represent not contemporary fashions but those of a much earlier era.[26] Similarly in the Classical period it seems the *peplos*, popular with sculptors, was in real life an old-fashioned garment, worn primarily on special ritual occasions.[27]

The representation of drapery in sculpture manifests quite dramatic changes in artistic style, which raises the question of the extent to which, and how, these artistic changes relate to the appearance of clothing worn at the time. Sculptors were interested in drapery for a variety of reasons and used it for a number of artistic purposes which made mimetic accuracy a secondary consideration. So can we rely on them to represent drapery that looks like the fabrics and garments available in their day, draped in ways people actually wore them and behaving as drapery really did? Early Archaic sculptors experimented with the representation of drapery in stone, at first

[21]See Bieber, *Ancient Copies*, 91, fig. 409 (statue of a maenad in the Villa Albani); 153, figs. 664–5 (the original 'large Herculaneum woman' in Dresden); and 169, figs. 752–5 (statues of Vestal Virgins in the Atrium Vestae, Rome).

[22]Rhys Carpenter, *Greek Sculpture. A Critical Review* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1960), 210–11, 215, noted press folds on the *himation* of some Hellenistic statues (such as 'Maussolus') but thought they were only used on statues of men. Fold or press lines have also been identified on the Arringatore (Granger-Taylor, op. cit.) and a bronze statue of Marcus Aurelius (Edmondson and Keith, *Roman Dress*, fig. 3.8)

[23]Sheila Dillon, *The Female Portrait Statue in the Greek World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 78 (Nikeso) and 92–3, fig. 42 (a statue from Kos); Joan Breton Connelly, *Portrait of a Priestess* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2007), 151–2, fig. 5.20 (statue of Theophania).

[24]Michael Koortbojian, 'The Double Identity of Roman Portrait Statues: Costumes and Their Symbolism at Rome', *Roman Dress*, 80; Kelly Olson, 'Status', in Harlow, *Cultural History*, 113–14.

[25]Goette provides a typological catalogue of the various ways the toga could be draped according to the many extant statues of men wearing the toga. Although some of these styles came into vogue later than others, different styles could coexist as the so-called Brothers Sarcophagus in Naples (inv. 6603; Goette, *Togadarstellungen*, 161, S32, pl. 74) shows.

[26]For these two statue types, see Jens Daehner, ed., *The Herculaneum Women: History, Context, Identities* (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2007), esp. chapters 3–5; for their dress, see Glenys Davies, 'Clothes as Sign: The Case of the Large and Small Herculaneum Women', in *Women's Dress in the Ancient Greek World*, ed. Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones (London and Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 2002), 227–42; for an explanation of their replication, see Jennifer Trimble, *Women and Visual Replication in Roman Imperial Art and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

[27]Mireille Lee, 'Constru(ct)ing Gender in the Feminine Greek *Peplos*', in *The Clothed Body in the Ancient World*, ed. L. Cleland, M. Harlow and L. Llewellyn-Jones (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2005), 59–61; Dillon, *Female Portrait Statue*, 78–82; Larsson-Lovén, 'Visual Representation', 138–9.

representing clothing as solid foldless masses,[28] but by the time of the Cheramyes *korai* (Figure 6.1) sculptors are beginning to use grooves forming repeated patterns to represent folds and to suggest different weights and textures of cloth. The late Archaic style of the end of the sixth century as seen in the series of *korai* from the Acropolis develops this further: on Kore no. 675 (Figure 6.2) the texture of the upper part of the *chitōn* (crinkly and crepe-like, painted purple) contrasts with the skirt and diagonal mantle, which shows the flat stacked folds and zigzag ends typical of the time. Bieber maintains that even these highly stylized drapery patterns reflect observation of how drapery behaves: each 'motif' is realistic in itself, though its repetition may result in what looks like an unrealistic pattern.[29] For the dress historian the question is how far this artistic style reflects the actual drapery styles of the time: did young women attempt to drape their clothing to form flat pleats and zigzag folds, and if so, how?[30] Early Classical sculpture saw a dramatic change: out went fussy and regimented sharp-edged folds and instead we see softly modelled *peploi* with more naturalistically varied folds, giving the impression they are made of soft wool.[31] Later Classical periods saw further experimentation with more natural-looking drapery, but at the same time sculptors were interested in other aspects of the representation of drapery, in particular its relationship with the body it covers. Since female figures could not at this time be represented completely nude, drapery, paradoxically, became one tool for exploring the contours of the naked female body, and sculptors found ways of showing the female form through a layer of cloth. The backs of some late Archaic *korai* already show the fabric of their *chitōn* pulled so tightly across their buttocks and thighs that their shape is revealed, and this use of transparency was developed further by Classical sculptors. Carpenter identified a number of formal devices:[32] transparency is one, but also catenaries (the U-shaped folds created when cloth is suspended from two points),[33] the modelling line and motion line. At its most extreme in the High Classical style the body may look nude apart from raised ridges representing fabric running across it, resulting in what is sometimes described as 'wetlook' drapery (Figure 6.5):[34] these ridges and folds were used to form complex irregular patterns that help to articulate the body and reflect the mood of the figure wearing it, as can be seen on the well-known figure of 'Aphrodite' from the east pediment of the Parthenon.[35]

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[28]Such as the Lady of Auxerre and Nikandre: Barringer, *Art and Archaeology*, 104, fig. 2.37.

[29]Bieber, *Copies*, 20–1.

[30]Lee (*Body*, 95) suggests the pleated look could be achieved by gathering fine cloth (as with the modern sari), fixing by sewing, or even glue, but she also questions whether these late archaic statues are accurate reflections of the clothing styles of the time.

[31]For example, the headless statue from Xanthos in the British Museum *c.* 470–60 BCE (see John Boardman, *Greek Sculpture: The Classical Period* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1985), 32, fig. 15). Similar statues can be seen in the Ny-Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen and in the Capitoline Collection (Centrale Montemartini). Also similar are the figures of Sterope and Hippodameia on the east pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia: see Barringer, *Art and Archaeology*, 210, fig. 4.15.

[32]Carpenter, *Greek Sculpture*, 139–57: these formal devices are useful to think with but do not entirely answer the questions raised by the dress historian.

[33]Used, for example, to stabilize the rather ungainly pose of the Nike adjusting her sandal from the parapet round the temple of Nike on the Acropolis, Athens, *c.* 410 BCE. Carpenter, *Greek Sculpture*, 143, pl. XXIII, left; Barringer, *Art and Archaeology*, 244–5, fig. 4.53b.

[34]Nereid (a figure representing a breeze) used on the Nereid Monument from Lycia, now in the British Museum, *c.* 390–80 BCE.

[35]The group is variously identified but may represent Aphrodite reclining in the lap of her mother Dione. The drapery of this figure is often singled out by art historians as an example of High Classical virtuosity in carving drapery: see Barringer, *Art and Archaeology*, 232.

On figures supposed to be in motion areas of transparent 'windblown' drapery contrast with the deep folds billowing out behind the figure, making the two areas of cloth seem impossibly different in weight and texture.[36] Even when not representing figures in dramatic movement or near nudity sculptors still delighted in exploring the ways in which fabrics behave, the patterns created by folds and their own virtuosity in recreating the different textures of fabric in marble or bronze. Particularly impressive in this respect is the 'fabric-through-fabric' effect developed by Hellenistic sculptors and used especially on portrait statues of women in the second century BCE. These figures appear to wear a large *himation* so thin and see-through that the folds of the dress are visible through it (see Figure 6.6).[37] With all of these sculptural representations the dress historian wants to know to what extent the sculptor has reproduced reality and how much is fantasy and embellishment. What fabrics could have produced effects like this?



FIGURE 6.5 Nereid (a figure representing a breeze) used on the Nereid Monument from Lycia, now in the British Museum, *c.* 390–80 BCE. Photo: Art Resource 438346.

[36]For example, Nike of Paionios in Olympia, *c.* 420 BCE: see Carpenter, *Greek Sculpture*, 149, pl. XXIV; Barringer, *Art and Archaeology*, 213–14, fig. 4.20; the Nike of Samothrace (in the Louvre): Barringer *op. cit.* 330, fig. 6.42 (*c.* 170–155 BCE).

[37]Carpenter, *Greek Sculpture*, 209–10, dates the popularity of this device to the second century BCE; examples of its use can be seen in Dillon, *Female Portrait Statues*, figs. 38 (Diodora on Delos), 39–41 (Cleopatra on Delos), 42 (statue in the Asklepieion, Kos).



FIGURE 6.6 Hellenistic statue of a woman with diaphanous mantle: Statue of Diodora from Delos. Photo: DAI Rome 62.1991.

TEXTURES AND TEXTILES

Sculptors experimented with the representation of different textures and weights of cloth, especially in the fifth century BCE, a time when the two main fibres used for clothing were flax (linen) and wool. The different textures of these fabrics appear to have been explored in the drapery of female figures of the early part of the century, but draped figures were also represented wearing fabrics which appear crepe-like (the purple garment worn by Kore 675 in Figure 6.2) or very thin and clingy and in places transparent (Figure 6.5). Until recently little was known about Greek textiles of this period because very little actual fabric has been preserved and what there was had not been fully analysed with modern techniques, but this is changing.[38] A combination of scientific investigation and experimental archaeology has made it possible

[38]For work on ancient textiles in general, see the Centre for Textile Research in Copenhagen and the Hellenic Centre for Research and Conservation of Archaeological Textiles. Also, the publications in the Oxbow Ancient Textiles Series, especially Carole Gillis and Marie-Louise Nosch, eds., *Ancient Textiles: Production, Craft and Society* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2007); Harlow and Nosch, *Greek and Roman Textiles*, and Stella Spantidaki, *Textile Production in Classical Athens* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2016).

to suggest what spinning and weaving techniques might have produced the effects visible on the statues. Spantidaki's study of the textiles preserved from fifth-century Attica suggests that a crinkly, crepe-like effect could be produced by using hard-twisted threads, and transparency could be achieved by using fine-spun threads (most likely linen) and a loose weave/low thread count, possibly with the help of a coating of olive oil.[39] A wide variety of fabrics, with different appearances and textures, could be made using flax and wool by varying the fineness and degree of twist in the thread and the thread count of both warp and weft. The sculptors may well have reproduced the appearance of linen and woollen fabrics available in their own day, even the most extreme 'wetlook' varieties (Figure 6.5), but modern commentators are often seduced by the possibility that the material represented is silk. This is perhaps more plausible for the later diaphanous fabrics represented on Hellenistic portrait statues (see Figure 6.6), but the availability of silk is still debatable.[40] In literature (especially Roman) silk is seen as the epitome of decadence and immorality, not just because of its transparency but also because it was expensive and exotic. This reputation applied especially to clothing from Kos ('Coan vestes'), which was probably made from wild silk (though silk too could be woven in ways that create a variety of textures and was not necessarily transparent, despite its reputation).[41] But luxury and unusual fabrics could have been made from fibres other than silk, and their fibre content is not easily discernible from the sculpted image.[42]

The lengths to which sculptors might go to represent the texture of fabric in marble can be seen in a recent analysis of the surface treatment of the togate statue of Fundilius in Copenhagen: the tunic was finished using files, rasps and abrasives on a smoothed surface, allowing the contours of the chest to be visible, while the toga is carved with chisels and the running drill to represent a heavier fabric with deep folds, and the surface was polished then scratched in a criss-cross pattern to suggest the soft nap.[43] The best-quality togate statues, such as that of Augustus from the Via Labicana,[44] also express in marble not only the complexity of the draping of the imperial toga, and the superb control of it by its wearer, but also the texture of the softly draped wool from which it was made: one wonders whether this was one of the garments reputedly made for him at home by his female relatives, as Suetonius suggests.[45] Modern reconstructions of garments such as the toga seldom look quite convincing, mainly because the materials used are not of quite good enough

[39]Spantidaki, *Textile Production*, 37 and 44, for crepe; 27 and 54–5, for transparency of linen woven loosely with fine threads; 27 for the suggestion that olive oil could be used to increase transparency.

[40]Silk may have been available by the late Hellenistic period, but most of the literary references are later than this: Wilson, *Clothing* 4–5; Lee, *Body*, 91. For a discussion of the possible presence of silk in the fabric remains dating to the Classical period and earlier, see Spantidaki, *Textile Production*, 24. Carpenter (*Greek Sculpture*, 210) suggests that fine diaphanous fabrics made of 'vegetable silk' were in use from the early third century BCE, but it is not clear what he means by this.

[41]Olson, *Dress*, 14 and 95; Lee, *Body*, 196.

[42]For example the *himation* worn by Nikeso, the subject of a marble portrait statue from Priene, in Berlin Antikensammlung Sk 1928, may well reproduce the appearance of a textile made in the later Hellenistic period and actually worn by her. See Dillon, *Female Portrait Statue*, 16, fig. 2 (cast), 77–8, 124–7, fig. 65 (back); Connelly, *Priestess*, 136, fig. 5.12. Dillon (*Female Portrait Statue*, 78) comments that Nikeso's mantle looks like a pleated silk Fortuny dress.

[43]Amalie Skovmøller, 'Where Marble Meets Colour: Surface Texturing of Hair, Skin and Dress on Roman Marble Portraits as Support for Painted Polychromy', *Greek and Roman Textiles*, 286–93.

[44]National Museum of Rome, inv. 56230, on display in the Palazzo Massimo: Goette, *Togadarstellungen*, Ba32.

[45]Suetonius, *Augustus,* 73.

quality to match the sculptures[46] – or is it that the artists represented an ideal that improved upon the actual clothing of their day?

CONCLUSION

The dress historian looking at statues and relief sculpture as evidence needs to bear in mind the artistic style of the time and the interests of the sculptor as an artist, but also the purpose of the statue and who it represents. While it is possible that a portrait statue such as that of Diodora (Figure 6.6) represents a costume this individual actually wore,[47] even statues with portrait heads usually have bodies dressed in an ideal costume, appropriate clothing for their position and role in society, but not necessarily worn by the individual concerned. The costume chosen for the statue might reflect the represented person's role as priest/priestess, magistrate, respected matron or as a young unmarried maiden taking part in a religious ceremony, rather than everyday dress.[48] Even the toga appears to have been a garment only worn on specific occasions, and for many Roman citizens might not have been worn at all, despite the large number of togate statues.[49] Many clothed statues indeed do not represent real people at all but divinities and heroes (such as the Nereid in Figure 6.5), who wear costumes that would hardly be suitable for respectable mortal women. But it seems some priestesses were represented dressed like the goddesses they served, and it is not always easy to tell the two apart.[50] Nevertheless, these statues remain the best evidence we have for how Greek and Roman clothing might have looked, especially how it was draped, the range of textiles available and how fashions changed over time.

[46]Wilson remarks that to make a convincing toga 'the material used must be exceedingly pliable and of such texture that it will fall naturally into graceful curving folds'. She suggests as ideal 'a soft, pliable flannel' – but points out that as the average toga requires 12 to 15 yards, the cost would be prohibitive (*Clothing*, 49: photographs of her reconstructions on living models appear in figs. 28, 30, 32, 36, 38, 40, 42, 44). These togas drape better than those reconstructed by Goette (*Togadarstellungen*, colour plate and beilage 2), whose fabric is too thick and heavy, like a blanket.

[47]Dillon notes that the later Hellenistic style of dress, with a thin mantle worn so the *chitōn's* folds could be seen through it, seems to have been a fashion only used for statues of mortal women, not goddesses, who tend to wear more traditional 'Classical' drapery (especially the *peplo*s worn without a tunic underneath). See Dillon, *Female Portrait Statue*, 62–3 (dating); 78–9 (goddesses); 87–9 (portrait statues, Pudicitia format).

[48]For example, the amount of concealing drapery worn by mature women in statue types such as the large Herculaneum woman or the *peplos* and back mantle which seem to have been worn by young women specifically on ceremonial occasions in the Classical period.

[49]The average toga would also not have been in reality so splendid a garment as the statues suggest. See Michele George, 'The "Dark Side" of the Toga', in *Roman Dress*, 94–112.

[50]Connelly, *Portrait of a Priestess*, 104–7; Dillon, *Female Portrait Statue*, 79–82; Daniel-Hughes, 'Belief', 77–9.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Greek Dress from the Inscriptional Evidence

LAURA GAWLINSKI

One of the challenges of studying the past is the fragmentation of information across multiple kinds of sources.[1] No single source-type provides all the answers, and each category comes with particular challenges and opportunities. This chapter focuses on what inscriptions bring to the investigation of ancient Greek dress.[2] Rather than striving to be exhaustive, I present the types of evidence epigraphy offers, outlining the main categories and the major documents that are the most valuable. Most of the texts cited cluster in the classical and Hellenistic periods, and although they skew towards Attica, where the epigraphic habit was so pronounced, there are also some important classes of texts (like priest sales) that are strikingly non-Athenian.[3] It is notable that the bulk of the relevant inscriptions are related to ritual practices and religious spaces in some way, whether explicitly, as in lists of dedications to deities, or more tangentially, as in accounts of clothing supplied for the construction workers in sanctuaries.

Inscriptions contain data that can be applied to a range of aspects of ancient Greek dress: production and sale, the types of dress objects that existed and their use in various social settings. There is overlap across these broad categories, of course; a document whose purpose is to regulate garments typically includes details about the form and colour of those garments. The study of much of this material has tended to concentrate on textiles, but all components of dress are attested, from accessories and cosmetics to the way it all came together on a living body in a wider community.

[1]I am grateful to the staff at the excavations of the Athenian Agora for coordinating access to material and photographs: Sylvie Dumont, Pia Kvarnström, Aspasia Efstathiou, Maria Tziotziou and Craig Mauzy. I benefited from discussions with Edward Harris about the Greek economy, and I thank Katherine Harrington for sharing her work on textile production in Building Z in the Kerameikos.

[2]The most useful introduction to Greek epigraphy in English remains Arthur G. Woodhead, *The Study of Greek Inscriptions*, 2nd edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981). The texts of many Greek inscriptions are available through *The Packard Humanities Institute (PHI)-Searchable Greek Inscriptions*, last updated July 13, 2020, https://inscriptions.packhum.org. A number of Attic inscriptions with translation and brief commentary can be found at *Attic Inscriptions Online (AIO)*, last updated July 23, 2020, https://www.atticinscriptions.com. Standard abbreviations used in this chapter include *IG* = *Inscriptiones Graecae* (Berlin: De Gruyter) and *SEG* = *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecae* (Leiden: Brill).

[3]For the evidence from Linear B for cloth production in the Mycenaean Bronze Age, see Brendan Burke, *From Minos to Midas: Ancient Cloth Production in the Aegean and in Anatolia* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2010), 64–107.

PRODUCTION AND SALE

Greek inscriptions are not especially rich in the particulars of the process of creating dress items nor in the specifics about their function in the economy. There is a single inscribed law, probably from Erythrai in Asia Minor, that regulates the wool trade (*IErythrai* 15, fourth century BCE).[4] It demands honesty in weighing (lines 2–4), denotes when and in what circumstances wool can be sold (only till mid-day, never when it rains, lines 7–9) and polices the quality of wool (e.g. no one can sell from a year-old sheep, lines 9–11). The remainder of the texts offer information that is far more incidental. A major point of contention concerns textiles: because they are principally associated with women's work, scholars question how they fit into the wider Greek economy, particularly how much was produced for home use and how much might have been sold externally on the market.[5] Epigraphy plays an important role in this and other economic debates through two types of texts, inscriptions that refer to items of manufacture and their manufacturers, and writing found on the actual objects used in production, such as stamps on loomweights.

Inscriptions occasionally mention the titles of professions involved in the production or sale of textiles and other dress items. Taken together with similar references in the literary sources, these help build a technical vocabulary, attest the existence of particular professionals and suggest the methods by which labour was organized.[6] Some of these citations take on additional value when read in context. For example, a decree honouring foreigners who had joined Thrasyboulos in the uprising of the democracy against the Thirty after the Athenian defeat in the Peloponnesian War (401/0 BCE) lists their occupations: among them are a tanner ([β]ụρσο, col. iii, line 3), shoe-seller (σκυτοπώ, col. iii, line 11), wool-seller (ἐριοπ, col. iv, line 18) and fuller (γναφ, col. iv, line 21).[7] This text is a glimpse into the specialization of tasks behind dress fabrication and, because the men listed are not citizens, also into the social and political positions of at least some of those who did these tasks. In a document that collates the expenses and revenues for the Eleusinian sanctuaries, one finds an entry for the purchase of felt hats made by a woman named Thettale: πῖλοι/τοῖς δημοσίοις

[4]Helmut Engelmann and Reinhold Merkelbach, *Die Inschriften von Erythrai und Klazomenai. Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien* I (Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 1972), 69–74. For an English translation with brief commentary, see Ilias Arnaoutoglou, *Ancient Greek Laws: A Sourcebook* (London: Routledge, 1998), no. 38, 40–1.
[5]On this issue, see Barbara Tsakirgis, 'Whole Cloth: Exploring the Question of Self-Sufficiency through the Evidence for Textile Manufacture and Purchase in Greek Houses', in *The Ancient Greek Economy: Markets, Households and City-States*, ed. Edward M. Harris, David M. Lewis and Mark Woolmer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 166–86; and Giorgos Sanidas, 'Artisanat en Grèce et espace économique: le textile et la métallurgie', in *L'artisanat en Grèce ancienne. Filières de production: bilans, méthodes et perspectives*, ed. Francine Blondé (Villeneuve-d'Ascq: Presses universitaires du Septentrion; Athens: École française d'Athènes, 2016), 15–30.
[6]Stella Spantidaki, *Textile Production in Classical Athens* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2016), 145–72, lists terms related to textile manufacture. On professions in Athens more generally, see Edward M. Harris, 'Workshop, Marketplace and Household: The Nature of Technical Specialization in Classical Athens and Its Influence on Economy and Society', in *Money, Labour and Land: Approaches to the Economies of Ancient Greece*, ed. Paul Cartledge, Edward E. Cohen and Lin Foxhall (London: Routledge, 2002), 67–99, especially the testimonia for occupations, 88–97. See also Harris's list of women's occupations: Edward M. Harris, 'Wife, Household, and Marketplace: The Role of Women in the Economy of Classical Athens', in *Donne che contano nella Storia greca*, ed. Umberto Bultrighini and Elisabetta Dimauro (Lanciano: Carabba, 2015), 203–4.
[7]P. J. Rhodes and Robin Osborne, *Greek Historical Inscriptions, 404–323 BC* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 20–7 (no. 4). I follow their arrangement and numbering of the text here.

παρὰ Θεττάλης: ΔΙΙ (*I.Eleusis* 177 [*IG* II^2 1672], 329/8 BCE, lines 70–1).[8] This is a rare but striking example that shows a woman – a named woman, no less – participating in the extra-domestic economy.

The most significant corpus of inscriptions that have a bearing on textile production for the market and the identity of the producers are the Athenian *phialai*-inscriptions of the latter part of the fourth century BCE. This series of *stelai* record the dedication of silver *phialai* (offering bowls) by individuals who had been acquitted in a trial, generally following the formula 'x, living in [deme], [profession], escaped y, son of yy, of [deme], *phialē* by weight 100'.[9] The social status of the dedicators and the nature of the trial have been much disputed; traditionally, these texts had been read as related to the manumission of slaves, but Elizabeth Meyer's reinterpretation of them as inventories of dedications resulting from the unsuccessful prosecution of metics (resident aliens) for failure to pay the metic tax has gained much support. These lists are relevant for Greek dress because many of the metics are listed as being *talasiourgoi*, wool-workers. The term appears at least fifty-one times, and when the associated name is preserved, that name is female; *talasiourgoi* make up about 81 per cent of the occupations done by women in these inscriptions.[10] Views on the identity of these female producers are divided; especially at issue is the possible connection between wool-working and sex work. Many scholars are convinced that these statistics are proof that textiles were produced for the wider Athenian market by skilled specialists, but others have argued that these women were involved in prostitution, perhaps only doing wool-working on the side.[11] These debates over the precise identification of the *talasiourgoi* have clear ramifications for how we understand the connections between women and work, the social status of workers and the participants in the ancient Athenian economy.

Objects used in the home – *instrumenta domestica* – also allow for fruitful pursuit of the economics of Greek textiles. Of the writing found on textile implements, stamps pressed into

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[8]Kevin Clinton, *Eleusis. The Inscriptions on Stone: Documents of the Sanctuary of the Two Goddesses and Public Documents of the Deme*, vol. 1A (Athens: The Archaeological Society at Athens, 2005), 188–206; vol. 2 (Athens: The Archaeological Society at Athens, 2008), 176–241. These hats were purchased to clothe the slaves who worked on building projects in the sanctuary. Cf. *IEleusis* 159 (*IG* II^2 1673), 336/5 or 333/2 BCE, lines 45–9 (Clinton, *Eleusis*, 1A:163-169 and 2:151-64), where the slaves working in the sanctuary are fitted with tunics (*exomides*), felt caps (*piloi*) and shoes (*hypodumata*) from the sanctuary funds.

[9]Elizabeth A. Meyer, *Metics and the Athenian Phialai-Inscriptions*. Historia Einzelschriften 208 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2010), 12–13. Meyer provides commentary and interpretation alongside a full republication of the texts: *IG* II^2 1553–78; Agora inv. I 3183 (*SEG* 18.36); and *SEG* 21.561, 25.178, 25.180, 44.68 and 46.180.

[10]Guy Labarre, 'Les métiers du textile en Grèce ancienne', *Topoi* 8 (1998): 792–8; see also Meyer, *Metics*, 15, n. 19, who restores two additional *talasiourgoi* and summarizes the variant interpretations concerning number of occupations. There are occupations in these texts that relate to the manufacture of other dress items, but it is the *talasiourgoi* who have received the most attention.

[11]Edward E. Cohen, 'Free and Unfree Sexual Work. An Economic Analysis of Athenian Prostitution', in *Prostitutes and Courtesans in the Ancient World*, ed. Christopher A. Faraone and Laura K. McClure (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006), 101–8; and Kelly L. Wrenhaven, 'The Identity of the "Wool-Workers" in the Attic Manumissions', *Hesperia* 78 (2009): 367–86, both hold that the *talasiourgoi* were involved in sex work, with the latter arguing the term was euphemistic. Meyer, *Metics*, 70; Labarre, 'Les métiers', 795–9; and Morris Silver, *Slave-Wives, Single Women and 'Bastards' in the Ancient Greek World: Law and Economics Perspective* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2018), 157–8, argue that they were female textile workers, not *hetairai*-spinners. The suggestion that the term referred to 'wives' of fellow manumitted men has mostly fallen out of the debate, Vincent J. Rosivach, '*Talasiourgoi* and *Paidia* in *IG* 2^2 1553–78: A Note on Athenian Social History', *Historia* 38 (1989): 365–6. For an accessible introduction to the debate around the relationship between prostitution and textile manufacturing, see also James N. Davidson, *Courtesans and Fishcakes: The Consuming Passions of Classical Athens* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), 83–91.

loomweights are of particular interest since their application before firing associates them with the point of production rather than use.[12] In order to get a broader view of how loomweights fit into the economic system, Mark Lawall has studied them alongside amphoras, focusing on regionalism, distinctive shapes and permanent markings.[13] He traces an intensification of economic complexity and specialization, partly attested by stamping, that peaks in the Late Hellenistic period. The most complicated system of loomweight stamps first appears in Corinth in the second half of the fourth century BCE: the double-stamped loomweights, many of which have also been found in Athens, feature a stamp with letters, paired with a smaller gem-stamp or die with an image (Figure 7.1).[14] How these stamps functioned is still not fully understood. They must be associated with workshops in some way, but the fact that many of the same stamp types are found on both Corinthian and Athenian loomweights, and that there were multiple stamps with variations on the same words (e.g. both ΜΕΛ and ΜΕΛΙ are attested), prevents a simple answer. Similarly, Simone Killen has catalogued fifty lead loomweights marked with *parasema* (official markings), almost all from Ionia and Caria; although most lack a solid findspot they are probably Late Hellenistic.[15] *Parasema* do not necessarily indicate state use, and Killen proposes several possible functions for these weights, such as the production of official votive garments or the regulation of textiles. The practice of stamping loomweights – despite the elusive details – indicates that although most textile production was domestic, there were larger community or even civic influences involved. Greek women had to acquire their loomweights from ceramicists, connecting the two crafts, and the interest in textile manufacturing, to varying degrees, extended beyond the household.



FIGURE 7.1 The variety of stamped loomweights found in the Athenian Agora: (a) Agora MC 355; (b) MC 397; (c) MC 498; (d) MC 593; and (e) MC 964. Photos: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Agora Excavations.

[12]Important, but less pertinent to this study of dress, are loomweights inscribed after firing to mark ownership or dedication as a votive.

[13]Mark L. Lawall, 'Transport Amphoras and Loomweights: Integrating Elements of Ancient Greek Economies?' in *Greek and Roman Textiles and Dress: An Interdisciplinary Anthology*, ed. Mary Harlow and Marie-Louise Nosch (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2014), 168–80.

[14]Lawall, 'Transport Amphoras', 168–9. For Corinth, Gladys R. Davidson, *The Minor Objects*. Corinth: Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens 12 (Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1952), 146–72 (with brief references to the Agora loomweights illustrated here). For the Pnyx at Athens, Gladys R. Davidson and Dorothy Burr Thompson, *Small Objects from the Pnyx* I. Hesperia Suppl. 7 (Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1943), 65–94. See Gloria S. Merker, *The Greek Tile Works at Corinth: The Site and the Finds*. Hesperia Suppl. 35 (Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2006), 57–72, for other, earlier stamps and inscriptions at Corinth.

[15]Simone Killen, *Parasema: Offizielle Symbole griechischer Poleis und Bundesstaaten*. Archäologische Forschungen 36 (Weisbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2017), 38–43.

TYPES OF DRESS OBJECTS

What kind of dress objects were popular in ancient Greece? What were their materials, decorations and styles? These kinds of questions can be addressed through the study of assorted inscribed lists, especially inventories that track dedications, and, to a lesser extent, registries of property sales. These records are extraordinarily valuable because there are so few preserved textiles from Greece in this period, and other items of dress like jewellery often lack a secure provenance. The bulk of our evidence about form, fabric, colour and design elements derives from inscriptions.

Most famous of the inscribed lists of clothing dedications are those associated with the worship of Artemis Brauronia. These *stelai* were found both at her sanctuary in Brauron and as copies set up on the Acropolis at her 'satellite' shrine, the Brauronion; the latter are the ones that have been published and studied thus far (*IG* II^2 1514–25, 1528–31).[16] They represent inventories of the items dedicated at Brauron in several different years between 349/8 and 336/5 BCE, the greatest portion of which were garments. This short excerpt provides a glimpse at the kind of information included (*IG* II^2 1514, col. ii, lines 12–20):

Θεμιστοκλέους ἄρχοντος· χιτωνίσκος ἁλουργὸ- ^{v}
ς ποικίλος ἐμ πλαισίωι, Θυαίν(η) καὶ Μαλθάκη ἀνέθ[η]-
κεν· χιτωνίσκος ποικίλος ἐμ πλαισίωι ἁλουργός, $^{v?}$
15 Ο[.]ΤΑΣΩ[.]Α, Εὐκολίνη ἀνέθηκεν· Φίλη ζῶμα· Φείδυλλ[α]
ἱμάτιον λευκὸν γυναικεῖον ἐμ πλαισίωι· Μνησὼ β[α]-
τραχίδα· Ναυσὶς ἱμάτιον γυναικεῖον πλατυαλουρ-
γὲς περι[κυ]μάτιον· Κλεὼ ἀμπέχονον· Φίλη περιήγητ-
ον· Τ[ε]ισικράτεια κάνδυν ποικίλον· Μέλιττα ἱμάτι-
20 ον λευκὸν καὶ χιτωνίσκον, ῥάκος

When Themistokles was archon (348/7): a purple *chitōniskos*,
patterned all over, in a case, dedicated by Thuaine and Malthake:
a *chitōniskos*, patterned, purple, in a case
[*indecipherable*] dedicated by Eukoline: Phile, a girdle: Pheidulla
a white woman's *himation* in a case: Mneso a
frog-coloured garment: Nausis a woman's *himation* with a wide purple
wavy border all around: Kleo an *ampechonon*-wrap: Phile, a bordered garment:
Teisikrateia, a patterned *kandys*: Melitta, a white
himation and a *chitōniskos rhakos*.[17]

Cecilie Brøns has investigated these lists alongside the other extant records of textile dedications and identified the salient features about the identity of the deities, description of the clothing and

[16]The clothing sections of these texts have been examined by Liza Cleland, *The Brauron Clothing Catalogues: Text, Analysis, Glossary and Translation* BAR-IS 1428 (Oxford: John and Erica Hedges Ltd., 2005). See also Tullia Linders, *Studies in the Treasure Records of Artemis Brauronia Found in Athens* (Stockholm: Swedish Institute at Athens, 1972), which also includes discussion of the other objects inventoried. For Brauron, see also Cecilie Brøns, this volume.

[17]Translation by Cleland, *Brauron*, 132, with my minor adaptations to the *IG* text and the translation for the unreadable portion of line 15.

the representation of the dedicators.[18] The quoted sample text displays the richness of the types of garments, materials and even their condition. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the predominant garments are the *himation* and *chitōn*, though here as *chitōniskos*, the diminutive, which refers to the short version of this common women's garment. But next to these typical Greek garments is a *kandys* (line 19), a sleeved garment deriving from Persia. One *chitōniskos* is described as being a *rhakos* (line 20), or rag. This term appears frequently in the Brauron texts and its precise meaning is debated; it refers to the state of the garment at the time of dedication and indicates it was worn beforehand, too. Finally, even this short passage is instructive for just how much we need to remember to see the ancient world in colour and patterns: there are purple, white and delightfully descriptive 'frog-coloured' garments (lines 16–17), with various patterns and borders.[19]

Other types of dress items in inventories have received somewhat less attention but are also present. The Brauron inventories, for example, are arranged by material of dedicated objects, and some sections include jewellery offered by women (e.g. *IG* II^2 1517A, a list of gold). Among the dedications stored in various parts of the Parthenon, records mention stone bead bracelets, sealstones of precious stone and glass, earrings of gold and silver, headbands and gold belts; for some, the entry is elaborated, such as a gold necklace decorated with twenty rosettes and a ram's head (*IG* II^2 1376, lines 1–3, *c*. 400 BCE).[20] Jewellery appears in these and other sanctuary lists at least partly because of its intrinsic value; when made of metal, pieces can be melted down if necessary, and usually the weight is even noted. But these offerings also reflect deeply personal decisions, since most of the objects were likely worn at some time, and they thus testify to the dress of ancient Greece.

In addition to dedication and inventory lists, there are also the so-called Attic Stelai, the inscribed lists that were set up in the city Eleusinion, recording the sale of the items confiscated from those who were put on trial for profaning the mysteries or mutilating the herms (*IG* I^3 421–30, 414 BCE).[21] These are a window into what the aristocracy owned: in addition to assets like land and houses, the inscriptions also record the moveable property that was within those households.[22] Of particular interest for dress are the lists of clothing and shoes (Figure 7.2); jewellery and other kinds of adornment are absent.[23] These include many *himatia*, a number of them grouped together

[18]Cecilie Brøns, 'Textiles and Temple Inventories: Detecting an Invisible Votive Tradition in the Greek Sanctuaries in the Second Half of the First Millennium BC', in *Tradition: Transmission of Culture in the Ancient World*, ed. Jane Fejfer, Mette Moltesen and Annette Rathje (Copenhagen: Collegium Hyperboreum and Museum Tusculanum Press, 2015), 57–70. The other lists containing a substantial number of textile dedications include several from the sanctuaries of Delos as well as inscriptions from Tanagra (*SEG* 43.212, face B), Thebes (*IG* VII 2421), Samos (*IG* XII 6,1 261) and Miletus (Peter Herrmann, Wolfgang Günther and Norbert Ehrhardt, *Inschriften von Milet* 6.3 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2006), no. 1357, 213–15).

[19]On these terms, see Cleland, *Brauron*, 110–11 (*chitōniskos*), 116–17 (*kandys*), 126 (*rhakos*), 109 (*batrachis*). On colour, see also Cecilie Brøns, this volume.

[20]Diane Harris, *The Treasures of the Parthenon and Erechtheion* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 40–103. Similar types of offerings are found in inventories from Delos (Richard Hamilton, *Treasure Map: A Guide to the Delian Inventories* [Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000]) and the sanctuary of Asklepius at Athens (Sara B. Aleshire, *The Athenian Asklepieion: The People, Their Dedications, and the Inventories* [Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben,1989]).

[21]For the texts with commentary, see the two articles by W. Kendrick Pritchett, 'The Attic Stelai, Part I', *Hesperia* 22 (1953): 225–99, and 'Five New Fragments of the Attic Stelai', *Hesperia* 30 (1961): 23–9. See also Robin Osborne and P. J. Rhodes, *Greek Historical Inscriptions, 478–404 BC* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), no. 172, 428–47 (excerpts with translation and commentary).

[22]For an index of items, see Pritchett 'Attic Stelai', 292–9.

[23]Clothing and shoes are discussed by W. Kendrick Pritchett and Anne Pippen, 'The Attic Stelai, Part II', *Hesperia* 25 (1953): 203–10, and Osborne and Rhodes, *GHI*, 445–6. Perhaps the lack of jewellery indicates its ownership by the women in the household. The lists include other kinds of non-dress textiles, like pillows and bed coverings.



FIGURE 7.2 Fragments of the Attic Stelai: (a) *himatia* from stele 1 (Agora I 236; *IG* I^3 421, lines 235–42); (b) *tribones* from stele 2 (Agora I 2040; *IG* I^3 422, lines 120–7). Photos: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Agora Excavations.

under a single owner (*IG* I^3 421, lines 182–3, 222–49; *IG* I^3 427, lines 101–5, the latter followed by a group of tunics, *exomides*, lines 107–11), a group of several *tribones* (*IG* I^3 422, lines 120–6), an *ampechonon* (*IG* I^3 421, line 160) and a few kinds of shoes including *krepidia*, sandals (*IG* I^3 422, line 246). Although the Attic Stelai are not fully preserved, there are enough full 'property portfolios' to draw some conclusions. The lists show the monetary value of clothing and shoes, even when already used. None of the garments stand out as particularly luxurious, and foreign or foreign-inspired items seem to be absent. Though the aristocracy of Athens were property barons and avid consumers, their consumption was less conspicuous than might be expected. Their closets were full of clothing that were presumably of good quality but not particularly ostentatious.

DRESS IN CONTEXT

A series of inscribed documents that concern the administration of festivals and funerals, from postings at sanctuary entrances to formally passed laws and decrees, illustrate more fully not just what was worn and by whom but also what was socially appropriate.[24] These regulations enable

[24]Most of these inscriptions have been collected under the rubric of 'sacred laws', or *leges sacrae*, a modern catch-all term for a variety of proscriptive and descriptive documents about ancient Greek religion. An excellent introduction to the designation and corpora is Andrej Petrovic, 'Sacred Law', in *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Greek Religion*, ed. Esther Eidinow and Julia Kindt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 339–52. See also Jan-Mathieu Carbon, Saskia Peels and Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge, *A Collection of Greek Ritual Norms (CGRN)*, Liège 2016–, http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be, which provides many of these texts alongside translations and commentary, as well as links to scholarship concerning the questions of the corpus as a whole.

the reader to (at least partially) recreate the visual experience of public events, and they speak to the social conventions of dress, many of which were in play even outside the particular context of the text (e.g. women's dress drew legislative attention because it involved women). They come from a wide range of locations and time periods, which helps balance the Athenocentrism that affects much of this overview. There are some aspects in common across space and time that reveal dress was a panhellenic concern, such as a focus on gender and an interest in particular elements and accessories (e.g. colours, shoes and gold are featured frequently). But local and regional flavour is also apparent, and details like the specific deity being worshipped also matter.

The reason that funerals and festivals get so much attention is that rituals like these were social.[25] They were group activities that highlighted public display, especially during processions. Discussion of the texts regulating dress at these events tends to focus on their sumptuary nature because they often impose limitations, but this attention downplays the importance of ritual and aesthetic considerations. The sumptuary aspect is especially apparent in funeral contexts: typically the corpse receives the most regulatory interest, as it is the focal point of the spectacle. For example, a law about funerals from Iulis on Keos (late fifth century BCE) opens with instructions about burial dress.[26] The body to be buried is restricted to coverage by no more than three white cloths costing a total of no more than 100 drachmas (lines 1–6). But even this law includes regulations revolving around actions and behaviour, and it deals extensively with purity issues, not just the number and costs of garments. Other texts do address the mourners. A law from Gambreion in Asia Minor (*CGRN* 108, *c*. 300 to 200 BCE) states that of the mourners, the women must wear grey but clean garments, while the men and children should also wear grey, unless they want to wear white instead (lines 5–9). These stricter policies for women are the norm in dress regulations since their gathering outside the house for public activities could be a source of anxiety for the community. But the lack of interest in cost and number of garments is telling: the rules are more about creating conformity appropriate for the occasion, on both a social and religious level. There is emphasis as well on visual communication and aesthetic experience.

Epigraphic sources about religious festivals regularly address the dress of officials. Particularly instructive are the documents related to the sale of priesthoods; they are not laws but a mix of advertisements and contracts. They are quite limited in geography and chronology, primarily to cities in Asia Minor during the Hellenistic period. The *hiereus* (priest) is authorized to stand out through his gold accessories and the colour of his garments. For example, the purchaser of a priesthood of Nike at Kos (*CGRN* 163 [*IG* XII, 4 330], first century BCE) is instructed to wear a purple *chitōn*, gold rings and an olive wreath (κιτῶνα π[ορ]φύρεον καὶ δακτυλίος χρυσέος καὶ στέφ[ανο]ν θάλλινον, lines 8–10) during a procession in the month Petageitnyos (lines 5–6), as well as whenever in the sanctuary and during all other sacrifices (lines 11–12). The fact that he is also given the additional mandate to wear white at all other times ([λ]ευχιμονίτω δὲ διὰ βίου,

[25]For an examination that treats these two categories together, see Harrianne Mills, 'Greek Clothing Regulations: Sacred and Profane?' *ZPE* 55 (1984): 255–65.

[26]Osborne and Rhodes, *GHI*, no. 194, 564–73, and *CGRN* 35 (*IG* XII, 5 593). For more background on these kinds of funerary regulations, see Robert Garland, 'The Well-Ordered Corpse: An Investigation into the Motives behind Greek Funerary Legislation', *BICS* 36 (1989): 1–15. For another example that deals with the corpse and its adornment, see the regulations on Face A of the Labydai stele from Delphi, fifth to fourth centuries BCE, Rhodes and Osborne, *GHI*, no. 1, 2–12, and *CGRN* 82.

line 12) reveals the contextualization of these priestly outfits; they are only appropriate when acting in an official capacity. The outfits across different priesthoods were not the same. There was no standardized 'priest dress' as in many modern religions, but there were commonalities in the methods employed to signal authority. The frequency of dress clauses in priesthood sales are tied to class and wealth.[27] The purchaser gained visible status markers in return for their investment in the city, and many certainly bought their way into prestige in this way.

The fullest example of dress regulations is found in an inscription that organizes a religious festival at a sacred grove near the site of Andania (*CGRN* 222 [*IG* V, 1 1390], 91 BCE or 23 CE). The extensive details about dress cover headwear for the initiation, modifications for the procession, mimesis of the goddesses, how the officials deal with infractions and accessories for the highest officials (lines 13–28, 177–9).[28] This excerpt outlines the female attire for the initiation (lines 16–20):

> αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες μὴ διαφανῆ μηδὲ τὰ σαμεῖα ἐν τοῖς είματίοις πλατύτερα ἡμιδακτυλίου, καὶ αἱ/ μὲν ἰδιώτιες ἐχόντω χιτῶνα λίνεον καὶ είμάτιον μὴ πλείονος ἄξια δραχμᾶν ἑκατόν, αἱ δὲ παῖδες καλάσηριν ἢ σιν-/ δονίταν καὶ είμάτιον μὴ πλείονος ἄξια μνᾶς, αἱ δὲ δοῦλαι καλάσηριν ἢ σινδονίταν καὶ είμάτιον μὴ πλείονος ἄξια δρα-/χμᾶν πεντήκοντα· αἱ δὲ ἱεραί, αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες καλάσηριν ἢ ὑπόδυμα μὴ ἔχον σκιὰς καὶ είμάτιον μὴ πλέονος ἄξια δύο/ μνᾶν, αἱ δὲ [παῖδε]ς καλάσηριν καὶ είμάτιον μὴ πλείονος ἄξια δραχμᾶν ἑκατόν.
>
> And the women [should wear] neither transparent clothes nor stripes on their *himations* more than half a *daktylos* wide. And the free adult women must wear a linen *chitōn* and *himation* worth in total no more than 100 drachmas, the girls a *kalasiris* or a *sindonites* and a *himation* worth in total no more than one mina, and the female slaves a *kalasiris* or a *sindonites* and a *himation* worth in total no more than 50 drachmas. Of the sacred women, the adults must wear a *kalasiris* or a *hypoduma* without decorations and a *himation* worth in total no more than two minas, and the girls a *kalasiris* and *himation* worth in total no more than 100 drachmas.

Although what may leap out from this passage are the prices and numbers of garments, similar to the features of the regulation of funerary shrouds at Iulis, it is essential to recognize the complicated purposes of those designations. There is an emphasis on the visual manifestation of social categories and the communication of multiple layers of identity: gender, age, free versus slave status and religious authority. The names and descriptions of the garments are as valuable as the evidence from the dedication lists for identifying types of dress items, but the context is far broader and allows us to see how items were combined and who wore what. The rules

[27]For the dress regulations in priesthood sales at Kos, see Stéphanie Paul, 'Roles of Civic Priests in Hellenistic Cos', in *Cities and Priests: Cult Personnel in Asia Minor and the Aegean Islands from the Hellenistic to Imperial Period*, ed. Marietta Horster and Anja Klöckner (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), 262–5. For the relationship of the dress regulations to the issue of 'priests' dress', see Laura Gawlinski, '"A Religion without Priests"? Dressing the Dynamic Identities of Greek Religious Personnel', in *Outward Appearance vs. Inward Significance: Addressing Identities through Attire in the Ancient World*, ed. Alexandra Hallmann (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, forthcoming).

[28]For these regulations, see Laura Gawlinski, *The Sacred Law of Andania: A New Text with Commentary* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012), 107–34, 239. Text and translation are my own.

provide additional qualifications about other aspects of dress, including cosmetics, hairstyles and accessories like hats and shoes (lines 22–3). Regulations like this one offer a holistic picture of dressed persons and their interactions, through which we can better reconstruct lived religious experience.

CONCLUSION

In exploring topics like dress in the ancient world, it is of course ideal to be as interdisciplinary as possible. Greek inscriptions have a particular role to play in that interdisciplinary exploration. Inscribed lists of dedications and sales, stamps on loomweights and ritual regulations furnish important evidence about production, garments and visual communication. They speak to broader issues of gender, religion and the economy, and the ways in which these spheres were intertwined.

CHAPTER EIGHT

The Colours of Ancient Greek Dress

CECILIE BRØNS

INTRODUCTION

Clothing can provide a wealth of information about different aspects of identity including gender, ethnicity, age, social status and affiliation. One's choice of garments and accessories and how one wears them is thus a language to be deciphered,[1] and the choice of colours can lead to further insight. Although there have been numerous studies on ancient dress, the focus is rarely – with the possible exception of purple – on the actual colours of these garments. That the textiles themselves, as well as the colours, have in most cases disappeared from the archaeological record makes a study of the colours of ancient Greek dress a double challenge. However, upon closer investigation, there are several sources that can provide important information. This chapter will review these different sources with a focus on archaeological textiles, ancient dyes and written sources, as well as polychrome sculpture.

PRESERVED ARCHAEOLOGICAL TEXTILES

Due to their perishable nature, textiles are preserved in Greek contexts only in rare instances.[2] Yet some evidence, almost all of which derives from funerary contexts, has been preserved in the archaeological record.[3] It is important to emphasize, however, that these preserved textiles primarily consist of mineralized remains preserved on metal – so-called pseudomorphs.

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[1]See Roland Barthes, *The Fashion System*, trans. Matthew Ward and Richard Howard (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

[2]For a discussion of textiles in the ancient Egyptian context, see Bender Jørgensen, this volume.

[3]Scientific research into Greek archaeological textiles did not truly begin until 2000 and therefore this is a relatively new field of study and even now only limited published studies are available. See Yulie Spantidaki and Christophe Moulherat, 'Greece', in *Textiles and Textile Production in Europe*, ed. Margarita Gleba and Ulla Mannering (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2012), 185.

The earliest archaeological textiles from Greece date from the Bronze Age. Textiles from this period have been recovered at Akrotiri,[4] Chania,[5] Mycenae,[6] Pylona[7] and Salamis.[8] In addition, recent excavations at Stamna in Aetolia have revealed textiles in three burials inside bronze cauldrons.[9] The textiles from Stamna include a wide range of qualities, from net-like structures of coarse threads to very fine fabrics, and can be dated to the period from *c.* 1200 to 1000 BCE.[10] From the Geometric period textiles have been recovered at Athens,[11] Eretria[12] and particularly the necropolis of Lefkandi, from which we have several textile fragments (some of them in a mineralized state preserved on metal artefacts) and a remarkably well-preserved shroud recovered from the Heroon.[13] A few textiles have been preserved in Archaic burial contexts from Corfu as well as from a bronze urn from Vergina.[14]

The practice of cremation in Attica during the classical period has greatly contributed to the preservation of textiles, which have especially been recovered inside funerary urns, including those at Kalyvia, Kamatero and Maroussi. Particularly interesting are the textiles from Koropi. One of these attests to the use of embroidery in gold or silver thread, although only the needle holes remain to indicate the pattern of diamonds each enclosing a striding lion.[15] Another important find is the textile fragments from a bronze urn from a fifth-century burial at Kerameikos. The textiles are exceptionally fine, one of them with embroidery.[16] In addition, a piece of mineralized textile is preserved on an iron spearhead from a fifth-century grave-group from Karabournaki, Northern Greece.[17]

Textile remains from the Hellenistic period have been recovered at different sites: at Demetrias, two mineralized textiles were discovered in a bronze urn and several finds have been made in

[4]Twenty-five carbonized fragments of a textile of flax was recovered from pillar pit 52. Another textile fragment made of plant fibres was recovered from pillar pit 68a and from pillar pit 1b was recovered fragments of a tabby made of plant fibres; see Spantidaki and Moulherat, ‘Greece’, 187–9.

[5]A carbonized band of linen, nettle and goat hair. Archaeological Museum of Chania, inv. nos. GSE 84 Misc17; see Spantidaki and Moulherat, ‘Greece’, 189.

[6]A linen tabby preserved on three metal weapons recovered from Tomb N of Circle B in Mycenae. National Museum of Athens, inv. nos. 8591 and 8592 (daggers) and 8589 (spearhead); see Spantidaki and Moulherat, ‘Greece’, 192.

[7]Three ceramic vessels from Tomb 1 of the Mycenaean cemetery of Pylona on Rhodes preserved remains of calcified textiles, possibly of linen; see Spantidaki and Moulherat, ‘Greece’, 192.

[8]Linen textiles were recovered from one of the tombs in the Mycenaean necropolis of Agia Kyriaki on Salamis; see Spantidaki and Moulherat, ‘Greece’, 192–4.

[9]L. Kolonas et al., ‘Heirs from the Loom? Funerary Textiles from Stamna (Aitolia, Greece). A Preliminary Analysis’, in *Hesperos. The Aegean Seen from the West*, ed. M. Fotiadis, R. Laffineur, Y. Lolos and A. Vlachopoulos, Aegaeum 41 (Leuven: Peeters, 2017), 533–44.

[10]Kolonas et al., ‘Heirs from the Loom?’

[11]Mineralized textile remains from an Attic amphora, National Archaeological Museum of Athens, inv. no. 21267; see Spantidaki and Moulherat, ‘Greece’, 194.

[12]Fragments of a linen textile recovered from a bronze urn, Eretria Archaeological Museum, inv. no. unknown; see Spantidaki and Moulherat, ‘Greece’, 194.

[13]Spantidaki and Moulherat, ‘Greece’, 194, tables 7.2 and 7.3.

[14]Spantidaki and Moulherat, ‘Greece’, 194.

[15]Victoria and Albert Museum, nos. T.220 to B-1953, dated to 500 to 440 BCE. See Kerstin Droß-Krüpe and Annette Paetz Gen Schieck, ‘Unravelling the Tangled Threads of Ancient Embroidery’, in *Greek and Roman Textiles and Dress. An Interdisciplinary Anthology*, ed. Mary Harlow and Marie-Louise Nosch (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2014), 207–35.

[16]Christina Margariti et al., ‘Recent Analyses of the Excavated Textile Find from Grave 35 HTR73, Kerameikos Cemetery, Athens, Greece’, *Journal of Archaeological Science* 38, no. 3 (2011): 522–7.

[17]Jo Cutler and Margarita Gleba, ‘Classical Textile Remains in the British Museum Collection’, in *Purpureae Vestes V. Ancient Textiles, Basketry, and Dyes in the Ancient Mediterranean World*, ed. J. Ortiz et al. (Universitat de València: València, 2016), 45.

Attica, many in the form of textile traces on metal artefacts.[18] The most spectacular Hellenistic textile find in Greece is that from the so-called Tomb of Philip II at Vergina, dated to the fourth century BCE. This example is rectangular in shape and made in the tapestry technique with purple wool and gold thread.[19]

Only a very few of these preserved textile remains show any signs of colour or dyes. One of the Bronze Age textiles from Stamna has broad, coloured bands of purple-dyed weft threads. High performance liquid chromatography (HPLC) analyses identified the colourant as murex dye (on HPLC, see below).[20] From the Archaic period, two of the textiles from Corfu are made with purple wool.[21] From the classical period, four textile fragments retain traces of purple colour. Analyses of the textiles from Kalyvia and Maroussi have identified the use of murex purple dye.[22] Two other examples from Kerameikos have similar traces of purple colour.[23] The dye is used for purple stripes near the selvedge of the cloth, providing us with insight into how the ancient textiles were decorated. Two textile fragments from Koropi have preserved traces of colour consisting of black-dyed threads inserted into the cloth.[24] We thus have very little direct archaeological evidence of the colours of ancient Greek dress, and we must therefore seek other sources.

ANCIENT DYES

The dyeing of textiles began at a very early date: some of the earliest evidence includes dyed textiles from Çatalhöyük in Turkey, dating from the fourth millennium BCE. However, we can generally prove very little about ancient dyes, and much of what we know is only circumstantial: botanical, zoological and geological evidence and chemical analyses have identified potential dyestuffs and colourants available in antiquity, although this does not necessarily mean that they were used. For example, heaps of murex shells or the famous wall paintings from Thera depicting the gathering of crocus flowers are possible attestations of the acquisition of dyestuffs. Yet it is in fact hard to prove that these depictions reflect materials exclusively used for dyeing textiles and not simply food sources or for other purposes, such as pigments.[25]

Where textiles are dyed, detailed information on the dye composition, and therefore on the original appearance of the ancient textiles, is obtainable via HPLC. This method has to date made possible the identification of the largest number of colourants in textiles but requires sampling.[26]

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[18]See Spantidaki and Moulherat, 'Greece', table 7.7.

[19]Spantidaki and Moulherat, 'Greece', 196; S. Drougou, 'The Cloth from Vergina. Preliminary Observations', in *Ametos, Festschrift in Honour of Professor M. Andronikos Part I* (Thessaloniki: Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 1987).

[20]Kolonas et al., 'Heirs from the Loom?', 535–6.

[21]Spantidaki and Moulherat, 'Greece', 195.

[22]C. Moulherat and Y. Spantidaki, 'A Study of Textile Remains from the 5th Century BC Discovered in Attica', in *Ancient Textiles: Production, Craft and Society*, ed. C. Gillis and ML. Nosch (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2007), 165; Spantidaki and Moulherat, 'Greece', 195.

[23]C. Margariti et al., 'Identification of Purple Dye from Molluscs on an Excavated Textile by Non-destructive Analytical Techniques', *Dyes and Pigments* 96 (2013): 779.

[24]Stella Spantidaki, 'Colour and Textiles in Classical Attica', in *Purpureae Vestes V*, 212.

[25]Elizabeth Barber, *Prehistoric Textiles: The Development of Cloth in the Neolithic and Bronze Ages with Special Reference to the Aegean* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 223.

[26]Frederica Pozzi et al., 'Multi-technique Characterization of Dyes in Ancient Kaitag Textiles from Caucasus', *Archaeological and Anthropological Sciences* 4, no. 3 (2012): 185.

Since the preserved archaeological textiles are so few and fragmentary, the performance of such chemical dye analyses is rarely an option. Recently developed methods, such as multi-spectral imaging (MSI), are potential tools to identify dyestuffs without requiring sampling.[27] But again, such examinations obviously require preserved textiles with visible colours, which are a rarity in Greek archaeological contexts. Nevertheless, although we often do not have clear archaeological evidence of the use of dyes, in many instances their use can be attested to in the written sources. By combining this evidence with the botanical and limited archaeological evidence, we can establish that some dyes must certainly have been used, of which a few will be mentioned below.

ANIMAL DYES

The most famous dye of antiquity is the so-called Royal purple or Tyrian purple. It is so far the only dye attested among the preserved Greek textiles. This dye is exclusively derived from animal sources, more precisely molluscs. Several species of molluscs were used in antiquity to produce purple dye: two of them are murexes, *Bolinus brandaris* (=*Murex brandaris*) and *Hexaplex trunculus* (=*Murex trunculus*), and one is a type of rock shell, *Stramonita haemastoma* (=*Thais haemastoma*). All three species were abundant in the Mediterranean Sea. The dye itself derives from the tiny hypobranchial gland situated diagonally opposite the aperture of the shell.[28] For the dyeing process immense numbers of glands extracted from fresh molluscs are required. The production of purple dye was thus generally a labourious process, and the final product was therefore extremely costly.[29] Knowledge of purple dyeing processes was lost during Late Antiquity or the early Medieval period but was rediscovered in 1684.[30] Since then, many scholars have conducted experiments to determine the exact methods of dye extraction, the dyeing process and the range of colours that can be obtained from this type of dye. These experiments have shown that the outcome of purple dyeing is never exactly the same. The colour of the dyed fibre depends on whether it is exposed to sunlight, the number of glands used, the freshness of the molluscs, the species of mollusc,[31]the dyeing process and many other factors. This means that mollusc purple dye can provide a wide variety of colours, ranging from red to violet to blue.[32]

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[27]Joanne Dyer et al., 'A Multispectral Imaging Approach Integrated into the Study of Late Antique Textiles from Egypt', *PLOS ONE* 13, no. 10 (2018). Online: https://doi.org/10/1371/journal.pone.0204699

[28]I. Kanold and R. Haubrichs, 'Tyrian Purple Dying: An Experimental Approach with Fresh murex trunculus', in *Purpureae Vestes II. Vestidos, textiles y tintes. Estudios sobre la producción de bienes de consume en la Antigüedad*, ed. C. Alfaro and L. Karali (València: Universitat de València, 2008), 253.

[29]L. Karali and F. Megaloudi, 'Purple Dyes in the Environment and History of the Aegean: A Short Review', in *Purpureae Vestes II*, 182.

[30]R. J. H. Clark et al., 'Indigo, Woad, and Tyrian Purple: Important Vat Dyes from Antiquity to the Present', *Endeavour* 17, no. 4 (1993): 196; William Cole, 'A Letter from Mr. William Cole of Bristol, to the Phil. Society of Oxford; Containing His Observations on the Purple Fish' (1685).

[31]*Bolinus brandaris* and *Stramonita haemastoma* produces a violet-red purple, while *Hexaplex trunculus* produces a violet-blue purple. Dominique Cardon, *Natural Dyes. Sources, Tradition, Technology and Science* (London: Archetype Books, 2007), 579–80.

[32]A. V. Levides, 'Why Did Plato Not Suffer of Color Blindness? An Interpretation of the Passage on Color Blending of Timaeus', in *Color in Ancient Greece: The Role of Color in Ancient Greek Art and Architecture 700–31 BC*, ed. M. A. Tiverios and D. S. Tsiafakis (Thessaloniki: Aristotelio Panepistēmo Thessalonikēs, Hidryma Meletōn Lamprakē, 2002), 13. For further studies on purple dye, see Hedvig Enegren and Francesco Meo, ed., *Treasures from the Sea: Sea Silk and Shellfish Purple Dye in Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

Another very costly dye is *kermes*. This is obtained from a small insect called *Kermococcus vermilio* of the family *Kermesidiae*, which lives exclusively on the Kermes oak (*Quercus coccifera*) native to the Mediterranean region.[33] It produced a brilliant and colour fast dye and is said to be the source of the most highly prized and expensive red dye that has ever existed, known in the medieval West as 'scarlet'.[34] It is mentioned by several ancient authors including Theophrastus, Pausanias, Dioscurides and Pliny[35] as well as in the Hebrew Bible (denoted by the terms *karmīl* and *tōlaʿat šānī*).[36] Direct evidence of this dye has been found in a very early Neolithic cave burial in France[37] and in the burial towers at Palmyra.[38]

PLANT DYES

A wealth of dyes was obtainable from plants, fruits, as well as lichens, barks and fungi. The most renowned ancient plant dye was saffron, made from the dried stigmas of the crocus flower (*crocus sativus*). The production process used with saffron is very labour-intensive and the resulting dyestuff is therefore expensive.[39] Saffron is a direct dye, light- as well as water-fast and an extract of the dried stigmas in boiling water will rapidly dye fibres yellow or orange even without a mordant, the intensity depending on the amount of colourant used.[40] Examples of ancient, archaeological textiles dyed with saffron are generally extremely rare, which possibly indicates that saffron was a rare textile dye or simply that it is difficult to detect.[41]

Among the blue dye plants, woad (*Isatis tinctoria*) was probably the most commonly used during the first millennium BCE in Greece. *Isatis* was the Greek name for the plant, borrowed from Hebrew and mentioned in the Talmud attesting to its use from an early period onwards.[42] The use of woad for dyeing is also attested in documents from the Pharaonic and Ptolemaic periods, as well as in the Stockholm papyri. Furthermore, analyses of organic remains from caves near Marseilles have revealed that woad was already used to dye textile fibres from the Neolithic period.[43]

The most widespread of the red plant dyes is madder (*Rubia tinctorum L.*), which in Latin means 'dyer's red'. Madder, obtained from the roots of the plant, played a prominent role in

[33]Red dye was also extracted from the bodies of insects belonging to the family of Coccoidae. The most famous is cochineal – a New World insect that lives on cacti. Other types are Polish grains or St. John's Blood, which live on the roots of certain northern European plants. Another variant was used for millennia in an area at the foot of Mount Ararat, where an insect like cochineal lives on certain types of grass; see Barber, *Prehistoric Textiles*, 231; R. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology*, 102.

[34]Cardon, *Natural Dyes*, 614.

[35]Theophrastus. *Hist. plant.* 3.16; Pausanias *Descr.* 10.36.2; Dioscurides, *Mat. Med.* 4.48; Pliny, *Nat.* 9.65; 16.12; 21.22; 22.3; 24.4.

[36]Agnes Korn and Warming, 'Armenian *karmir*, Sogdian *karmīr* 'red', Hebrew *karmīl* and the Armenian Scale Insect Dye in Antiquity', in *Textile Terminologies from the Orient to the Mediterranean and Europe, 1000 BC to 1000 AD*, ed. Salvatore Gaspa, Cécile Michel and Marie-Louise Nosch (Lincoln, NE: Zea Books, 2017).

[37]Barber, *Prehistoric Textiles*, 230.

[38]Cardon, *Natural Dyes,* 616.

[39]Jo Day, 'Counting Threads. Saffron in Aegean Bronze Age Writing and Society', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 30, no. 4 (2011): 339.

[40]Day, 'Counting Threads', 365; Cardon, *Natural Dyes*, 304.

[41]Cardon, *Natural Dyes*, 304–5. A rare example is the linen and wool textiles recovered in Israel from the Cave of Letters. The textiles date to 132 to 135 CE. For further discussion, see especially the chapter by Katie Turner in this volume.

[42]See *b. Šabb.* 68a.

[43]Cardon, *Natural Dyes*, 367, 374.

dyeing during antiquity. The earliest example of textiles dyed with madder is from Egypt from the Eighteenth Dynasty (*c*. 1350 BCE). In Mesopotamia madder is mentioned in an Akkadian text from 1900 BCE by the name *hurratu*, thus attesting its early use.[44] It is also recorded in several Linear B texts by the name *po-ni-ki-jo*[45] as well as in several Assyrian texts.[46] Another important ancient red plant dye is safflower (*Carthamus tinctorius*).[47] The plant is already mentioned in Linear B (*ka-na-ko*)[48] and in later Greek sources (*knekos*), attesting its early use in the Mediterranean.[49]

Finally, minerals, particularly ochres, could be used for colouring textiles, sometimes simply by painting them. This illustrates an interesting overlap with pigments for painting, also relevant in the case of madder and murex, for example, which were used for dyes as well as lakes for painting. These are of course only a few examples of the dyestuffs used in ancient Greece, and many more options have probably been available. Yet they illustrate that a wealth of colours was possible, obtainable from different dyestuffs and mixtures of these.

WHITE TEXTILES, BLEACHING AND POLISHING

White was not necessarily the natural colour of sheep's and goat's wool. The colour of the coat changed with the domestication of sheep: the coats of wild sheep are brown, while a domesticated sheep's coat is black, grey, spotted or (the rarest) white.[50] The natural pigmentation of wool could thus range from yellowish white to shades of dark brown and grey. Linen fibres contain natural pigments, which in their natural colours fall in the blonde, cream to grey range and which can be enhanced or modified during fibre processing, since linen bleaches well.

The natural sheen of linen textiles could be enhanced by 'polishing'.[51] This is the case, for example, with the so-called *amorgina* textiles, recorded in ancient texts.[52] These textiles seem to be related to olive oil extraction and olive oil residue. From the Bronze Age onwards, fabrics were thus treated with olive oil in order to accentuate the effect of transparency of very fine threads as well as to make the textiles softer and shinier.[53]

Scarcely anything is known of the art of bleaching as practised in ancient Greece. One of the few ancient authors to mention the practice is Pliny:

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[44]Cardon, *Natural Dyes*, 119.

[45]Marie-Louise Nosch, 'Textile Crops and Textile Labour in Mycenaean Greece', in *Land, Territory and Population in the Ancient Greece: Institutional and Mythical Aspects*, ed. Marta Oller et al. (Mering: Utopica Verlag, 2017), 22, 24.

[46]See Salvatore Gaspa, *Textiles in the Neo-Assyrian Empire: A Study of Terminology* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018).

[47]Cardon, *Natural Dyes*, 55.

[48]Nosch, 'Textile Crops and Textile Labour', 22, 25.

[49]For example, Theophrastus, *Hist. plant*. 6.1.3; 6.4.5; 1.13.3; *Caus. plant*. 5.18.4; Galen, *Nat. Fac*. 1.13; Hippocrates, *Acut*. 64.

[50]Catherine Breniquet, 'The Archaeology of Wool in Early Mesopotamia: Sources, Methods, Perspectives', in *Wool Economy in the Ancient Near East and the Aegean from the Beginnings of Sheep Husbandry to Institutional Textile Industry, colloque ESF 6-8 nov 2012, Nanterre*, ed. C. Breniquet and C. Michel, Ancient Textile Series 17 (Oxford: Oxbow, 2013), 55.

[51]Liza Cleland, Glenys Davies and Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones, *Greek and Roman Dress from A to Z* (Oxford and New York: Routledge, 2007).

[52]For example Aristophanes, *Lys*. 150; Plato, *Ep*. 363a.4; Aeschines, *Tim*. 97.8; Antiphanes, Fr. 151.See also Stella Spantidaki, 'Textile Production in Iron Age Greece: The Case of the Amorgina Textiles', in *Origini XL. Prehistory and Protohistory of Ancient Civilizations*, ed. M. Gleba and R. Laurito (Rome: Gangemi Editore, 2017), 293–303.

[53]Spantidaki, 'Colour and Textiles'. Oily and shiny textiles are mentioned, for instance, in Homer: 'And from the closely woven fabrics the soft olive oil drips down' (*Od.* 7.107 [Murray]). Hippocrates recommends wearing oiled garments during summer (Hippocrates, *Vict. salubr*. 3.6).

> There is another kind of wild poppy, known as 'heraclion' by some persons, and as 'aphron' by others. The leaves of it, when seen from a distance, have all the appearance of sparrows; the root lies on the surface of the ground, and the seed has exactly the colour of foam. This plant is used for the purpose of bleaching linen cloths in summer.[54]

Theophrastus of Eresos also attributed bleaching qualities to a plant called Herakleia, which he compares to the plant soap-wort.[55] Soap-wort, *Saponaria officinalis* in Latin or *strouthos* in Greek, is not a dye plant in the strictest sense but was used for cleaning and for whitening or bleaching linen.[56] Other methods of bleaching included recipes with bleaching agents such as salt, potash, vinegar or ammonia.[57]

More is known about bleaching from ancient Egypt. Middle Kingdom paintings depict cloth being wetted beside a river and rubbed with natron or potash, then beaten over a stone or wood base and rinsed in flowing water, before being bleached in the sun. In the New Kingdom linen was sometimes boiled with potash in a vat to bleach it.[58] The same method of bleaching was likely to have been used in ancient Greece. Wool was not bleached in the same manner as linen, since this method would ruin the fibres, but wool fibres are ideal for dyeing because they take dyes very well. Linen is much more difficult to dye than wool, which makes it unlikely that brightly coloured garments were made from this fibre.[59] (We do, however, have examples of dyed linen in the archaeological record, so this possibility cannot be wholly excluded.[60]) It is probable, however, that linen was used primarily in its natural colours or bleached and only rarely dyed – and thus an ideal choice for white garments, whereas wool would be the obvious choice for dyed garments. White textiles appear to have required a lot of work to obtain (and maintain), possibly just as much as dyed garments.[61]

GOLD TEXTILES

Although not specifically a colour, gold was used for embellishing textiles. This could be in the form of appliqués, sewn onto garments, such as the ones recovered from burials from the sixth century BCE at Pella.[62] Gold could also be used in the form of bands, sewn onto the textiles, as illustrated by the finds in the tomb of 'the Lady of Aigai', which revealed several gold bands, originally decorating her funeral garments, although this evidence obviously does not necessarily indicate that this form of decoration was used for garments worn in life.[63] The textiles themselves could also be

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[54]Pliny, *Nat*. 20.79 (Bostock).
[55]Theophrastus, *Hist. plant*. 9.12.5.
[56]Peder Flemestad, 'Theophrastus of Eresos on Plants for Dyeing and Tanning', in *Purpureae Vestes IV: Textiles and Dyes in Antiquity*, ed. C. Alfaro et al. (València: Universitat de València, 2014), 206.
[57]Spantidaki, 'Colour and Textiles', 214.
[58]Joan Allgrove-McDowell, 'Ancient Egypt, 5000–332 BC', in *The Cambridge History of Western Textiles*, ed. David Jenkins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 26.
[59]Mireille Lee, *Body, Dress, and Identity in Ancient Greece* (New York: Cambridge, 2015), 95.
[60]Jenny Balfour-Paul, *Indigo in the Arab World* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), 6.
[61]On the significance of white garments, see chapters by Maier and Batten, this volume.
[62]Pavlos Chrystomou and Anastasia Chrystomou, 'The Lady of Archontiko', in *Princesses of the Mediterranean in the Dawn of History*, ed. Nikolaos Chr. Stampolides and Mimika Giannopoulou, trans. Maria Xanthopoulou (Athens: Museum of Cycladic Art, 2012), 370, 378. See also British Museum, inv. GR 1977.9-10.15; GR 1976.5-17.11.
[63]Angeliki Kottaridi, 'The Lady of Aigai', in *Alexander the Great. Treasures from an Epic Era of Hellenism*, ed. D. Pandermalis (New York: A. S. Onassi Foundation, 2004), 143; Angeliki Kottaridi, 'The Lady of Aigai', in *Princesses of the Mediterranean*, 417, 431.

made with gold: archaeological finds illustrate that gold could be employed in different ways for textiles – it could be woven alone, interwoven with other material (as the famous gold and purple textile from Vergina[64]) or used for embroidery. The gold thread itself was usually made by twisting thin gold wire or gold strips around a fibre core (silk, wool, vegetal fibre or animal gut)[65] or as so-called *lamellae*, made from hammered gold foil cut into fine strips. Such gold strips, dated to the fourth century BCE, have been recovered at the Mausoleum at Halikarnassos.[66]

The use of gold garments is confirmed by ancient written sources, the earliest being Homer, who describes Athena as wearing an aegis with tassels woven of gold[67] and in the *Odyssey* he describes a nymph wearing a white garment and a girdle of gold.[68] Other examples include Herodotus' description of the linen corselet given by Amasis to Athena Lindia on Rhodes, which was decorated with gold and cotton.[69]

COLOURS OF DRESS IN THE WRITTEN SOURCES

Many ancient Greek written sources provide information on the colours of dress. However, it is important to keep in mind that there are several methodological challenges regarding the interpretation of ancient colour terms. Among the most important is that it is often impossible to make a literal translation from one language to another, in this case from ancient Greek to English, since texture, size and shape are not always separable from colour in ancient Greek, and it is not always clear what counts as a colour term and what does not.[70] Ancient Greek colour terms were often at the junction of several cognitive domains – colour, light, movement, mental states and so on – which English usually keeps distinct.[71] Furthermore, colour was not a static, objective *thing*: it was a fluid, subjective, interactive unit of value and meaning,[72] which makes an unequivocal translation into a language such as English difficult or even impossible. Regardless of these challenges, written sources, literary as well as epigraphical, provide important knowledge concerning the range of colours for ancient textiles.

One of the most significant sources dealing with ancient Greek dress are the so-called temple inventories. The term generally refers to lists of votive offerings that were kept in the temple treasuries. They have been found in several regions of the Greek world and are dated from the fifth century BCE to the second century CE,[73] but the great majority of inventories with references

[64] Margarita Gleba, '"Auratae vestes": Gold Textiles in the Ancient Mediterranean', in *Purpureae Vestes II*, 65; M. Andronikos, *Vergina: The Royal Tombs* (Athens, 1984), 164, fig. 140.

[65] Gleba, '"Auratae vestes"', 68.

[66] Kristian Jeppesen, *The Maussolleion at Halikarnassos. Vol. 4. The Quadrangle. The Foundations of the Maussolleion and Its Sepulchral Compartments* (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2000), 124–40, nos. 40, 48, 61, 66, 88; Bundgaard Rasmussen, 'Gold Ornaments from the Mausoleum at Halikarnassos', in *The Art of the Greek Goldsmith*, ed. D. Williams (London: British Museum Press, 1998), 66–72.

[67] Homer, *Il*. 2.530.

[68] Homer, *Od*. 10.540-545.

[69] Herodotus, *Hist*. 3.47.

[70] John Lyons, 'The Vocabulary of Color with Particular Reference to Ancient Greek and Classical Latin', in *The Language of Color in the Mediterranean*, ed. Alexander Borg (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1999), 39, 42, 44.

[71] Mark Bradley, *Colour and Meaning in Ancient Rome*, Cambridge Classical Studies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 17.

[72] Bradley, *Colour and Meaning*, xi.

[73] M. Scott, 'Displaying Lists of What Is (Not) on Display: The Uses of Inventories in Greek Sanctuaries', in *Approaches to Greek Religion: Acta Instituii Atheniensis Regni Suediai* 21, ed. My Haysom and J. Wallensten (Stockholm: Svenska insitutet in Athen, 2011), 240.

to textiles belong to the Hellenistic period. Some of them record textiles, illustrating their use as offerings in the sanctuaries: the most important lists of offerings are the so-called Brauron catalogues from the Athenian Acropolis, which record garments dedicated to the goddess Artemis in her sanctuary at Brauron. The lists belong to the second half of the fourth century BCE.[74] Another important example is the inventory from the Heraion on Samos, dated to 346/345 BCE, recording textiles dedicated to the goddess Hera.[75] Preserved from the third century BCE are an inventory of a temple at Tanagra[76] and an inventory of the possessions of an unknown deity at Thebes.[77] From the second century BCE we have an inventory of the temple of Artemis Kithōnē at Miletos.[78] In addition, the Delian records of the *hieropoioi* and of the Athenian temple administrators record several textiles (covering the period *c*. 367 to the 130s BCE),[79] while the inventories of the Treasurers of Athena only record a few.[80]

These inventories describe the colour of dedicated garments in relatively few instances, and, if they do so, it usually relates to purple, which appears to have been the most important colour to emphasize. Different terms are used to denote the colour purple in the inventories: *halourgos*, *porphyros* and *phoinix*/*phoinikos*, all considered designations of the so-called Tyrian purple.[81] *Halourgos* and its compound terms *parhalourgos* ('with purple borders') and *meshalorgos* ('purple in the middle') are the most commonly used terms for purple; second is *porphyros* and its compound terms *periporphyros* ('with purple edges') and *parporphyros* ('with purple borders'); and third is *phoinix*, which is used only twice, once in Brauron and once as a purple garment (*phoinikis*) in an inventory from Delos.[82]

[74]IG II[2] 1514–30. For a thorough study and English translation of the Brauron Clothing Catalogues, see Liza Cleland, *The Brauron Clothing Catalogues: Text, Analysis, Glossary and Translation*. BAR-IS 1428 (Oxford: John and Erica Hedges, 2005) as well as Tullia Linders, *Studies in the Treasure Records of Artemis Brauronia Found in Athens* (Stockholm: Svenska Institutet I Athen, 1972). For Brauron, see also Gawlinski, this volume.

[75]IG XII 6, 1, 261; D. Ohly 'Die Göttin und ihre Basis', *Athenische Mitteilungen* 68 (1953): 24–50; Brøns, *Gods and Garments*, appendix 2.3.

[76]SEG 43 212; T. Reinach, 'Un temple élevé par les femmes de Tanagra', *REG* 12 (1899): 53–112; Duane W. Roller, *Tanagran Studies I. Sources and Documents on Tanagra* (Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben, 1989), 100–8; Brøns, *Gods and Garments*, appendix 2.1

[77]IG VII 2421; Roesch 'Les femmes et la fortune en Béotie', in *La femme dans le monde Méditerranéen*, ed. Anne-Marie Vérilhac (Lyon: Maison de l'Orient et Presses Universitaires de Lyon, 1985), 71–84; Brøns, *Gods and Garments*, appendix 2.2.

[78]Peter Herrmann, Wolfgang Günther and Norbert Ehrhardt, *Inschriften von Milet* 6.3, no. 1357 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2006); Wolfgang Günther, '"Vieux et inutilisable" dans un inventaire inédit de Milet', in *Comptes et inventaires dans la Cité grecque*, ed. Denis Knoepfler (Génève: Université de Neuchâtel, Faculté des lettres, 1988), 221; Brøns, *Gods and Garments*, appendix 2.4.

[79]Brøns, *Gods and Garments*, 38.

[80]The inventories of the Parthenon temple include items of clothing: a garment called a *xystis*, a coarse linen *chitōn* (*chitōn stuppinos*) IG II[2], 1414, 26; a purple-dyed *chitōniskos* IG II[2], 1475, 5; something made of fine cloth (*sindon*) IG II[2] 1478, 17; corselets cuirasses (*thorakes*) IG II[2], 1388, 19; belts/girdles (*zonia*) IG II[2], 1424a, 55; two boxes with footwear are also recorded IG II[2] 1424a, 336–7; IG II[2] 1425, 269–70; IG II[2] 1428, 222–3; a purple *mitra* IG II[2] 1448, 4; and an inventory from 320 BCE lists *himatia, chitōniskoi, chitōnes, kekryphaloi* and grey-and-white wool in baskets IG II[2] 1469, 124–40. For more on the temple inventories and the textiles recorded in them, see Brøns, *Gods and Garments*, 33–144.

[81]These terms unfortunately do not provide information on the particular purple hue, and they can thus refer to a range of colours, from red, through purple to violet or blue. See also Hartmut Blum, *Purpur als Statussymbol in der griechischen Welt*, Antiquitas 47 (Bonn: R. Habelt, 1998), 20–41.

[82]For purple garments in the inventories, see Cecilie Brøns, 'Sacred Colours? Purple Textiles in Greek Sanctuaries in the Second Half of the 1st Millennium BC', in *Treasures of the Sea,* 109–16.

Halourgos and its associated terms are recorded twenty-seven times in the Brauron catalogues for different types of garments (*chitōniskoi*, *xenikē*, *chitōnion*, *himatia* and a *chitōn*) and eight times in the Samos catalogues (*chitōniskos*, *paralassis*, *proslemma*, *perizōma*, *kekryphalos*, Lydian *chitōnes* and *chlandia*). The term is used twice in the inventories of the Athena Temple on the Athenian Acropolis (a *mitra* and a *chitōniskos*), twice in the inventories from Delos (two grey *himatia* with purple borders and a *chitōnion*) and twice in the inventory from Miletos.[83]

Porphyros and its compound terms are not recorded at Brauron, but they occur five times in the inventory from Tanagra (four *chitōnes* and a linen garment), seven times in the inventory from Thebes, eight times in the inventories from Delos and twice in Miletos.[84] These descriptions include different garment types dyed completely purple and those with purple borders or edges. For example, white *himatia* with purple borders are relatively common among the dedicated garments. These colours seem to have been important features of this garment type, but they were not necessarily defining characteristics. Therefore, they were probably important mainly in contrast to more common features possessed by the *himation* in everyday use.[85]

Scarlet – *kermes* – denoted by the term *kokkinos* is recorded only once in these inventories, in the inventory from Miletos, in a description of a ribbon. Neither is the term particularly common in other written sources, where it is rarely used to describe the colours of garments.[86]

Blue is a rarely recorded colour in the inventories, and it occurs only three times in the inventory from Samos, where it is used to describe the colour of the edges of Lydian *chitōnes.* Two different terms are used: *isatis* and *hyakinthos*.[87] *Isatis* denoted the colour blue, since the term derives from the Greek name *isatis* for woad (*isatis tinctoria*).[88] *Hyakinthos* is originally the name of a violet-coloured flower or semi-precious stone and is commonly thought to describe the colour blue.[89] It is also used to describe the colours of textiles in a few written sources, for example, a Babylonian curtain for the temple of Jerusalem,[90] a *chitōn*,[91] a woven band[92] or dyed sheep skins.[93]

The term *leukos* is translated as white, bright or clear, and thus not simply signifying pure white but possibly also other light colours[94] or perhaps the sheen effect of polishing. *Leukos* is a relatively common colour term in the inventories. At Tanagra, white is the colour of four garments; at Delos white is specified in connection with a wool garment; and white is recorded twice at Samos for a *himation* and the edges of a Lydian *chitōn*.[95] At Brauron, *c.* 20, garments are described as white.

[83]Brøns, *Gods and Garments*, table 20. For the term *halourgos*, see Cecilie Brøns and Kerstin Droß-Krüpe, 'The Colour Purple? Reconsidering the Greek Word *halourgos* and Its Relation to Ancient Textiles', *Textile History* (2018): 1–22. Online: Doi: 10.1080/00404969.20181438237.

[84]Brøns, *Gods and Garments*, table 21.

[85]Cleland, *The Brauron Clothing Catalogues*, 68.

[86]For example, Herodotus, *Hist*. 6.19; *Heb*. 9.19 (scarlet wool); Plutarch. *Fab*. 15 (scarlet tunic); Arrian, *Epict. diss*.3.22.10; 4.11.34; *P.Holm*. 21.41/42; LXX *Exod.* 25.4.

[87]Brøns, *Gods and Garments*, table 24.

[88]Michel Pastoureau, *Blue: The History of a Color* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018), 16. Hippocrates, *Ulc*. 11; Theophrastus, *Sens.* 77; Dsc. 2.184; Pliny, *Nat. His*. 20.59;

[89]Blum, *Purpur als Statussymbol*, 37–8. The flower was not used for dyeing. The term, when used in relation to textiles, refers only to the optical experience.

[90]Josephus, *B.J.* 5.5.4.

[91]Arrian, *Tact.* 34.6.

[92]LXX *Exod*. 28.8.

[93]Josephus, *A.J.* 3.6.1.

[94]Cleland et al., *Greek and Roman Dress*, 211.

[95]Brøns, *Gods and Garments*, table 22.

At Brauron, the *chitōn* is one of the few major garments for which white is not recorded. In fact, of the garment types overall, the *chitōn* has the lowest proportion of described pattern decoration, and it is never described in terms of base colour. Cleland therefore argues that this implies that the *chitōn* typically had the neutral colour of its fibres, such as white, grey or beige.[96] Yet, as shown, the inventory from Samos records a Lydian *chitōn* with white edges, which might argue against such an interpretation.

Yellow is another quite common colour in the inventories, and it is denoted by different terms. One term for yellow is *mēlinos*, which can be translated as 'apple-coloured' or 'quince-yellow'.[97] At Brauron the term is used once for a *chitōniskos*, once at Thebes for a girl's *chitōn* and at Tanagra for two *chitōnes*, an open garment and 'a yellow'. A second term is 'broom-yellow' (*thapsinos*), which is recorded only once in the Brauron catalogues for a *chitōnion*. *Thapsinos* derives from *thapsos* or fustic (*Cotinus coggyria = Rhus cotinus*), a bright yellow dye, imported from the island of Thapsos.[98]A third term for yellow in the inventories is *krokōtos*, which derives from *krokos*, the Greek word for the crocus flower, implying its derivation from saffron and thus indicative of saffron-dyed garments. The term *krokōtos* is recorded fifteen times in the Brauron catalogues but only once at Tanagra.[99] The term is used to describe the colour of garments, in Brauron for two *chitōniskoi* and a *tryphēma*. It is, however, not only an adjective but also a noun for garments – a *krokōtos*.[100] *Krokōtoi* are known from ancient literary sources too. For example, Aristophanes records that little girls at the age of ten wore/shed a saffron robe (*krokōtos*) when performing a specific rite for Artemis Brauronia in her sanctuary on the eastern coast of Attica.[101] Perhaps the saffron-coloured garments recorded in the Brauron catalogues are these specific garments worn by the young female initiates. A saffron-coloured garment is also recorded in the inventory from Tanagra, probably for Demeter and Kore. This suggests that saffron-dyed garments (*krokōtoi*) are not exclusively related to Artemis, Brauron and the *arktoi*. Nevertheless, the saffron colour might have had special ritual connotations, underlined by the fact that there are examples of the use of saffron-coloured garments for divinities in literary sources. For example, in Euripides's tragedy *Hecuba*, the *peplos* offered to Athena at Athens is described as saffron-coloured.[102] The term *krokopeplos* is often used in myth and epic to refer to nymphs and goddesses, for example in the *Iliad*, where Eos is wearing a *krokopeplos*.[103] Hesiod uses the epithet for Enyo, the goddess of war, and Telesto, one of the Okeanides.[104] Alcman provides another example when he describes the Muses as saffron-robed.[105] Also, exceptional men would don a saffron-dyed robe: Dionysos, for example, is said to wear a *krokōtos*.[106] Pindar depicts the newborn Herakles swaddled in saffron yellow cloth, and

[96]Cleland, *The Brauron Clothing Catalogues*, 93.
[97]LSJ s.v. mēlinos.
[98]Cleland, *The Brauron Clothing Catalogues*, 127. See also Lydia Pelletier-Michaud, 'Évolution du sens des termes de couleur et de leur traitement poétique: l'élégie romaine et ses modèles grecs'. (Doctoral diss., Université Laval, Québec, 2016), 308–21.
[99]Brøns, *Gods and Garments*, table 23.
[100]Cleland, *The Brauron Clothing Catalogues*, 97. As a noun, it is recorded eleven times in the Brauron catalogues.
[101]Aristophanes, *Lys*. 641-647.
[102]Euripides. *Hec*. 466-474.
[103]Homer, *Il.* 8.1, 19.1, 23.226, 24.677.
[104]Hesiod, *Theog*. 273 (Enyo), 358 (Telesto).
[105]Alcman. 85A.
[106]Athenaeus, *Deipn*. 5.198c; Aristophanes, *Ran*. 45-46.

Dioskurides calls saffron the 'blood of Herakles'.[107] *Krokōtos* is also used to describe the garments of mortal elite women: Aeschylos writes that Iphigenia wore a saffron garment.[108] Other examples appear in Euripides, where Antigone's robe is saffron-coloured[109] and in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*, where Athenian women wear saffron-coloured garments.[110] The description of the garments as saffron-coloured might be connected with the monetary value of the saffron-dye, which was an expensive commodity and, like purple, a marker of social position.[111]

Other colours are quite rare in the inventories. For example, grey (*phaios*) only occurs in the inventory of the Athenian Asklepieion (a *chlamys*) and in an inventory from Delos (two *himatia*). Bluish-grey (*glaukinos*) is used at Brauron for two *chitōniskoi* and in the inventory from Miletos for a *kalasiris* (*mesoglaukinos*). Green – or in this case 'frog-coloured' (*batracheious*/*batrachis*) – is another rarely noted colour: it is only recorded at Brauron, where it is used five times, for example in relation to three *chitōniskoi* and a *kandys*. Another term for green (*prasinos*) is used once in the inventory from Miletos. Finally, the inventory of the temple of Demeter and Kore at Tanagra records a child's silver garment and six girl's *chitōnes* and a girl's *chitōnion* with dark/black borders (*parorphnidōtos*).

In summary, many different colours are recorded: purple, sea-purple, scarlet, blue, red, grey, blue-grey, white, black, frog-colour, green, saffron-colour, yellow, broom-yellow, apple/quince colour. Only some of these colour terms refer to the dye substance used to achieve the colour: purple, *kokkinos, isatis* and *krokōtos*. Others simply refer to the immediate visual experience. It is also interesting to note that there is no apparent correlation between garment type and colour. The inventories generally testify to a wealth of colourful garments, with a predominance of purple items. This indicates that white was not predominant for Greek clothing. The latter point is worth emphasizing given common conceptions of Greek dress. It is incorrect to assume that when the colour of a garment is not described it was white. Although white is a commonly specified colour, this very fact precludes it from being either the standard or a neutral colour of dress.[112]

There is a preponderance of white and purple garments in epigraphic evidence, such as the so-called clothing regulations, which detail the colours of garments for visitors to some sanctuaries.[113] Some of these are prescriptive, requiring people to wear white garments, while others are proscriptive, banning purple garments in the sanctuaries.[114] The same predominance of white and

[107]Pindar, *Nem*. 1.38; Dioskurides, *Mat. Med.* 1.25. In the Roman period, Chloereus, originally a priest of Cybele and therefore an eunuch, was described by Virgil as wearing a *crocea chlamys*, Vergil, *Aen.* 11.775. See also Isabella Benda-Weber, 'Krokotos and crocota vestis: saffron-coloured clothes and muliebrity', *Purpureae Vestes IV*, 129–42.
[108]Aeschylus, *Ag*. 239 (*krokou baphas*).
[109]Euripides, *Phoen.* 1491 (Coleridge).
[110]Aristophanes, *Lys*. 215.
[111]Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones, *Aphrodite's Tortoise. The Veiled Woman of Ancient Greece* (Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 2003), 224; E. J. W. Barber, 'Colour in Early Cloth and Clothing', *CAJ* 9 (1999): 117–20. A further word of caution: the actual evidence for the ritual connotations of saffron-coloured garments in this period is often rather circumstantial and seems to be influenced by the situation in Minoan Crete, where there is more solid evidence for a connection between saffron-coloured garments and ritual; see Jo Day, 'Crocuses in Context: A Diachronic Survey of the Crocus Motif in the Aegean Bronze Age', *Hesperia* 80, no. 3 (2011): 337–70; Day, 'Counting Threads'; Benda-Weber, 'Krokotos and crocota vestis'.
[112]Cleland, *The Brauron Clothing Catalogues*, 96.
[113]There are fourteen in total: LSCG 65; SEG 46:375; LSAM 35; LSCGS 59; LSCGS 91; LSA; 6; LSAM 14; LSCGS 32; LSCG 68; LSCGS 33; LSCG 136; SEG 36:1221; LSCGS 56; LSCG 94.
[114]Brøns, *Gods and Garments*, 330–5.

purple garments is evident from the epigraphic and literary sources concerning priestly garments. There is considerable evidence for the use of purple garments in liturgical costumes throughout the Hellenistic period, and it appears that in some cults, priests were specifically required to wear purple garments.[115] It thus seems that, generally, the most important aspect to emphasize in these sources was the colour of garments, rather than their type, fibre or any other quality, again underlining the considerable significance of colour, particularly in religious contexts.[116]

However, the fact that purple was the most commonly recorded colour in these sources is perhaps not surprising, bearing in mind that it is considered the most important colour of classical antiquity. Purple garments were worn historically by the rich and powerful and signalled, due to their very high value, great wealth and high social status.[117]

COLOURS OF DRESS IN ANCIENT GREEK ART

Iconography is an obvious further source of our knowledge of the colours of dress. Yet, as with written sources, there are methodological challenges regarding its interpretation. First, we cannot be certain that the images represent dress as it looked in antiquity, since they are not simple replicas of reality, but rather reflect the perceptions, ideologies and ideas of the society in which they were produced. Thus, the interpretations of images vary from one context to another, with different viewers and with different expectations.[118] More importantly, the colours have usually disappeared from sculptural representations, which were originally entirely polychrome. The term 'polychrome' means 'multi-coloured', referring to the circumstance that the impressive white marble statues, for example, which we often associate with antiquity, were originally painted.[119] But due to disadvantageous climatic conditions of preservation, the fragility of the paint, the cleaning after excavation and when entering museum collections, most of the original polychromy has disappeared.

However, sometimes we are fortunate enough to find sculptures with preserved polychromy. A fantastic example is the famous *korai* from the Athenian Acropolis, which provide us with important information on the polychromy of female garments on Archaic sculpture. The so-called Chios kore, for example, dated to *c.* 520/500 BCE, has remarkably preserved polychromy (Figure 8.1).[120] Unfortunately, the pigments have altered with time and since its excavation in 1886, the appearance of the sculpture has changed. Thus, the red pigment, identified as cinnabar, has turned black, while the blue pigment azurite has turned into a greenish-brown.[121] Luckily, the Swiss artist

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[115] Brøns, *Gods and Garments*, 292.
[116] Brøns, *Gods and Garments,* 331.
[117] Brøns, 'Sacred Colours', 114.
[118] Gunnel Ekroth, 'Ull, Pengar och Sex. Tolkningar av et attiskt rödfigurigt vasmotiv', *Medusa. Svensk tiddsskrift fōr antiken* 32 (2011): 1–12; Claude Bérard and Jean-Louis Durand, 'Entering the Imagery', in *A City of Images. Iconography and Society in Ancient Greece*, ed. Claude Berard; trans. Deborah Lyons (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 23–38; Brøns, *Gods and Garments*, 13–14; Cecilie Brøns, 'Ancient Colours: Perspectives and Methodological Challenges', in *The Value of Colour. Material and Economic Aspects in the Ancient World*, ed. Shiyanthi Thavapalan and David A. Warburton; Berlin Studies of the Ancient World 70 (Berlin: Edition Topoi, 2020), 318–19.
[119] For example, Cecilie Brøns, 'Ancient Colours'; Jan Stubbe Østergaard and Anne Marie Nielsen, eds., *Transformations. Classical Sculpture in Colour*, trans. Neil Martin Stanford et al. (Copenhagen: Ny Carlsberg Glypotek, 2014); Hansgeorg Bankel and Paolo Liverani, eds., *I Colori del bianco. Policromia nella scultura antica* (Rome: De Luca, 2004).
[120] Acropolis Museum, inv. 675.
[121] Ulrike Koch-Brinkmann, Heinrich Piening and Vinzenz Brinkmann, 'Girls and Goddesses', in *Transformations. Classical Sculpture in Colour*, 139.



FIGURE 8.1 The Chios Korē *c* 500/520 BCE. Acropolis Museum, inv. no. 675. Photo: Art Resource (ART40504).

Emile Gilliéron (1885–1939) documented the traces of red and blue paint and the fine geometric patterns in a watercolour shortly after the sculpture's excavation, which, together with the scientific analyses of the pigments, provides us with an idea of its original appearance. The interpretation of ancient polychromy is thus not a straightforward affair but requires knowledge of the nature of pigments and their deterioration.

Another well-known example from the Archaic period is the funerary monument of Phrasikleia from Myrrhinous (Merenda), Attica, discovered in 1972 (Figure 8.2).[122] The statue still has visible traces of red paint. Scientific analyses have identified madder lakes and red and yellow ochres, showing that she originally wore a red garment with yellow decoration. Furthermore, the use of lead/tin and gold foil for the rosettes and shining yellow swastikas, painted with a mixture of orpiment and yellow ochre, confirms the use of gold appliqués for the decoration of garments, mentioned above.[123] Colourful female garments of the Archaic period are attested in several more instances, such as the famous Peplos Kore and the Pitsa panels.[124]

[122]National Archaeological Museum of Athens, inv. 4889.
[123]Koch-Brinkmann et al., 'Girls and Goddesses', 118–21, 138.
[124]Acropolis Museum, inv. 679; National Archaeological Museum Athens, inv. A16464. For the polychromy of the peplos, see Koch-Brinkmann et al., 'Girls and Goddesses', 126–9, 136–7.



FIGURE 8.2 Funerary statue of Phrasikleia 550–540 BCE. National Archaeological Museum, Athens, inv. 4889. Photo: Art Resource (ART535186).

From the classical period, we are left with fewer examples of well-preserved polychrome sculptural garments. This is partly due to the fact that only a few works of art from this period have been examined for ancient polychromy. The non-invasive photographic technique termed visible-induced luminescence (VIL) imaging can attest the presence of the ancient synthetic pigment, Egyptian blue, in quantities which are no longer visible to the naked eye.[125] Examinations of Greek artefacts in the collections of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek with this technique have shown that many of them were originally painted, using this particular pigment. The technique can, furthermore, illustrate any further decoration, such as patterns or borders, which are no longer visible. This is, for example, the case with the later marble sculpture of the so-called Sciarra Amazon, whose garment was originally decorated with a painted border (Figure 8.3).[126] We have

[125]See, for example, Giovanni Verri, 'The Spatially Resolved Characterization of Egyptian Blue, Han Blue and Han Purple by Photoinduced Luminescence Digital Imaging', *Analytical Bioanalytical Chemistry* 394, no. 4 (2009): 1011–21; Amalie Skovmøller, Cecilie Brøns and Marie Louise Sargent, 'Egyptian Blue. Modern Myths, Ancient Realities', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 29, no. 1 (2016): 371–87.
[126]Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. 1568.

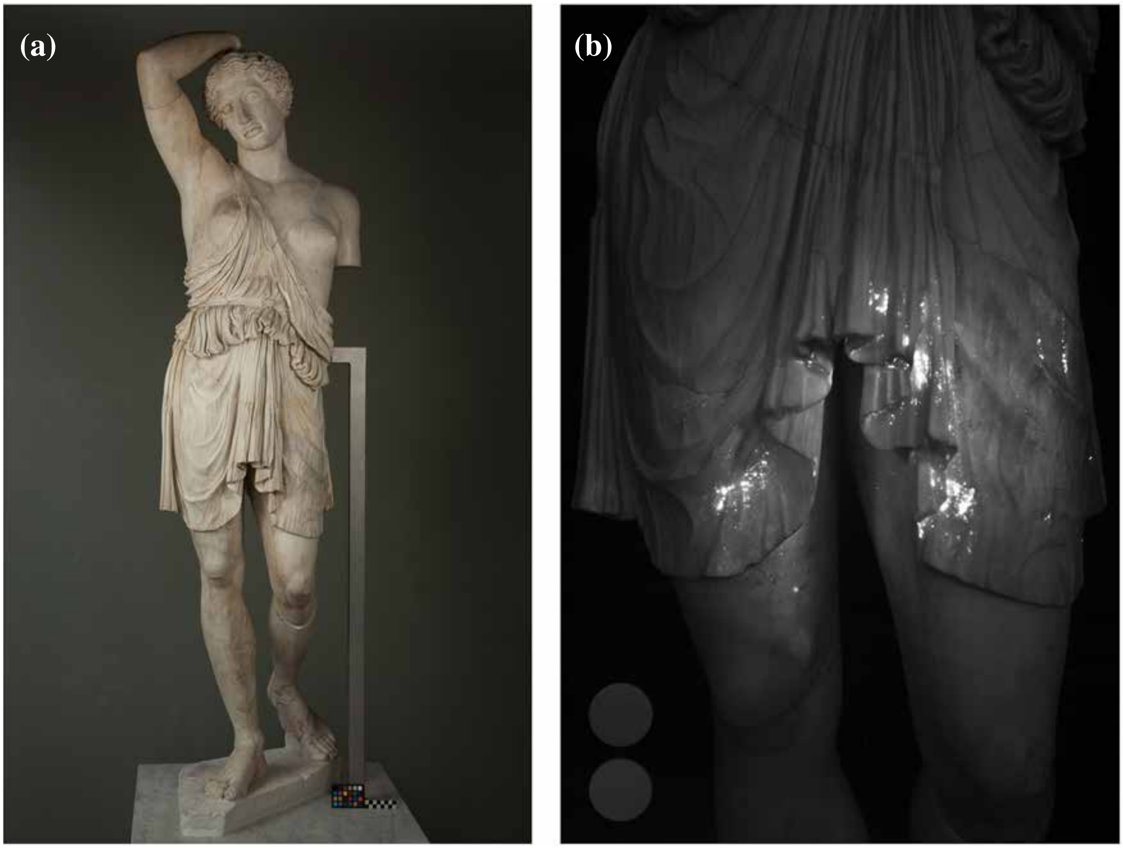


FIGURE 8.3 (a) The Sciarra Amazon second century CE; (b) VIL image of the border of her *chitōniskos*. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. IN 1568. VIL. Images by Maria Louise Sargent.

more iconographical evidence from the Hellenistic period, including terracotta figurines and wall paintings, as well as several marble sculptures with obvious traces of polychromy. Among the most spectacular examples is a sculpture from Delos, rendered in the Small Herculaneum Woman type and dated to the second century BCE (Figure 8.4).[127] The sculpture has visible traces of paint, used to render the elaborate borders of her mantle and tunic. Another example is a statue of a goddess from Pergamon, dated to the first part of the second century BCE.[128] Along the lower part of her *peplos* are visible traces of a painted, decorative border in green and red.[129] Both examples illustrate the rich decoration of garments, possibly also worn in real life. Moreover, on some sculptures we can get a slight idea of some of the original decoration, even though no colour is preserved from the incised lines used to indicate where the borders should be painted. From the Hellenistic period,

[127]National Archaeological Museum, Athens, inv. 1827.
[128]Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. AvPVII23.
[129]See Clarissa Blume, *Polychromie Hellenistischer Skulptur, Ausführung, Instandhaltung und Botschaften* (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2015), cat. 57.



FIGURE 8.4 (a) Statue of the so-called Small Herculaneum Woman, dated to the second century BCE. Height: 175 cm. National Archaeological Museum of Athens, inv. no. 1827; (b) and (c) detail showing the elaborate border of her garment. Photos: Clarissa Blume.

we also have examples of the rendering of golden garments. This is, for example, the case for female terracotta figurines, such as a figurine of a standing woman from Tanagra, who is rendered in a *chitōn* and a *himation* with a broad gold border (Figure 8.5).[130] Many of these depictions, particularly the marble sculptures, represent divinities, and the garments so rendered are, thus, not examples of 'ordinary' dress worn by ancient Greeks but rather of the exquisite costumes of gods, goddesses and other mythological beings, as well as priestly officials. They are thus rather testimonies to the wealth, as reflected by colourful and decorated garments, appropriate for divine beings and the elite.

[130]Another example is a figurine in the Antikensammlung, Berlin, inv. no. TC 7674.



FIGURE 8.5 (a) Terracotta figurine of a standing woman from Tanagra. Fourth century BCE. Height: 40 cm. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. no. 895. Photo: Ole Haupt; (b) close-up of the figurine showing the gilded border of the *himation*; (c) close-up showing the gilded border of her tunic. Photos: Signe Buccarella Hedegaard.

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has shown that there is in fact a wealth of information available on the colours of ancient Greek dress, despite the elusive nature of the topic. By adopting a multi-methodological approach, juxtaposing the diverse source material consisting of preserved textiles, practical knowledge of ancient dyes, written sources and iconography, we can gain further insight into the choices and preferences for specific colours for textiles. Much of the examined evidence of the colours of dress has a religious context, which of course creates a bias. The epigraphical sources include temple inventory lists and clothing regulations for sanctuaries, and several of the sculptures represent gods and goddesses and other divine beings as well as priests and so on, thus providing information on the colours of cult. It is evident that particularly purple and white/bright colours played a significant role in the choice of dress in religious contexts at least. The preserved textiles from burial contexts, although very few, appear to support the preference for purple garments, which is not surprising due to the symbolic meaning and monetary value of this particular dye in ancient Mediterranean societies. However, it is important to bear in mind that an abundance of dyes in a large range of different colours was available, and it would be a misunderstanding to imagine an ancient elite exclusively dressed in purple. In this respect, further examination of the polychromy of ancient sculpture, in particular, can provide important insight into the choice of colours for dress and preferred combinations of colours, as can dye analyses of archaeological textiles.

CHAPTER NINE

Ornamenta Muliebria: Jewellery and Identity in the Roman Period

COURTNEY WARD

> *Ornamenta muliebria sunt, quibus mulier ornatur, veluti inaures armillae viriolae annuli praeter signatorios et omnia, quae ad aliam rem nullam parantur, nisi corporis ornandi causa: quo ex numero etiam haec sunt: aurum gemmae lapilli, quia aliam nullam in se utilitatem habent.*[1]

As noted in the above quotation, Roman law (at least from the time of Ulpian in the early third century CE) clearly identified jewellery with women and specifically excluded signet rings (*praeter signatorios*), used by both men and women, from this category; however, it is clear from literary and artistic depictions as well as archaeological finds that both men and women across the Roman Empire wore jewellery in order to display various aspects of their identities. In Roman literature, objects of personal adornment were known as *ornamenta* and *mundus muliebris*, literally 'the ornamentation and world of women'.[2] The gold signet rings and military badges of Roman men were not included in this juridical categorization, just as most modern men would be affronted if told that their cufflinks and wedding rings constituted 'jewellery'.[3] Consequently, while boys and men did wear jewellery, as the title suggests, this chapter will focus primarily on jewellery associated with women and how this displayed various aspects of identity. While it has been suggested that the main function of jewellery was to demonstrate the wealth and status of women in the Roman world,[4] aspects such as age, political, social and marital statuses (as well as economic background) and ethnicity all interrelated to create diverse identities that could have been displayed through personal adornment. The body is an individual's most immediate expression of identity and self, and any item placed on the body is a method of expressing that self-identity to the outside world.

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[1]Ulpian, *Dig.* 34.2.25.10: 'Women's jewellery is of the kind with which a woman adorns herself, such as earrings, bracelets, small bangles, rings, with the exception of signet rings, and everything acquired for no other purpose than adornment. The following, too, belong to this category: gold, gems, and [precious] stones, because in themselves they have no other use.'

[2]Ria Berg, 'Wearing Wealth. Mundus Muliebris and Ornatus as Status Markers for Women in Imperial Rome', in *Women, Wealth and Power in the Roman Empire*, ed. Pävi Setälä, Ria Berg, Riikka Hälikkä, Minerva Keltanen, Janne Pölönen and Ville Vuolanto (Rome: Acta Instituto Romani Finlandiae 25, 2002), 20; Christiane Kunst, 'Ornamenta Uxoria. Badges of Rank or Jewellery of Roman Wives?' *The Medieval History Journal* 8, no. 1 (2005): 128–9; Kelly Olson, *Dress and the Roman Woman: Self-presentation and Society* (London: Routledge, 2008), 7–9.

[3]For example, Pliny *Nat.* 33.4, where the finger-rings of men were seen as functional rather than decorative items, and *Dig.* 34.2.25.10 (above).

[4]Berg, 'Wearing Wealth'.

INTRODUCTION

Unfortunately, literary sources do not give us a clear picture of how female identities were created and displayed by wearing certain kinds of jewellery. The sources were politically and socially motivated treatises written by an elite male population and should be treated as such. What is most interesting is to see how these wealthy and influential men viewed the women in their lives and their world. In other words, what did they think about female adornment and its purpose? Lucius Valerius, a tribune of the people in the second century BCE, thanks to the writings of Livy, gives us one view. He says, '*Non magistratus nec sacerdotia nec triumphi nec insignia nec dona aut spolia bellica iis contingere possunt; munditiae et ornatus et cultus haec feminarum insignia sunt his gaudent et gloriantur hunc mundum muliebrem appellarunt maiores nostri*' (No offices, no priesthoods, no triumphs, no decorations, no gifts, no spoils of war can come to them; elegance of appearance, adornment, apparel – these are the woman's badges of honour; in these they rejoice and take delight; these our ancestors called the woman's world).[5] This proclamation equates jewellery and objects of adornment with the highest military and political honours of prominent men but still excludes the signet rings of adult men (and women) and the *bullae* of freeborn boys. What then exactly did the female objects represent and how did they do it?

Before turning to these questions, it must be noted that most categories of Roman jewellery are not easily separated into male and female objects: earrings (found on slaves from Syria,[6] eunuchs serving the goddess Cybele[7] or would-be kings, such as Caesar[8]), bracelets (such as gold armbands on wealthy freedmen like Trimalchio[9] or effeminate emperors, such as Caligula and Nero,[10] as well as the gold and silver *armillae* awards of the Roman military[11]), decorative rings (peacocking Roman men with multiple rings,[12] for example, or Celtic and Gallic men with rings on their middle fingers[13]) and even necklaces (such as the torcs of Celtic

[5]Livy, 34.8-9.

[6]Juvenal, *Sat.* 1.104-105.

[7]Jacob Latham, '"Fabulous Clap-Trap": Roman Masculinity, the Cult of Magna Mater, and Literary Constructions of the *galli* at Rome from the Late Republic to Late Antiquity', *The Journal of Religion* 92, no. 1 (2012): 109.

[8]Marianne Ostier, *Jewels and the Woman: The Romance, Magic and Art of Feminine Adornment* (New York: Horizon Press, 1958), 128. For earrings as markers of effeminacy in men based on their association with foreign (eastern) male identities, see Lindsay Allason-Jones, *Ear-rings in Roman Britain* (Oxford: BAR 201,1989), 17; Juvenal, *Sat.* 1.104 (Babylonians); Macrobrius, *Sat.* 7.3 (Libyans); Plautus. *Poen.* 5.2.21 (Carthaginians).

[9]Petronius. *Satyr.* 32.

[10]Suetonius. *Cal.* 52 and *Nero* 30, respectively.

[11]Valerie Maxfield, *The Military Decorations of the Roman Army* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1981), 89–91; Jerzy Linderski, 'Silver and Gold of Valor: The Award of "Armillae" and "Torques"', *Latomus* 60, no. 1 (2001): 3–15; Nina Crummy, 'From Bracelets to Battle-honours: Military *Armillae* from the Roman Conquest of Britain', in *Image, Craft and the Classical World. Essays in Honour of Donald Bailey and Catherine Johns*, ed. Nina Crummy, Donald Bailey, Catherine Johns and Lindsay Allason-Jones (Montagnac: M. Mergoil, 2005), 93–105; Nina Crummy, Martin Henig and Courtney Ward, 'A Hoard of Military Awards, Jewellery and Coins from Colchester', *Britannia* 47 (2016): 1–28.

[12]Pliny *Nat.* 33.22; Seneca, *Nat.* 7.31.2. For a discussion of the history of finger-rings and who had the right to wear them, see Ann Stout, 'Jewelry as a Symbol of Status in the Roman Empire', in *The World of Roman Costume*, ed. Judith Sebesta and Larissa Bonfante (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), 77–100; Richard Hawley, 'Lords of the Rings: Ring-wearing, Status, and Identity in the Age of Pliny the Elder', in *Vita Vigilia Est: Essays in Honour of Barbara Levick*, ed. Ed Bispahm, Greg Rowe and Elaine Matthews (London: Institute of Classical Studies, 2007), 103–11; Kelly Olson, *Masculinity and Dress in Roman Antiquity* (London: Routledge, 2017), 65–7, 119–21.

[13]Pliny *Nat.* 33.6.

warriors[14] or the gold chain around the neck of an effete *cinaedus*[15]) were worn by men in the Roman world. Moreover, brooches would have been used to fasten the cloaks of both men and women.[16] Not only were the signet rings distinguished from *ornamenta* by the Roman authors worn by men and women but even the images depicted on these signets could also be worn by both. Perhaps the most clear-cut and famous example (and one that is less socially or politically coloured than the examples above) is reported in the literary sources describing Octavian's rise to power. Both Pliny and Suetonius declare that when looking for a seal, Octavian found two relatively similar signet rings depicting sphinxes in the jewellery boxes of his mother, Atia, that he and his closest advisors used for his own correspondence.[17]

For the focus of this chapter, I will return once again to Ulpian's definition of *ornamenta muliebria*: earrings, bracelets, decorative finger-rings and the necklaces that were used 'purely for adornment'. I have chosen, therefore, to exclude signet rings and brooches, which not only were worn by both men and women but also (and perhaps more importantly for this investigation) had an ultimately functional purpose – signet rings were designed so that letters could be sealed, and brooches were bought for the express purpose of clasping material together. To this end, I am also excluding hairpins, which, although they were undoubtedly associated with women and were often made of expensive and high-status materials, were primarily functional in nature.[18] This distinction allows a focus on how these 'non-functional' items of adornment functioned in Roman society.

[14]Barry Cunliffe, *The Ancient Celts*, 2nd edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 223. The association between Celtic warriors and the torc can also be seen in Cassius Dio (62,1–1), who describes the Iceni queen, Boudicca, with a golden torc around her neck in order to illustrate her political and martial prowess.

[15]Juvenal, *Sat.* 2.85, for the necklace as a sign of a *cinaedus*. Cf. Artemidorus. *Oneir.* 2.5, for the inappropriateness of men wearing necklaces. For a discussion of *cinaedi* and their depiction in art, see John Clarke, 'Representations of the *Cinaedus* in Roman Art', *Journal of Homosexuality* 49, no. 3–4 (2005): 271–98.

[16]Mart. 5.41 (for *equites* with a brooch. See Kelly Olson, 'Masculinity, Appearance, and Sexuality: Dandies in Roman Antiquity', *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 23, no. 2 (2014): 200 for the subject's identification as an equestrian). For a discussion of brooches used by men and women, see Stout, 'Jewelry as a Symbol'; Ellen Swift, 'Personal Ornament', in *Artefacts in Roman Britain: Their Purpose and Use*, ed. Lindsay Allason-Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 212; Lindsay Allason-Jones, 'Characterizing Roman Artifacts to Investigate Gendered Practices in Contexts without Sexed Bodies', *American Journal of Archaeology* 119, no. 1 (2015): 103–23. For studies on brooches as markers of identity, see Dominic Janes, 'Brooches as Insignia and Loyalty to the Late Roman State', in *Radovi XIII. Međunarodnog kongresa za starokršćansku arheologiju, Split – Poreč 25.9.-1.10.1994*, ed. Nenad Cambu and Emilio Marin (Città del Vaticano: Arheološki muzej, Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1998), 387–94, Sophia Jundi and J. D. Hill, 'Brooches and Identities in First Century Britain: More Than Meets the Eye?', *Theoretical Roman Archaeology Journal* (1997): 125–37, and Stijn Heeren, 'Brooches and Burials. Variability in Expressions of Identity in Cemeteries of the Batavian Civitas', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 27 (2014): 443–55.

[17]Pliny *Nat.* 37.10; Suetonius, *Aug.* 50. The symbolism of the sphinx with relation to Octavian and his war with Cleopatra has been described by scholars as both an embarrassment (Robert Gurval, *Actium and Augustus: The Politics and Emotions of Civil War* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995), 71) and an intentional association with Apollo (Paul Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, trans. Alan Shapiro (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1988), 49–50). For a more detailed discussion: Hans Instinsky, *Die Siegel des Kaisers Augustus: ein Kapitel zur Geschichte und Symbolik des antiken Herrschersiegels* (Baden-Baden: B. Grimm, 1961), 23–30.

[18]Elizabeth Bartman, 'Hair and the Artifice of Roman Female Adornment', *American Journal of Archaeology* 105, no. 1 (2001): 3. For the difficulties of reconstructing Roman hairstyles, see Janet Stephens, 'Ancient Roman Hairdressing: On (Hair)pins and Needles', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 21 (2008): 110–32, who notes that Roman hairstyles would have required both pins and needles.

AGE

One aspect of personal identity that could be displayed through female adornment is age.[19] Suetonius, for example, reported that Caesar restricted the use of pearls to women of a certain age and social status, but whether this was enforced or how long this restriction lasted is unknown.[20] Suetonius fails to tell us what this specific age was; however, there are certain jewellery designs that are known from literary sources to have been appropriate for different age groups, such as the *bulla*, for freeborn boys, and the *lunula*, for young girls and maidens.[21] The *lunula* was a crescent-shaped charm that seems to have been associated with young girls and maidens, although this association is not as clear cut as that of the *bulla* for the freeborn boy, which was dedicated by its wearer to the family *Lares* (the household gods) upon his reaching adulthood; the *bulla* is one of the few articles of jewellery that can be positively assigned to persons of a particular age. The association with *lunulae* and young girls is suggested by Plautus, when his character Epidicus asks the young girl Telestis, '*Non meministi me auream ad te afferre natali die lunulam atque anellum aureolum in digitum*?' ('Don't you remember me bringing you a gold *lunula* on your birthday and a little gold ring for your finger?').[22] The relatively large number of *lunulae* found on Roman necklaces is striking in relation to the number of identifiable *bullae*, however, and this may prove the association to be overly simplistic.[23] Indeed modern scholars seem torn between seeing the *lunula* as 'worn mainly by young girls or unmarried women as a protective amulet, corresponding to the male *bulla*' and finding 'that female children wore any piece of apparel comparable to the boy's golden locket cannot be demonstrated'.[24]

This uncertainty means that ascribing most jewellery to children, be they male or female, is dependent mostly on size. 'The small dimensions' of a gold ring from Rome 'along with its Greek inscription, *ΑΥΞΑΝΕ*, meaning "Grow", suggest that it was given to a young girl or boy'.[25] In this case, the ring, at 14.5 mm, seems obviously to be that of a child, but size is also problematic when attempting to attribute age to the wearer of an item.[26] A chubby child and a slender adult may have

[19]In a study of provincial Roman jewellery, Ellen Swift (*The End of the Western Roman Empire: An Archaeological Investigation* (Stroud: Tempus, 2003), 345–6) identified evidence for the deposition of particular objects (dolphin and flat glass-disc pendants) and materials (amber and chalcedony) exclusively in children's graves. For a discussion of infants and young children of both sexes wearing apotropaic charms, see Maureen Carroll, *Infancy and Earliest Childhood in the Roman World; 'A Fragment of Time'* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 99–109.

[20]Suetonius. *Iul.* 43.

[21]Cicero. *2 Verr.* 1.152; Valerius Maximus. 5.6.8 and Tertullian. *Cult. Fem.* 10.4; Plautus. *Epid.* 639-40 respectively. According to Robert Palmer ('bullae insignia ingenuitatis', *American Journal of Ancient History* 14, no. 1 (1998): 1), the *bulla* was a 'bubble-shaped locket made in gold and intended to hold contents that would preserve a freeborn boy from dangers seen and unseen'. For the apotropaic importance of the *bulla* for young boys: Keith Bradley, 'The Roman Child in Sickness and in Health', in *The Roman Family in the Empire: Rome, Italy and Beyond*, ed. Michele George (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 90–1. In addition to age, the *bulla* therefore identified its young wearer as coming from a family of a specific social status – freeborn – with a particular amount of wealth – to afford the gold amulet. For further discussion of the role of *bullae*, see Olson *Masculinity and Dress*, 62–5.

[22]Plautus *Epid.* 639-40.

[23]For a catalogue of *bullae* in the artistic and archaeological records, see Hans Goette, 'Römische Kinderbildnisse mit Jugendlocken', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 104 (1989): 203–18; Palmer '*Bullae Insignia*'; P. Gregory Warden '*Bullae*, Roman Custom, and Italic Tradition', *OpRom* 14 (1983): 69–75.

[24]Berg 'Wearing Wealth', 34 and Palmer '*Bullae Insignia*', 46, respectively.

[25]Elizabeth La Rocco, 'Catalogue Entry 81', in *I Claudia: Women in Ancient Rome*, ed. Diana Kleiner and Susan Matheson (New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 1996), 146.

[26]For a convincing correlation between ring diameter and age (and sex), see Ellen Swift, *Roman Artefacts and Society: Design, Behaviour, and Experience* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), Chap. 4.

worn rings of similar diameter. A tall girl and a short woman may have needed necklaces of similar length. In addition, many mummy portraits and masks from Roman Egypt show women wearing multiple necklaces, all of different length, and multiple rings, all of different size and both above and below knuckles of various fingers (Figure 9.1).



FIGURE 9.1 Mummy mask depicting the deceased with rings on different fingers and necklaces of various lengths (including one with a *lunula*), first century CE. Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 19.2.6. Photo: Art Resource (ART358158).

While it is difficult to identify clear jewellery types that were associated with particular age groups, there clearly were distinctions between the dress (and, by extension, the adornment) of Roman female babies, young girls and adult women, because 'all those of the female sex are classed as women'.[27] Such a hypothesis is supported by a letter written by an Egyptian woman, Eirene, to her brother. In the early to mid-first-century CE papyrus, Eirene asked her brother to send her several gold bracelets from Oxyrhynchos, where he was located. She distinguished between the bracelet for herself and those for the 'younger girls' – hers was to be 'for the hand of a mature woman', while the others were to be 'as if to fit the arm of Matrous'.[28] While the exact distinction is unclear to us, it clearly would have been easily understood by Romans viewing Eirene and the younger women. It seems that certain forms of jewellery were worn by women of all ages,[29] but it was their design or style that made them appropriate for women of different ages.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

Wealth and economic background, on the other hand, are aspects of personal identity that seem indisputably linked with both the form and material of jewellery. In dealing with items of adornment, especially jewellery made of precious materials, it seems obvious that the larger the piece the more expensive it would be. Consequently, it would follow that all jewellery is in fact an indicator of wealth. Indeed Berg, in her 2002 study of adornment, clearly stated that 'jewellery and other adornments made of precious substances have their very *raison d'être* in indicating wealth'.[30] The fugitives from the eruption of Vesuvius on the Bay of Naples in fact carried bags and boxes of jewellery (along with coins) as portable wealth.[31] As was mentioned earlier, however, there is more to adornment than the mere relation of a person's wealth. Cato seems to think that it is inevitable that poor women will spend beyond their means on jewellery and sumptuous dress so as not to be scorned for their poverty.[32] Was this the reality or did poor women use alternative and more affordable materials (or even costume jewellery) to adorn themselves?

While the majority of an object's cost derived from the raw materials used to make it, there were substances that could imitate more costly items. This could have been done either with or without the customer's knowledge. In his discussion on stones, Pliny often gives methods of testing or verifying the authenticity of various gemstones, including sardonyx and emeralds.[33] However, there were ancient dealers who were very skilled in creating fake gems, as can be seen from the Stockholm papyrus (late third century CE). Numerous recipes are given by the author for dyeing rock crystal

[27] *Dig*. 34.2.25.9.

[28] *P.CtYBR* inv. 115; *P.Yale I*, pp. 241–4; Roger Bagnall and Raffaella Cribiore, *Women's Letters from Ancient Egypt, 300 BC– AD 800* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 339.

[29] Cyprian, for example, noted that girls had earrings from shortly after birth (*Hab. Virg.* 14). While this may have been specific to third-century CE North Africa, the evidence from first-century Campania seems to support the idea that different styles of earring were appropriate for different age groups or female identities; Courtney Ward, 'Luxury, Adornment, and Identity: The Skeletons and Jewelry from Oplontis', in *Leisure and Luxury in the Age of Nero: The Villas of Oplontis near Pompeii. Exhibition Catalogue*, ed. Elaine Gazda and John Clarke (Ann Arbor: Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, 2016), 102; Courtney Ward, *Identifying Multiple Gender Identities in the First-century AD: A Study of Personal Adornment and Skeletal Remains from the Bay of Naples* (D.Phil thesis, University of Oxford, Oxford, 2014), chaps. 4 and 5.

[30] Berg, 'Wearing Wealth', 15.

[31] Ward, *Identifying Multiple Gender Identities*.

[32] Livy 34.4.15

[33] Pliny *Nat.* 37.

with pigeon's blood to create fake sardonyxes and a green stain to imitate emeralds.[34] Martial, in an epigram on Mamurra, noted that his protagonist had to search through every jewellery counter in Rome in order to find a genuine sardonyx.[35] The *Historia Augusta* also provides a tale of counterfeit gems. It relates that Salonina, the wife of the emperor Gallienus, purchased an expensive necklace of emerald beads that she later discovered was actually composed of coloured glass.[36] It seems, therefore, that the sale of imitation gems in the place of authentic ones was a problem in the ancient Roman Empire, as they could be extremely convincing and almost impossible to detect. This poses a problem when trying to infer wealth or the socio-economic status of the wearer simply from the materials used in its construction.

However, fake gemstones could also have been used to create a type of costume jewellery. Perhaps the presence of almost 400 glass paste gems from the Pompeian workshop at I.11-9.15 represents a shop specializing in costume pieces.[37] Similarly, while it seems unlikely that the purchaser of a pair of bronze and green glass bracelets did not realize their true composition, those viewing the bracelets on the wrists of their owner might have mistaken them for a more costly adornment.[38] In fact it seems that many jewellers were skilled enough to fool even clients. A disparity in the legal texts demonstrates that even a client could mistake bronze jewellery for gold and the legal texts disagree as to whether the sale is still valid, since the composition of the piece had been agreed upon or whether it was invalid because the material was falsified.[39]

One of the few materials used in female adornment that was a clear indicator of wealth was the pearl. Pliny the Elder specifically states that the pearl was the most valuable product from the sea.[40] In addition, the high value of pearls is supported by their inclusion in Roman sumptuary laws, such as the *Lex Iulia Sumptuaria*, where their use was restricted to individuals of a certain age and status on specific days.[41] Moreover, there are literary references to women saving the livelihoods (and often lives) of their husbands by selling a single pearl from their own ears.[42] However, even pearls could

[34]For example, *P. Holm.* 14 and 32. Also see *P.Holm* 74 for the fabrication of the colouring with which to create fake emeralds.

[35]Martial 9.59.

[36]HA '*Gall.*' 12.5. This anecdote has been mistakenly associated in modern scholarship with the mid-first-century BCE senator Gallus and his wife, Antonina; Jack Ogden, *Jewellery of the Ancient World* (London: British Museum Press, 1982), 139; Koray Konuk, Melih Arslan, Baysan Bayar and Kemal Türeli, *Ancient Gems and Finger Rings from Asia Minor: The Yüksel Erïmtan Collection Koray Konuk and Melïh Arslan Collection* (Ankara: publisher not identified, 2000), 6.

[37]Ivana Cerato, 'La Casa I-11-9,15 di Pompei', *Rivista di Studi Pompeiani* 11 (2000): 124.

[38]Now at the Naples Archaeological Museum (MANN 118270–118271). Seneca (*Ep.* 115.9) noted a similar phenomenon in theatre decoration, where golden images were actually created by applying gold foil to wood; however, as no one saw these images until the theatre was completed, they appeared to be solid gold. See Kelly Olson ('*Matrona* and Whore: The Clothing of Women in Roman Antiquity', *Fashion Theory* 6, no. 4 (2002): 399), who suggests that such examples represented lower-class women imitating elite status symbols.

[39]*Dig.* 18.1, quoted in Jack Ogden, *Gold Jewellery in Ptolemaic, Roman and Byzantine Egypt* (Doctoral Thesis, Durham University. Available at Durham E-Theses Online: http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/1457) 1990, 100. Cf. the Leyden Papyrus, which gives several recipes for imitating precious metals; *P. Leid.* 10; Earle Caley, 'The Leyden Papyrus X: An English Translation with Brief Notes', *Journal of Chemical Education* 3, no. 10 (1926): 1149–66.

[40]*Nat.* 9.54, 37.16. In addition, Pliny (*Nat.* 11.50.136) lamented that women spent 'more money on their ears in pearl earrings, than on any other part of their person'.

[41]Pearls are the only precious stone mentioned explicitly; Suet. *Iul.* 1.33.

[42]Suetonius (*Vit.* 7), for example, stated that Vitellius was able to defray the cost of his travel to lower Germany by pawning a single pearl from his mother's ear. Perhaps the most famous description of a woman selling her jewellery and pearls for the sake of her husband is the late-first-century BCE *Laudatio Turiae* (*ILS* 8393); however, there are many other similar occurrences recorded in ancient literary sources (e.g. Petr. *Satyr.* 76; App. *Bell. Civ.* 4.39).

be imitated with less precious materials, such as alabaster and glass.[43] Clearly, there were several options available to women from different socio-economic backgrounds when purchasing jewellery to express their own identity, including the use of 'costume' pieces or lower quality pieces in precious materials. All gold bracelets, for example, were not equal, as can be seen from the two pairs of gold hemisphere bracelets in Figures 9.2 and 9.3.[44] The first pair of bracelets consisted of a single row of hemispheres created from gold foil, while the second consisted of two rows of more solid gold. In addition to the extra row of hemispheres and higher quality of gold, this second bracelet required more intricacy and craftsmanship to create its decoration. This comparison demonstrates that even seemingly wealthy items of a type often classed together would have varied greatly.[45] This suggests that there was a market for comparable forms of jewellery for women from different socio-economic backgrounds to display similar aspects of their identities but within their own budgets.

Another issue with inferring socio-economic status from jewellery can be seen in the adornment of not only the poor and lower classes but also slaves. While slaves could not legally have any property, including their own bodies, they may have in fact have been in possession of richer material than many poor free and freed men and women. It would seem obvious that those in possession of gold objects of adornment would also possess more wealth and social status than those with similar items in silver or lead; however, social identities are never as straightforward as that.

Wealthy Romans were known to adorn even their pet eels (*murenae*) with earrings and necklaces, undoubtedly to display the wealth of the owner rather than any personal identity of the eel.[46] A further example of this paradox may be seen in a find from the Vesuvian suburb, Moregine. There, a gold *armilla* (armband) in the shape of a single-headed snake thrice coiled was found, on the inside of which was incised *DOM(I)NUS ANCILLAE SUAE*, master to his slave girl (Figure 9.4).[47] If we assume that this represented a real master and slave relationship rather than the poetic license of two lovers of free status, what does this tell us about the relationship between this *armilla* and its wearer's identity?[48] Was this an expression of the girl's gender identity or that of her master?

[43]Olson, 'Matrona and Whore', 416–17, fn. 72. For alabaster, see Diana Kleiner and Susan Matheson, eds., *I Claudia: Women in Ancient Rome* (New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 1996), 175. For glass, see Mary Trowbridge, *Philological Studies in Ancient Glass* (Illinois: University of Illinois, 1930), 147; Tert. *Ad Mart.* 4; Hier. *Epist.* 29.7.8, 130.6.6; Petr. *Satyr.* 67. A pair of gold earrings from Oplontis B used shell or mother-of-pearl pendants to imitate more costly pearls MANN 72997; Ward, 'Luxury, Adornment, and Identity'.

[44]MANN 114317/8 and E3647/8, respectively.

[45]For a further discussion of the varying craftsmanship of hemisphere bracelets from the Bay of Naples and their meaning, see Ward, *Identifying Multiple Gender Identities*, 82–8. Gesa Schenke (*Schein und Sein: Schmuckgebrauch in der römischen Kaiserzeit. Eine sozio-ecönomische Studie anhand von Bild und Dokument* (Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 47–51) has used the same characteristics of craftsmanship and weight to identify these as anklets rather than bracelets. Ria Berg ('Dress, Identity, Cultural Memory: *Copa* and *Ancilla Cauponae* in Context', in *Gender, Memory, and Identity in the Roman World*, ed. Jussi Rantala (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2019), 229–30) also recognizes these pieces as anklets and associates them explicitly with the dress of courtesans and prostitutes.

[46]James Higginbotham, *Piscinae, Artificial Ponds in Roman Italy* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 45. For jewellery on eels, see Pliny *Nat.* 9.172. It is clear though that at least some Romans viewed these eels much as we would our pets today, even crying at their passing (Pliny *Nat.* 9.172; Macrob. *Sat.* 3.15.4).

[47]Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei 81580. Pier Giovanni Guzzo, *Tales from an Eruption: Pompeii, Herculaneum, Oplontis* (Milan: Electa, 2003), 178.

[48]For a discussion of this *armilla*, its varying interpretations and its (potential) relationship to Roman slavery, see Jennifer Baird, 'On Reading the Material Culture of Ancient Sexual Labor', *Helios* 42, no. 1 (2015): 163–75. See also Frank Copley, '*Servitium Amoris* in the Roman Elegists', *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 78: 285–300; Kathleen McCarthy, '*Servitium amoris: Amor servitii*', in *Women and Slaves in Greco-Roman Culture: Differential Equations*, ed. Sandra Joshel and Shelia Murnaghan (London: Routledge, 1998), 174–92; William Fitzgerald, *Slavery and the Roman Literary Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 72–7; Sharon James, *Learned Girls and Male Persuasion: Gender and Reading in Roman Love Elegy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 145–50, on *servitium amoris.*

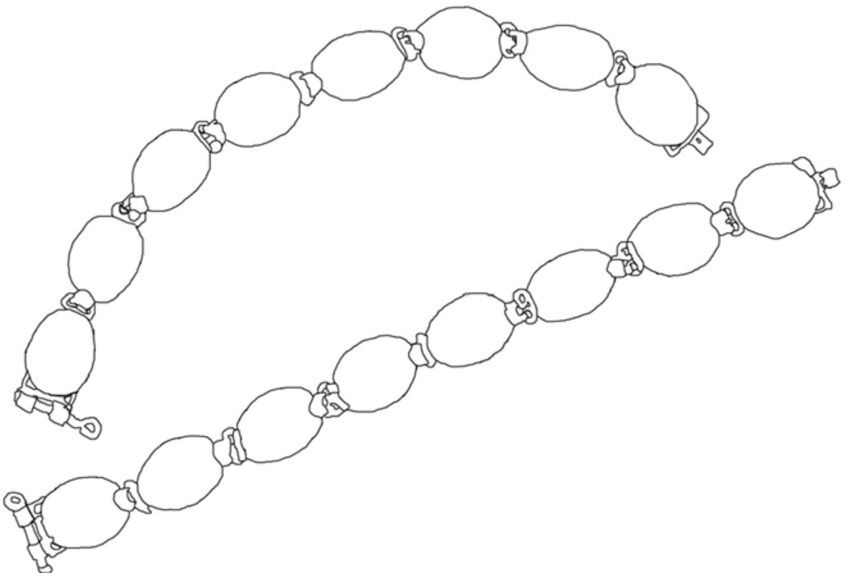


FIGURE 9.2 Gold hemisphere bracelets from Moregine displaying gold foil construction and simple design, first century CE. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, inv. MANN 114317/8. Artist: Ethan Henkel.



FIGURE 9.3 Gold hemisphere bracelet from Herculaneum displaying intricacy of design and craftsmanship, first century CE. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, inv. E3647/8. Photo: Art Resource (ART180956).



FIGURE 9.4 Gold armband of a snake from Moregine with the inscription *DOM(I)NUS ANCILLAE SUAE* (from the master to his slave girl), mid-first century CE, inv. SAP 81580. Photo: ScienceSource Images (SS22169532).

Due to the location of the inscription on the armband from Moregine, the message must have been a private one, as no one else would have been able to view it. It is probable then that this armband was a gift from a master to his lover. Would this inscription have been to remind the girl of her social status within the household or would it have been to prove that the girl had indeed been given the gold jewellery and had not stolen it?

In addition to the potential symbolism behind the single-headed snake decoration and its relation to the slave girl (something that is beyond the scope of this current chapter), the girl's adornment would have been an expression of the wealth and status of her master. The fact that he could afford to gild something as trivial as a slave girl would have been as great an expression of the wealth of his household as marble flooring and intricate wall paintings. We hear of a woman (and the associated lavish expenditure) from Terence's second-century BCE play, *Heauton Timorumenos*, who had no less than ten *ancillae*, all of whom were bedecked in fancy clothes and jewellery.[49] The status of the slave girl from Moregine and those in Terence's play would have been visible from other attributes, such as clothing and hairstyle, so such rich ornamentation would have been immediately noticeable. Furthermore, while the recipient of the aforementioned bracelet from Moregine was still of the lowest possible social status, her rank within the slave population as a favourite of the master would have been visible to all, since it is unlikely that all slaves of this household were adorned with similar gold decorations. This favouritism may have been due to her position as either a lover to or child of the master. In either case, she, herself as well as her adornment, would

[49]Ter. *Haut.* 449-454. For other examples of adorned *ancillae* with bronze and gold jewellery, see Berg 'Dress, Identity, Cultural Memory', 223, fn 76.

have stressed the virility of her master. While the inscription would not have been visible to ancient viewers, other factors would have demonstrated this girl's gender identity and social status. This single armband illuminates the complex network of identities which an individual might possess and portray within Roman society and illustrates the danger of assuming that only elite and wealthy individuals could possess expensive gold jewellery.

MARITAL STATUS AND MOTHERHOOD

Two of the arguably most important aspects of a woman's identity, namely marital and parental statuses, are not identifiable in the archaeological record but would have been immediately identifiable to ancient viewers. In certain periods, women who had given birth to a certain number of children were even granted the right to wear specific items of jewellery.[50] Due to the culture and societal values of the Roman world, it could be assumed that a woman with children was most likely married; however, restrictions on the rights of men and women of servile status to marry complicate this issue. Furthermore, it is only in those rare cases when a foetus is found inside the mother that parental status can be positively identified from the archaeological record.

Some literary sources mention the gift of a finger-ring to mark an engagement (often referred to as an *annulus pronubus*), but how common this gift was and how this ring differed from other finger-rings is unclear.[51] Finger-rings decorated with the *dextrarum iunctio* have been identified by some scholars with wedding rings due to the common use of this symbol on freedmen reliefs; however, it has also been suggested that this image could simply represent marital joy.[52] Valerius Maximus offers another tantalizing clue to the adornment of married women, when he states that earrings were 'the first badge of matrons';[53] however, as noted above, women of a variety of ages (and presumably marital statuses) wore different forms of earrings. Kunst suggests a 'connection between women wearing pearls and being mothers', but she also notes that pearl earrings were gifted to women on their wedding day.[54] This idea is echoed by Suetonius, who states that unmarried and childless women were banned from wearing pearls.[55] A mummy portrait from Hawara, however, depicts a pair of simple gold hoop and pearl earrings on a young girl, who was presumably unmarried.[56]

There does seem to be a package of adornment associated with newly married women or at least their dowry jewellery: a matching set of earrings, finger-rings and necklaces and/or bracelets.

[50]The *Lex Iulia et Papia Poppea*, for example, granted legal privileges to women who bore children, with mothers of three or more children being granted freedom from tutelage with the *ius trium liberorum*; Ulp. 13-16; Gaius *Inst.* 1.145, 1.195, 2.111, 2.86-86a. That this status and identity were important is suggested by the fact that Livia was granted the *ius trium liberorum* by the Senate, despite only having had two children; Dio 55.2.5-7; Bronwyn Hopwood, 'Livia and the *lex Voconia*', in *Gender Identities in Italy in the First Millennium BC*, ed. Edward Herring and Kathryn Lomas (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2009), 143.

[51]Pliny *Nat.* 33.12; Tert. *Apol.*6. For a discussion of practices surrounding Roman engagements, see Karen Hersch, *The Roman Wedding: Ritual and Meaning in Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 40–2; Mary Harlow, 'Death and the Maiden: Reprising the Burials of Roman Girls and Young Women', in *Dressing the Dead in Classical Antiquity*, ed. Maureen Carroll and J. Wild (Stroud: Amberley Publishing, 2012).

[52]Hersch *The Roman Wedding*, 41. For the association of this image with marriage, see, for example, Richard Brilliant, *Gesture and Rank in Roman Art: The Use of Gestures to Denote Status in Roman Sculpture and Coinage* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1963).

[53]Val. Max. 5.2.1, as quoted in Kunst, '*Ornamenta Uxoria*', 136.

[54]Kunst, '*Ornamenta Uxoria*', 137–8.

[55]Suet. *Aug.* 43.

[56]Altes Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. 31161.32.

It has been argued that this dowry jewellery was buried with unmarried girls as a symbol of *mors immatura*, or death before achieving their anticipated role in society.[57] Pliny the Younger noted that his friend, Fundanus, had to use the money that he had saved for the clothing, pearls and jewels of his daughter's approaching wedding for the ointments and spices of her funeral, suggesting that not every unmarried maiden was buried with her intended dowry jewellery.[58] For this study, it is interesting to see that unmarried women (who were also presumably childless) were buried with adornment that if worn in life would have identified them as married women and/or mothers.

The package of adornment noted in the graves of young women is similar to the jewellery worn by two young women from Campania. Both women were between sixteen and twenty-five, and both were pregnant, suggesting that they were also married at the time of the eruption. The jewellery found with these two women included earrings, finger-rings, necklaces and bracelets. The amount, quality and material used for this jewellery varied, but the similar forms and decoration suggest that these pieces were directly related to the marital and parental status of these young women.[59] Unfortunately, more work needs to be done to fully understand how adornment signalled aspects of marriage and parenthood, alongside other characteristics, in particular, age.

PROVINCIAL AND ETHNIC IDENTITY

A final aspect of identity that was expressed through adornment in antiquity is ethnicity. There has been much written on this topic, and it is beyond the scope of the present chapter to fully investigate how jewellery helped to create and display different ethnic identities across the Empire;[60] however, it is an important subject for the study of how these 'non-functional' *ornamenta* could be incredibly politically charged. The adoption and display of traditional Roman forms of jewellery in the provinces would have been a clear sign of alliance with Rome and its government. In Colchester, for example, a hoard of jewellery discovered buried beneath the destruction layer of a house included female jewellery of high quality that is identical to those discovered from contemporary contexts in Roman Italy.[61] Based on the presence of this jewellery, along with Roman military awards and a boy's *bulla*, it has been suggested that this hoard represents the personal adornment of a Roman family, possibly a distinguished veteran, that had been buried at the approach of British insurgents.[62] It is perhaps not surprising then that in a time of such political turmoil in Roman Britain, individuals who displayed such strong affiliations with Rome through their adornment would have been targets for the British warriors.

[57]Stefanie Martin-Kilcher '*Mors Immatura* in the Roman world – a Mirror of Society and Tradition', in *Burial, Society and Context in the Roman World*, ed. John Pearce, Martin Millett and Manuela Struck (Oxford: Oxbow, 2000), 63–77; Andrew Oliver, 'Jewelry for the Unmarried', in *I Claudia II. Women in Roman Art and Society*, ed. Diana Kleiner and Susan Matheson (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000), 115–24; Harlow, 'Death and the Maiden'.
[58]*Epist.* 5.16.1-6.
[59]Ward 'Luxury, Adornment, and Identity', 101–2.
[60]For example, see Hella Eckardt, *Objects and Identities: Roman Britain and the North-western Provinces* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), chap. 2. On the different ways in which jewellery was used to display local and ethnic identities, see the case studies of Arlon (Gallia Belgica) and Flavia Solva (Noricum) in Ursula Rothe, 'Whose Fashion? Men, Women and Roman Culture as Reflected in Dress in the Cities of the Roman North-West', in *Women and the Roman City in the Latin West*, ed. Emily Hemelrijk and Greg Woolf (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 243–70.
[61]Crummy et al., 'A Hoard of Military Awards'.
[62]Ibid., 99–100.

Alternatively, display of traditional jewellery forms was a way to stress traditional provincial identities. This can be seen in the well-known funerary portraits from Palmyra. In these portraits, women are depicted wearing distinctive native headdresses and substantial amounts (much more than the Roman authors would perhaps deem appropriate) of native jewellery.[63] Even in provincial reliefs that depict men in traditional Roman attire, women can be seen in traditional and distinctly non-Roman jewellery (Figure 9.5). A mid-first-century CE monument from Nickenich on the middle Rhine is dedicated to a Celtic woman, Contuinda, and her son. While the son is dressed in Greco-Roman clothes and another man depicted on the monument is in a Roman toga, Contuinda is portrayed with a Celtic tunic and a traditional Celtic torc around her neck.[64] In some cases, the



FIGURE 9.5 Drawing of the mid-first-century CE funerary monument of Contuinda and her family from Nickenich, Germany (now in Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn). Contuinda is shown with Celtic jewellery, while her son and other male family members wear Roman style dress. Artist: Jerneja Willmott. Copyright Maureen Carroll.

[63]For example, Signe Krag, 'Changing Identities, Changing Positions: Jewellery in Palmyrene Female Portraits', in *Positions and Professions in Palmyra*, Palmyrene Studies 2, ed. Tracey Long and Annette Sørensen (Copenhagen: Der Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, 2017), 36–51; Rubina Raja, 'Powerful Images of the Deceased: Palmyrene Funerary Culture between Local, Greek, and Roman Representations', in *Bilder der Macht: das griechische Porträt und seine Verwendung in der antiken Welt*, ed. Dietrich Boschung and François Queyrel (Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2017), 319–48.
[64]Maureen Carroll, '"*The Insignia of Women*": Dress, Gender and Identity on the Roman Funerary Monument of Regina from *Arbeia*', *The Archaeological Journal* 169 (2013): 5. Cf. a second-century Roman citizen, who commissioned a monument in Gorsium in Pannonia for his mother in which she (Flavia Usaiu) was depicted with traditional Pannonian jewellery (a torc and bracelets) as well as a traditional headdress; Carroll 'The Insignia of Women', 8. For a discussion of women as more conservative in dress, see Ellen Swift, *Regionality in Dress Accessories in the Late Roman West* (Montagnac: M. Mergoil, 2000), 11.

interaction of local and Roman traditions of dress and adornment even led to the creation of a new style, as Rothe has identified in Gaul.[65] It is interesting to see that it is women who are expressing these ethnic identities through their choice of adornment. Once again we see how jewellery could clearly make a political statement while displaying an individual's identity to viewers.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has shown that there is more to jewellery and female adornment than its cost. The close identification of adornment with an individual explains why objects of adornment were regularly included in burials as grave goods, dedicated to deities and decorated statues of the deceased.[66] Telestis's gold *lunula*, the gold snake bracelet from Moregine and Eirene's bracelet order are all items of gold jewellery, and they all demonstrate different aspects of their wearers' identities. The close association between female adornment and personal identity is evidenced by the fact that women from different economic and social backgrounds wore similar forms (and even materials) of adornment to display other shared aspects of their identity. Even if it is unclear to us today exactly how these aspects were displayed, it is important to appreciate that even if *ornamenta muliebria* were not practically functional, they had important cultural functions in Roman society, beyond the simple display of their owner's wealth.

[65]Ursula Rothe, 'The "Third Way": Treveran Women's Dress and the "Gallic Ensemble"', *Archaeological Journal of America* 116 (2012): 235–52.

[66]For example, John Robb, Reno Bigazzi, Luca Lazzarini, Caterina Scarsini and Fiorenza Sonego, 'Social "Status" and Biological "Status": A Comparison of Grave Goods and Skeletal Indicators from Pontecagnano', *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 115 (2001): 213–22 (for grave goods); *ILS* 4422; Leonard Curchin, 'Personal Wealth in Roman Spain', *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 32, no. 2 (1983): 235 (for a Baetican woman who dedicated her jewellery to female deities); *ILS* 5496; Curchin, 'Personal Wealth in Roman Spain', 231 (for a Baetican woman who commissioned a statue to be covered with her gems and pearls).

CHAPTER TEN

Dress in the Desert: Archaeological Textiles as a Source for Work Clothes in Roman Egypt

LISE BENDER JØRGENSEN

INTRODUCTION

Our knowledge for dress in Roman Egypt has largely been based on so-called Coptic textiles, which were much sought after by private and public collections of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries,[1] papyri and other textual sources and mummy portraits. Although rich and valuable sources, this evidence often suffers from uncertain provenance, dating and context. Recent projects involving radiocarbon dating have helped; substantial groups of 'Coptic textiles', for example, are now dated between the third and tenth centuries CE.[2] All three types of sources are found in towns and villages in the Nile Valley. The 'Coptic textiles' are funeral attire and are thus likely to reflect the 'Sunday best' of town dwellers and villagers. The mummy portraits represent members of the same groups: sufficiently wealthy to afford the making of portraits. The textual sources shed light on the production of textiles in the form of letters, bills and receipts regarding textiles or the raw materials for making them, contracts of apprenticeship and lists and inventories

Thanks are due to directors of the Mons Claudianus project Hélène Cuvigny and Adam Bülow-Jacobsen, team members Martin Ciszuk, Lena Hammarlund and Ulla Mannering and to fellow scholars of Roman textiles in Egypt Dominique Cardon, Hero Granger-Taylor, Fiona Handley and John Peter & Felicity Wild. All have liberally shared their knowledge on this fascinating subject. Work on the Mons Claudianus textiles has been generously funded over the years by the British Academy, the Carlsberg Foundation, G. E. C. Gad's *Fond*, Agnes Geijer's Foundation for Nordic Textile Research, the Joint Committee of the Nordic Research Councils for the Humanities, Novo's *Fond* and VKR's *Familiefond*. A debt of gratitude is owed to them all.

[1]Monica Gulmini, A. Idone, P. Davit, M. Moi, M. Carrillo, C. Ricci, F. Dal Bello, M. Borla, C. Oliva, C. Greco and M. Aceto, 'The "Coptic" Textiles of the "Museo Egizio" in Torino (Italy): A Focus on Dyes through a Multi-technique Approach', *Archaeological and Anthropological Sciences* 9 (2017): 485–97. Online: doi: 10.1007/212520-016-0376-2; Frances Pritchard, *Clothing Culture: Dress in Egypt in the First Millennium AD* (Manchester: Whitworth Art Gallery, University of Manchester, 2006; Marie-Hélène Rutschowscaya, *Tissus Coptes* (Parise: Éditions Adam Biro, 1990).

[2]Antoine De Moor and Cäcilia Fluck, eds., *Methods of Dating Ancient Textiles of the 1st Millennium AD from Egypt and Neighbouring Countries* (Tielt: Lannoo Publishers, 2007); Antoine De Moor and Cäcilia Fluck, eds., *Egypt as Textile Hub. Textile Interrelationships in the 1st Millennium AD* (Tielt: Lannoo Publishers, 2019); Pritchard, *Clothing Culture*, 13–26 and 114–15.

of garments ordered or supplied.[3] In recent years, a series of excavations in the Eastern Desert of Egypt has recovered many thousands of textiles, providing further insight regarding the dress of different social categories during the Roman occupation.[4] These excavations also illuminate our understanding of preferred materials for specific garments and how various items of clothing were made. The recent finds are dated mostly to the first and second centuries CE but some are dated from the fourth and fifth centuries CE (Figure 10.1). They also derive from a range of secure

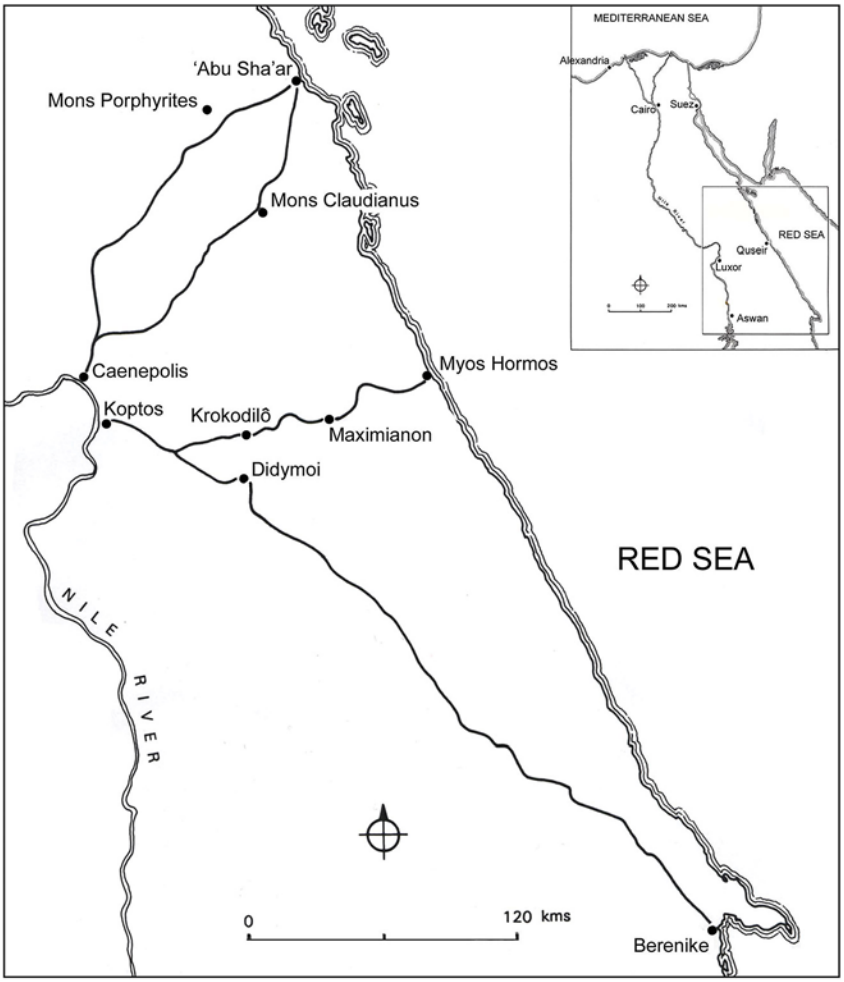


FIGURE 10.1 Map of sites in the Eastern Desert of Egypt. Drawing: Aud Beverfjord.

[3]For example, Stéphanie Guédon, 'La *lex uestis peregrinae* dans le tariff de Zarai', *Antiquités Africaines* 50 (2014): 105–17; Jennifer A. Sheridan, *Columbia Papyri IX. The Vestis Militaris Codex* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998); Ewa Wipszycka, *L'industrie textile dans l'Egypte Romaine* (Wroclaw, Warszawa, Kraków: Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1965).
[4]Lise Bender Jørgensen, 'Textiles from Mons Claudianus, "Abu Sha"ar and Other Roman Sites in the Eastern Desert', in *The Eastern Desert of Egypt during the Greco-Roman Period: Archaeological Reports*, ed. Jean-Pierre Brun, Thomas Faucher, Bérangère Redon and Steven E. Sidebotham (Paris: Collège de France, 2018), table 1. Online: http://books.openedition.org/cdf/5234 (accessed 18 January 2019).

contexts, including textual sources such as ostraca, papyri and epigraphy, which supply a wealth of information about the sites and their populations. The sites include imperial quarries, Red Sea ports and a series of forts or *praesidia* that guarded the roads between the Red Sea and the Nile.[5]

QUARRIES

Quarrying at Mons Claudianus[6] started during the reign of Nero and had its heyday from 104 to 154 CE when it supplied columns, fountains and other materials for Trajan's Forum and Basilica Ulpia, Hadrian's Villa, the Pantheon and the temple of Venus and Rome. It continued in use into the third century CE. The Mons Claudianus stone is grey granodiorite that is especially well suited for long columns. Mons Porphyrites[7] was discovered in 18 CE and was used into the fifth century CE. It supplied two kinds of porphyry: black and purple. The latter was in high demand for imperial statues and sarcophagi, for basins and fountains and for wall veneer and columns. Black porphyry appears mainly to have been used for columns.

The quarries were run as a network, headed by a prefect, the *procurator metallorum*, who was an imperial freedman. The staff consisted of two main groups: *pagani* and *familia*. The *pagani* were free Egyptian stone masons and blacksmiths, while the *familia* were imperial slaves and freedmen. The sites were administered by soldiers.[8] The rubbish heaps at both sites contained an abundance of textiles; those at Mons Claudianus were well preserved and a representative sample has been documented;[9] at Porphyrites, conditions of preservation were less ideal and the number of extant textiles smaller.[10]

PORTS

Berenike[11] was a port on the Red Sea coast close to the current border with Sudan. Founded by Ptolemy II *c.* 275 BCE, it remained in use until the first half of the sixth century CE. Berenike

[5]Bender Jørgensen, 'Textiles', with further references; Dominique Cardon, 'Chiffons dans le désert: Textiles des déportoirs de Maximinanon et Krokodilô', in *La route de Myos Hormos – L'armée romaine dans le désert Oriental d'Égypte*, ed. Hélène Cuvigny (Le Caire: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 2003), 619–59, 667–9; Dominique Cardon, Hero Granger-Taylor and Witold Nowik, 'How Were They Dressed? Fragments of Clothing Found at Didymoi: Case Studies', in *Didymoi. Une garnison romaine dans le desert Orientale d'Égypte, Vol. 1*, ed. Hélène Cuvigny (Le Caire: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 2011), 271–393; Fiona Handley, 'Textiles', in *The Roman Imperial Quarries. Survey and Excavation at Mons Porphyrites 1994–1998, Vol*. 2, ed. David Peacock and Valerie Maxfield (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 2007; Fiona Handley, 'The Textiles: A Preliminary Report', in *Myos Hormos – Quseir al Qadim. Roman and Islamic Ports on the Red Sea. Survey and Excavations 1999–2003, Volume 2: Finds from the Excavations 1999–2003*, ed. David Peacock and Lucy Blue (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2011), 321–34; for further references, see Felicity Wild and John Peter Wild, 'Textile Contrasts at Berenike' in *The Eastern Desert* (accessed 18 January 2019).

[6]David Peacock and Valerie Maxfield, *Survey and Excavation Mons Claudianus I. Topography and Quarries* (Le Caire: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1997); Valerie Maxfield and David Peacock, *Survey and Excavation Mons Claudianus II. Excavations Part I* (Le Caire: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 2001).

[7]Valerie Maxfield and David Peacock, *The Roman Imperial Quarries. Survey and Excavations at Mons Porphyrites 1994–1998. Volume 1: Topography and Quarries* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 2001).

[8]Hélène Cuvigny, 'A Survey of Place-Names in the Egyptian Eastern Desert during the Principate according to the Ostraca and the Inscriptions', in *The Eastern Desert* (accessed 29 January 2019).

[9]Bender Jørgensen, 'Textiles from Mons Claudianus'.

[10]Handley 'Textiles'.

[11]Rodney Ast, 'Berenike in Light of Inscriptions, Ostraca, and Papyri', in *The Eastern Desert* (accessed 30 January 2019); Steven E. Sidebotham, 'Overview of Fieldwork at Berenike 1994–2015', in *The Eastern Desert* (accessed 30 January 2019).

was an important hub for long-distance trade with India, Arabia and East Africa. Texts in twelve different languages reveal that the population was cosmopolitan and multi-ethnic, consisting of groups such as traders, custom officials, soldiers, transport workers and sailors. Textile finds from Berenike fall in two chronological groups: the first century CE and the late fourth to fifth centuries CE.[12]

The port of Myos Hormos[13] was situated 8 kilometres north of the modern town of Quseir on the Red Sea coast. It, too, was founded in the Ptolemaic period; it flourished during the Roman occupation of Egypt until the mid-third century CE. Like Berenike it served as a centre for commerce with India, Arabia and East Africa. The population was a similar multi-ethnic mix of merchants, administrators and mariners, military personnel and women and children. The site was re-occupied in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries. An abundance of textile remains from both periods have been recovered.[14]

PRAESIDIA

The fort of Didymoi[15] was located on the caravan road between Berenike and the city of Coptos (modern Qift). It was founded 76–77 CE and was intermittently in use until the middle of the third century CE. Middens at the site proved to contain a large number of textiles.[16]

Krokodilô and Maximianon[17] were situated on the road between Myos Hormos and Coptos. Krokodilô was established *c.* 100 CE and appears only to have been used for about twenty years; Maximianon is more broadly dated to the first and second centuries CE. The population at the *praesidia* consisted of fifteen to twenty-two soldiers, their servants, the occasional prostitute and some civilians providing supplies.[18] Rubbish dumps again contained numerous textiles.[19]

A number of further *praesidia* have been excavated by a team directed by Hélène Cuvigny.[20] At two sites, both on the road between Berenike and Coptos, extensive textile finds were recovered.[21] As little information is yet available, they are not discussed here. A fort at ‘Abu Sha’ar, north of modern Hurghada and founded 310–311 CE, then abandoned before 400 CE, housed a garrison of approximately 200 cavalry. The trash left by the soldiers also contained many textile scraps.[22]

[12]Wild and Wild, ‘Textile Contrasts at Berenike’.

[13]For further references, see Lucy Blue, ‘Port of Myos Hormos and Its Relations to Indo-Roman Trade’, in *The Eastern Desert* (accessed 18 January 2019).

[14]Handley, ‘The Textiles’; Gillian Vogelsang-Eastwood, *Quseri al-Qadim Textile Report 1978–1982*, CD Publication (Leiden: Textile Research Centre, 2006).

[15]Hélène Cuvigny, *Didymoi. Uni garnison romaine dans le désert Oriental d’Égypte I – Les Fouilles et le Matériel* (Le Caire: Institut française d’archéologie orientale, 2011); *Didymoi. Uni garnison romaine dans le désert Oriental d’Égypte II – Les Textes* (Le Caire: Institut française d’archéologie orientale, 2012).

[16]Cardon, Granger-Taylor and Nowik, ‘How Were They Dressed?’

[17]Hélène Cuvigny, *La route de Myos Hormos. L’Armée romaine dans le désert Oriental d’Égypte*, vol. 2 (Le Caire: Institut française d’archéologie orientale, 2003).

[18]Hélène Cuvigny, *La route de Myos Hormos*; *Didymoi. Uni garnison romaine dans le désert Oriental d’Égypte I – Les Fouilles et le Matériel*; *Didymoi. Uni garnison romaine dans le désert Oriental d’Égypte II – Les Textes*.

[19]Cardon, ‘Chiffons dans le désert’.

[20]http://www.ifao.egnet.net/recherche/archeologie/praesidia/ (accessed 30 January 2019).

[21]Dominique Cardon, Adam Bülow-Jacobsen and Hélène Cuvigny, ‘Recent Textile Finds from Dios and Xeron’, *Archaeological Textiles Newsletter* 50 (2010): 2–13.

[22]Bender Jørgensen, ‘Textiles from the Mons Claudianus’, with further references.

TEXTILES FROM THE DESERT

The textile finds from the quarries, ports and *praesidia* of the Eastern Desert primarily derive from rubbish dumps. Such a location means that they are rags, worn-out garments and torn or cut-off scraps. The few recognizable items are worn almost to shreds. Work in the quarries was hard labour. They, as well as the *praesidia*, were situated far into the desert where food and especially water was in scarce supply and where everybody dreamt of getting back to the Nile Valley as quickly as possible.[23] Transporting goods across desert or sea was perilous. In such conditions, few people would choose to wear their Sunday best; consequently, we do not find anything that matches the beautiful garments from the burials along the Nile Valley. What the rags and heavily repaired items from the quarries, ports and forts of the Eastern Desert lack in splendour they do, however, make up for in numbers: currently more than 12,000 dated and provenanced fragments have been processed and recorded.[24]

ROMAN GARMENTS

The Roman male citizen wore the tunic and toga for formal occasions; for less formal ones he donned the Greek-style *pallium* instead of the toga.[25] The *sagum* and *paludamentum* were distinctive military cloaks.[26] Roman soldiers and civilians occupied with outdoor activities preferred the *paenula* and other hooded cloaks as daily outerwear.[27] Women wore a longer tunic along with a mantle.[28] Scarves, loincloths, wrappings, socks and various types of headgear were also part of the Roman wardrobe.[29] To these can be added various dress items from the provinces specific to the area or to certain ethnicities.[30]

While these items of dress are well known from Roman art and literature, the materiality of these garments is more difficult to identify. We need archaeological remains in order to understand what the textiles really looked like, their drape, handle, colours and materials, and how they were constructed. Yigael Yadin made an important step towards this when he compared descriptions in literature of the Roman tunic with *clavi* with a large group of rectangular sheets of cloth with two parallel bands in contrasting colours recovered from the Cave of Letters in Israel.[31] He also

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[23] Jean Bingen, 'Life on the Fringe: Some Conclusions', in *Life on the Fringe. Living in the Southern Egyptian Deserts during the Roman and Early Byzantine Periods*, ed. Olaf E. Kaper (Leiden: Research School CNWS), 287–300.

[24] Bender Jørgensen, 'Textiles from Mons Claudianus', with further references; Cardon, Granger-Taylor and Nowik, 'How Were They dressed'; Handley, 'Textiles'; 'The Textiles'; Vogelsang-Eastwood, *Quseir al Qadim*; Wild and Wild, 'Textile Contrasts'.

[25] Liza Cleland, Glenys Davies and Lloyd Llewelyn-Jones, *Greek and Roman Dress from A to Z* (Oxford and New York: Routledge), 137, 190–7, 200–2; Alexandra T. Croom, *Roman Clothing and Fashion* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Tempus, 2000), 30–54; Hero Granger-Taylor, 'The Emperor's Clothes: The Fold Lines', *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 74/3 (1987): 114–23; Judith Lynn Sebesta and Larissa Bonfante, *The World of Roman Costume* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), 13–45; Lillian M. Wilson, *The Clothing of the Ancient Romans* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1938).

[26] Cleland, Davies and Llewelyn-Jones, *Greek and Roman Dress*, 137–8, 164; Croom, *Roman Clothing*, 51.

[27] Cardon, Granger-Taylor and Nowik, 'How Were They Dressed', 319–23; Croom, *Roman Clothing*, 51–4; Cleland, Davies and Llewelyn-Jones *Greek and Roman Dress*, 135–6.

[28] Croom, *Roman Clothing*, 73–91; Sebesta and Bonfante *The World*, 46–64.

[29] Croom, *Roman Clothing*, 56–60; Cardon, Granger-Taylor and Nowik, 'How Were They Dressed', 341–52.

[30] See Croom, *Roman Clothing*, 123–43, for an overview.

[31] Yigael Yadin, *The Finds from the Bar-Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1963). Katie Turner's chapter in this book analyses Yadin's work.

identified a group of rectangular mantles decorated with symmetrically placed motifs such as *gammas* and notched bars from the same site as the Roman *pallium*.[32] Hero Granger-Taylor has added significantly to this discussion, examining how details in depictions of dress in Roman art are mirrored in archaeological finds. Her work has demonstrated that most Roman dress items were woven to shape.[33] This applies to major garments such as tunics, mantles and cloaks as well as smaller items like scarves and wrappings. Techniques such as sprang and 'Coptic knitting' were used for socks and some types of caps.[34] Tailored Roman garments, however, are few.

DRESS IN THE DESERT

Although most of the textiles from the rubbish deposits in the Eastern Desert are fragments, it has been possible to ascertain a number of garments from Mons Claudianus and the *praesidia*. The sleeveless Roman tunic is the most common, as it is easily identifiable by the purple bands or *clavi*; in many cases just a fragment of a *clavus* is preserved but is sufficient to classify it as the remains of a tunic. Most tunics were off-white/undyed, and a few were green or red. The *clavi* are normally purple, but colours such as blue, green, red or even black appear as well.[35] The sleeveless tunics were square in outline and a belt adjusted their length. This type of tunic appears in many mummy portraits. Men's tunics are usually white, while women's are of various bright colours.[36]

Sleeveless tunics from the Eastern Desert were made of wool and woven in tabby with a variety of textures. In many cases the fabrics appear of good quality – or were when they were new. Most were repeatedly patched and repaired. One almost complete tunic from Mons Claudianus was so heavily mended that patches replaced most of the original material. The purple *clavi*, however, appeared to have been meticulously preserved throughout the garment's existence.[37]

Sleeveless tunics of this type were constructed horizontally.[38] They were made as two sheets of cloth sewn together at the top and down the sides, leaving openings for armholes and neck. The top seam joins the selvedges of the two sheets, while side seams connect the fabric's transverse

[32]Yadin, *The Finds*, 204–40.

[33]Cardon, Granger-Taylor and Nowik, 'How Were They Dressed'; Hero Granger-Taylor, 'Weaving Clothes to Shape in the Ancient World: The Tunic and Toga of the Arringatore', *Textile History* 13 (1982): 3–25; Hero Granger-Taylor, 'The Textiles from Kirbet Aazone (Jordan)', in *Archéologie des textiles des origins au Ve siècle. Actes du colloque de Lattes, Oct. 1999*, ed. Dominique Cardon and Michel Feugére (Montagnac: Éditions Monique Mergoil, 2000), 149–62; Hero Granger-Taylor, '"Weaving Clothes to Shape in the Ancient World" 25 Years On: Corrections and Further Details with Particular Reference to the Cloaks from Lahun', *Archaeological Textiles Newsletter* 45 (2007): 26–35; Hero Granger-Taylor, 'A Fragmentary Roman Cloak Probably of the 1st c. CE and Off Cuts from Other Semi-circular Cloaks', *Archaeological Textiles Newsletter* 46 (2008): 6–16.

[34]Dorothy Burnham, 'Coptic Knitting: An Ancient Technique', *Textile History* 3 (1972): 116–24; Cardon, Granger-Taylor and Nowik, 'How Were They Dressed', 349–52; Pritchard, *Clothing Culture*, 129–45.

[35]Lise Bender Jørgensen, 'Clavi and Non-clavi: Definitions of Various Bands on Roman Textiles', in *Purpureae Vestes III: Textiles y tintes en la ciudad Antiqua*, ed. C. Alfaro, J.-P. Brun, P. Borgard and R. Pierobon Benoit (València/Napes: Universitet de València/Centre Jean Bérard [CNRS-EFR]: Naples, 2011), 75–82; Bender Jørgensen, 'Textiles from Mons Claudianus'; Cardon, 'Chiffons'; Cardon, Granger-Taylor and Nowik, 'How Were They Dressed?', 282–3.

[36]See Lorelei Corcoran's chapter on mummy portraits, this volume.

[37]Ulla Mannering, 'Roman Garments from Mons Claudianus', in *Archéologie des textiles des origins au Ve siècle. Actes du collque de Lattes, Oct. 1999*, ed. Dominique Cardon and Michel Feugére (Montagnac: Éditions Monique Mergoil, 2000), 283–90; Ulla Mannering, 'Questions and Answers on Textiles and Their Find Spots: The Mons Claudianus Textile Project', *Riggisberger Berichte* 13 (2006): 149–60.

[38]Cardon, Granger-Taylor and Nowik, 'How Were They Dressed', fig. 306; Granger-Taylor, 'Weaving Clothes'.

borders (Figure 10.2). The characteristic reinforced selvedges and cord-like closing borders are easily recognizable in preserved textiles and garments as well as in art. The *clavi* are created while weaving the tunic sheets. This involved rearranging the warp to accommodate the bands that are much more densely woven than the ground weave. Two different ways of doing this have been noted: one is termed *croisage*, as warp threads were rearranged by crossing; in the other, part of the threads were dropped, that is left unused during the weaving of the band.[39] This opens up a possibility of identifying the loom type, as the crossing of warp threads cannot be done on a warp-weighted loom. Tunics with this kind of *clavi* are therefore likely to have been made on a two-beam loom, while the method of dropped threads probably was used for the warp-weighted loom (see below).[40] Both types of bands appear at the sites in the Eastern Desert but *clavi* made with *croisage* are much more frequent than those where threads have been dropped.[41]

Sleeved tunics were rare in the first and second centuries CE but became common from the third century CE.[42] They appear on some mummy portraits contemporary to Mons Claudianus and the *praesidia* and are well known from later sites, for example in Syria there are indications of them at desert sites. Decorative motifs associated with this type of tunic appear only in a few cases, such

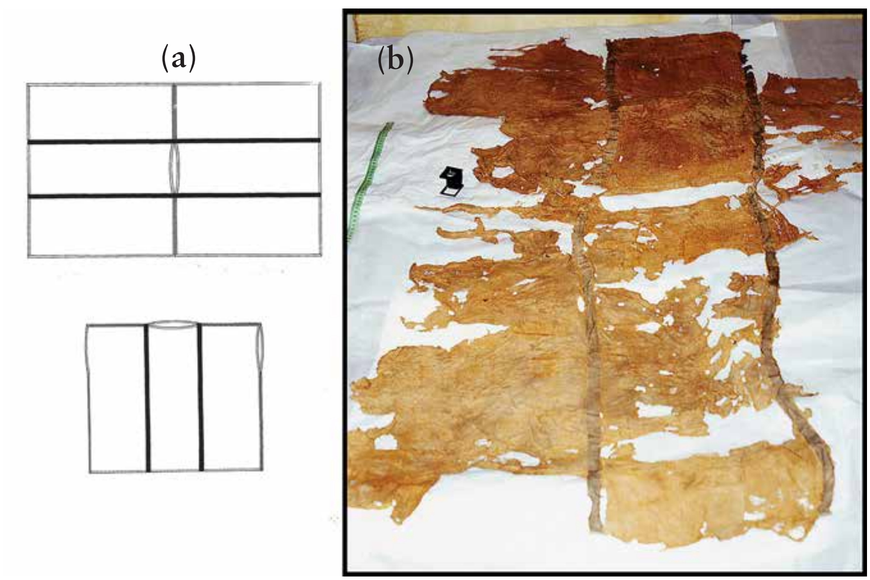


FIGURE 10.2 (a) Roman tunic: construction. Courtesy of the Israel Exploration Society. (b) Heavily patched clavied tunic MC 1100 from Mons Claudianus. Photo: Author.

[39]Cardon, Granger-Taylor and Nowik 'How Were They Dressed', figs. 308–9; Martin Ciszuk and Lena Hammarlund, 'Roman Looms – A Study of Craftsmanship and Technology in the Mons Claudianus Textile Project', in *Purpureae Vestes II. Vestidos, textiles y tintes. Estudios sobre la producción de bienes de consume en la Antigüudad*, ed. Carmen Alfaro and Lilian Karali (València: Universitat de València, 2008), 127–31; Hero Granger-Taylor, 'The Grouping of Warp Threads for Areas of Weft-face Decoration in Textiles of the Roman Period: A Means to Distinguishing Looms?', *Vlaamse Vereniging voor oud en hedendaags textile, Bulletin 1992 aan Daniël de Jonghe* (1992): 18–28.

[40]Ciszuk and Hammarlund, 'Roman Looms', 127–31.

[41]Ciszuk and Hammaerlund 'Roman Looms', 128.

[42]Cardon, Granger-Taylor and Nowik, 'How Were They Dressed', 283; Pritchard, *Clothing Culture*, 45–115.

as a pyramid-shaped form (or 'Delta') connected to double bands dated to the second half of the second century CE found at Mons Claudianus.

The sleeved tunics were usually made in one piece, starting at one sleeve.[43] When sufficiently long, warp threads were added on both sides to create the body part of the tunic. A split was made for a neck opening. When the desired width of the garment had been reached, the main parts were finished by a closing border, leaving a reduced number of warp threads for the second sleeve. Decorations in the form of *clavi*, bands on sleeves and decorative motifs were made along with the ground weave like the *clavi* of sleeveless tunics.

MANTLES AND CLOAKS

In modern English, 'mantle' and 'cloak' are synonymous, but here, following terminology introduced by Alexandra Croom, 'mantle' is used of draped garments worn over a tunic, while 'cloak' refers to male outer garments that are fastened by a brooch rather than draped.[44] Mantles and cloaks are frequently depicted in Roman art. Roman literature mentions many specific types such as the *abolla*,[45] the *cucullus*,[46] the *lacerna*,[47] the *laena*,[48] the *paenula*,[49] the *paludamentum*,[50] the *pallium*,[51] the *sagum*[52] and of course the *toga*.[53] But except for a few instances it has proved difficult to describe each garment and explain how the items of dress were distinctive from one another. In some cases, however, it has been possible to compare images and texts with archaeological finds. Rectangular mantles decorated with symmetrically placed motifs such as *gammas* and notched bars are now identified as *pallia* (Greek: *himation*), and semicircular hooded cloaks with similarly specific decoration are recognized as *paenulae* with the shorter version classified as the *cucullus*.[54] Both of the latter appear regularly in the Eastern Desert as do remains of the *sagum*.[55] The *sagum* was a Celtic garment adopted by the Roman army; it is rectangular, but specifics of the Roman version of this cloak have as yet received little analysis. Identifications are based on the weave that corresponds to a group of well-preserved cloaks found in Northern Europe and identified as *saga*.[56]

The characteristic feature of the *pallium*/*palla*/*himation* in Roman Egypt is the four motifs, *gammas* or notched bars in tapestry weave in a contrasting colour, placed symmetrically near the corners of the fabric (Figure 10.3). More than forty *gammas* and five notched bars were recorded at

[43] Cardon, Granger-Taylor and Nowik, 'How Were They Dressed', fig. 307; for decorative motifs, see figs. 310, 312, 316.
[44] Cardon, Granger-Taylor and Nowik, 'How Were They Dressed', 308–10, 319–23; Croom, *Roman Clothing*, 50–1.
[45] Cleland, Davies and Llewellyn-Jones, *Greek and Roman Dress*, 1; Suetonius, *Caligula*, 35.1.
[46] Cleland, Davies and Llewellyn-Jones, *Greek and Roman Dress*, 44; Wilson, *The Clothing of Ancient Romans*, 92–5; Martial 5.14.6.
[47] Cleland, Davies and Llewellyn-Jones, *Greek and Roman Dress*, 108; Croom, *Roman Clothing*, 51; Wilson, *The Clothing of Ancient Romans*, 117–24; Pliny, NH 18.60.225.
[48] Cleland, Davies and Llewellyn-Jones, *Greek and Roman Dress*, 108–9; Croom, *Roman Clothing*, 51; Cicero, *Brutus* 15.56.
[49] Cleland, Davies and Llewellyn-Jones, *Greek and Roman Dress*, 135–6; Pliny NH 8.73.190.
[50] Cleland, Davies and Llewellyn-Jones, *Greek and Roman Dress*, 137–8; Pliny NH 22.3.3; Livy 41.10.5, 45.39.11.
[51] Cleland, Davies and Llewellyn-Jones, *Greek and Roman Dress*, 137; Suetonius, Augustus 98.3, Tiberius 13.1.
[52] Cleland, Davies and Llewellyn-Jones, *Greek and Roman Dress*, 164; Diodorus, 5.30.1; Tacitus, *Histories* 2.20.
[53] Cleland, Davies and Llewellyn-Jones, *Greek and Roman Dress*, 190–4; Pliny NH 34.11.23
[54] Cardon, Granger-Taylor and Nowik, 'How Were They Dressed', 309; Granger-Taylor, 'The Textiles', fig. 12; Mannering, 'Roman Garments'; 'Questions and Answers'; Yadin, *The Finds*, 219–32.
[55] Didymoi D98.14431.6, cf. Cardon, Granger-Taylor and Nowik, 'How Were They Dressed?' 322–3; Lise Bender Jørgensen, 'A Matter of Material: Changes in Textiles from Roman Sites in Egypt's Eastern Desert', *Antiquité Tardive* 12 (2004): 97.
[56] Cardon, Granger-Taylor and Nowik, 'How Were They Dressed', 322–3.

Mons Claudianus; ten were found at Maximianon, one at Krokodilô.[57] Numbers are not supplied for Didymoi, but several examples are described in detail.[58] The fabrics are usually undyed, woven in tabby and of the same medium quality as the tunics. The gammas and notched bars are mostly purple. Mummy portraits show that both motifs also appear on tunics and headscarves, so they cannot be used unequivocally as evidence for mantles. Three of the Mons Claudianus *gammas* were in fact found on a partly preserved tailored tunic; it had obviously been manufactured by cutting up a mantle and re-fashioning it. This feature demonstrates that the number of textile fragments with a gamma decoration cannot be used as evidence for a specific number of *pallia*, but we may infer that some of the people living at the site owned such a mantle.

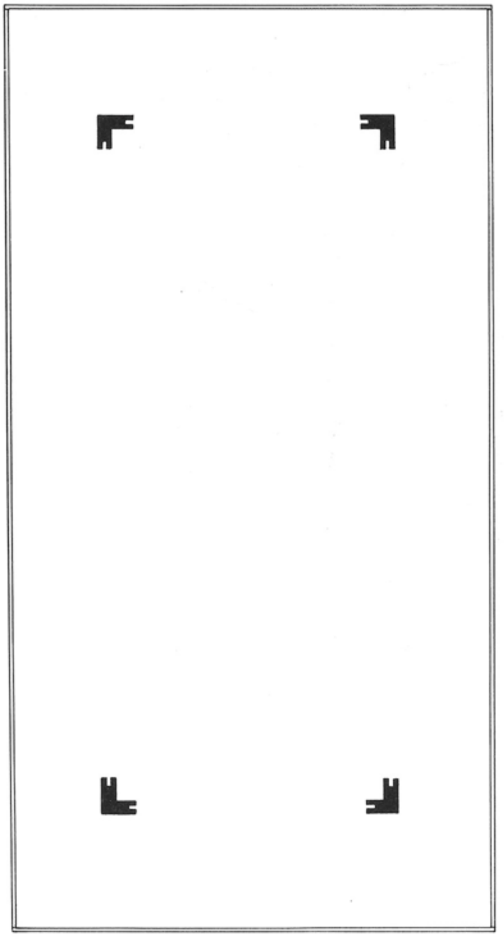


FIGURE 10.3 Rectangular Roman mantle (*pallium*) with gamma decoration at each corner. Photo: Courtesy of the Israel Exploration Society.

[57]Cardon, 'Chiffons', 621; Mannering, 'Roman Garments', 286–7.
[58]Cardon, Granger-Taylor and Nowik, 'How Were They Dressed', 310–14.

Semicircular cloaks comprise a variety of items including everyday wear such as the *paenula* or *cucullus* that were well suited to outdoor physical activities. Two well-preserved specimens of semicircular cloaks found at Lahun and a fragmented specimen from Ballana in Nubia offer valuable information regarding how these cloaks were constructed.[59] This has made it possible to establish diagnostic features that allow us to identify remains of semicircular cloaks among fragmented items from the Eastern Desert.[60]

One of these features is the form of the cloaks (Figure 10.4). They were woven to shape.[61] The hood was made first and then, as in the case of sleeved tunics, warp threads were added. In order to strengthen the corners between hood and main cloak, one or two rows of twining were made. Along the hood and the upper part of the cloak a band in a contrasting colour ran from edge to edge, turning upwards at right angles to include the hood.[62] The semicircular shape was then created by gradually reducing the warp threads. At the end of the curve, another decorative band was inserted, usually in the form of a notched band. Cast-off threads were worked back into the web as weft to some degree and then joined to further threads directly from the curved edge to form a closing cord; or, they could be worked into a fringe.[63] These cloaks were often in very

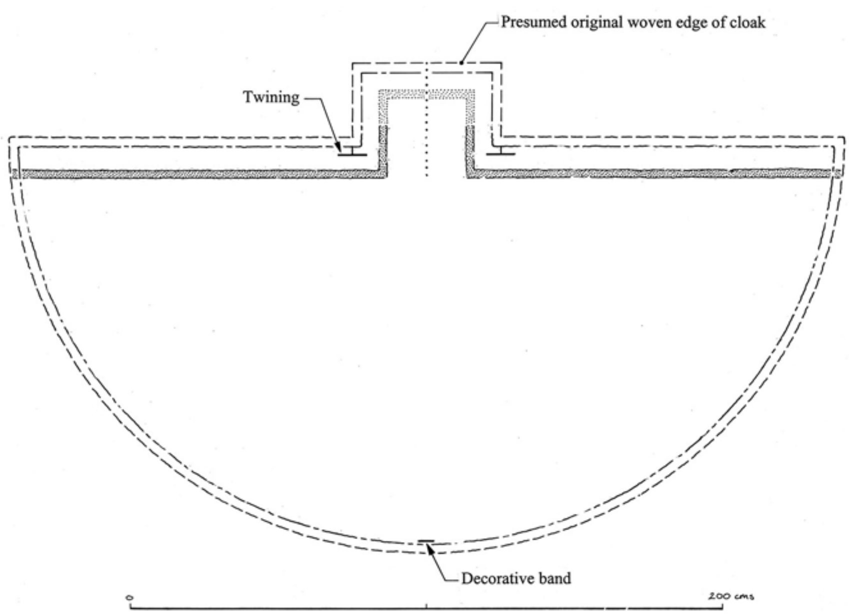


FIGURE 10.4 Semicircular hooded cloak: construction. Reconstruction based on the Ballana cloak. Drawing by Jim Farrant after Hero Granger-Taylor. Photo: Courtesy of Hero Granger-Taylor.

[59]Granger-Taylor, 'Weaving Clothes'; 'Weaving Clothes to Shape in the Ancient World 25 Years On'; 'A Fragmentary Roman Cloak'.
[60]Bender Jørgensen, 'Textiles from Mons Claudianus', ch. 22–23; Cardon, Granger-Taylor and Nowik, 'How Were They Dressed', 308–41.
[61]Cardon, Granger-Taylor and Nowik, 'How Were They Dressed', 319–23; Granger-Taylor, 'A Fragmentary Roman Cloak'.
[62]Granger-Taylor, 'A Fragmentary Roman Cloak', figs. 1, 2 and 6.
[63]Granger-Taylor, 'Weaving Clothes to Shape in the Ancient World 25 Years On', 30–1.

densely woven 2/1 or 2/2 twill (see below), but other weaves appear too. Colours range from off-white, brown, red and blue; bands are purple, blue, green or red. The rows of twining combined with a band close to the starting border, turning 90°, are among the diagnostic features that makes it possible to identify textile fragments as remains of cloaks. Another diagnostic is secondary: namely, curved cutaway pieces from cloaks. When worn, the cloak's edges were cut away and replaced by a sewn edge or hem.[64]

The presence of these cutaway pieces indicates that semicircular cloaks were prized possessions in the Eastern Desert and kept in good repair. In several ostraca found at Mons Claudianus the writer asks about items of clothing; one is to be fulled and sent, another to be sold and one is to be hemmed.[65] The climate is harsh in the desert, with temperatures in the winter varying between 0 and 30°C. A weatherproof cloak of densely packed twill must have provided excellent protection against the cold of the winter nights, the wind and the ever-moving fine sand.

HEADWEAR

Headwear is one of the best-preserved types of clothing in the Eastern Desert. A pillbox hat in green felt dated 100–120 CE was found at Mons Claudianus (Figure 10.5a),[66] while a cap shaped like a helmet and interpreted as an under-helmet ended up in the rubbish dump at Didymoi *c.* 96 CE.[67] At both of these sites, and at Krokodilô, caps made of triangular segments of cloth (*centi*) have been found (Figure 10.5b). The *centi* are tailored garments, but irregular features such as a *clavus*

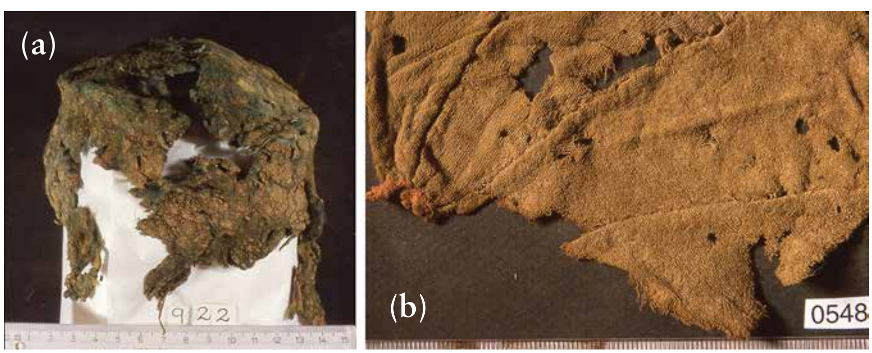


FIGURE 10.5 Headwear: (a) pillbox hat in green felt MC 922 from Mons Claudianus; (b) part of *cento*, cap made of triangular cut-offs MC 548 from Mons Claudianus. Photos: Author.

[64]Granger-Taylor, 'A Fragmentary Roman Cloak'.

[65]Adam Bülow-Jacobsen, 'Texts and Textiles from Mons Claudianus' in *Le Myrte et la Rose. Mélanges offerts à Françoise Dunand par ses élèves, collègues et amis*, ed. G. Tallet and C. Zivie Coche (Montpellier: Équipe d'Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéene, 2014), 3–7.

[66]Mannering, 'Roman Garments from Mons Claudianus'; 'Questions and Answers'; Bender Jørgensen, 'Textiles from Mons Claudianus', ch. 21.

[67]Cardon, Granger-Taylor and Nowik, 'How Were They Dressed', 345–7, Pl. 29a-b and 30a.

across one of the triangles indicate that they were made from scraps. One of the Mons Claudianus *centi* was composed of block damask in three different colours (red, yellow and green) and had red cheek pieces and a green neck guard. It was dumped between 100 and 140 CE.[68] This item has also been interpreted as an under-helmet.[69] A second *cento*, dated 100–120, was apparently made from undyed fabric but had a red button at the top. A *cento* from Didymoi deposited *c.* 96 CE also had several colours and a red top button.[70] The *cento* from Krokodilô was brown with a red top button surrounded by embroidery.[71]

SCARVES, SASHES AND WRAPPINGS

Scarves were square or rectangular pieces without diagnostic features and are difficult to identify; there is no reason to doubt that they too were woven to shape, probably with simple selvedges and finished with fringes. Scarves were worn in many contexts, for example with *paenulae*, wrapped around the neck.[72] No scarves have yet been identified among well-preserved textiles from the Roman East; consequently, they are difficult to identify among the fragmented textiles from the Eastern Desert. Nonetheless, a number of brightly coloured checked fabrics found at Didymoi are interpreted as scarves;[73] similar pieces appear at Mons Claudianus and at Berenike.[74]

Sashes (belts[75]) are identifiable too among the textiles from the Eastern Desert.[76] Sashes were worn with tunics, tied around the waist. They were long narrow woven bands. They may, however, be difficult to distinguish from wrappings for legs, arms or parts of the torso, or from loincloths. These also consisted of long narrow bands. According to Hero Granger-Taylor, loincloths have been recorded at Didymoi.[77]

SOCKS

Socks are well known from ‘Coptic textiles’. They are usually made by cross-knit looping, also called ‘Coptic knitting’.[78] Several such items have been found in the Eastern Desert. Parts of five were recovered from Mons Claudianus, dating between 135 and 160 CE. One sock is virtually complete. At least three were found at Didymoi; one is dated to between 88 and 96 CE, the others to the late second and third centuries CE.[79] All are made of undyed wool.

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[68] Bender Jørgensen, ‘Textiles from Mons Claudianus’, fig. 8.
[69] Mannering, ‘Questions and Answers’, 159.
[70] Bender Jørgensen, ‘Textiles from Mons Claudianus’, ch. 21, fig. 8; Cardon, Granger-Taylor and Nowik, ‘How Were They Dressed’, 344–9, Pl. 30c–d; Mannering, ‘Roman Garments from Mons Claudianus’; ‘Questions and Answers’.
[71] Cardon, ‘Chiffons dans le désert’, 647, 668 Pl. Vc.
[72] Cardon, Granger-Taylor and Nowik, ‘How Were They Dressed’, 341.
[73] Cardon, Granger-Taylor and Nowik, ‘How Were They Dressed’, 341–4.
[74] Wild and Wild, ‘Textile Contrasts at Berenike’, fig. 7.
[75] The term ‘belt’ is here used of items of leather, ‘sash’ of woven ones.
[76] Cardon, Granger-Taylor and Nowik, ‘How Were They Dressed’, 306–8.
[77] Granger-Taylor, ‘Weaving Clothes to Shape in the Ancient World 25 Years On’, 26.
[78] Burnham, ‘Coptic Knitting’.
[79] Cardon, Granger-Taylor and Nowik, ‘How Were They Dressed’, 349–52.

MATERIALS, YARNS AND WEAVES

Wool is the most common material among the textiles from the Eastern Desert. This is especially true for the inland sites, where up to 90 per cent of the finds are wool. Bast fibres are rare in the desert but more common at the coastal sites; the proportion of goat hair varies between 4 and 16 per cent.[80] At the Red Sea ports, cotton is common, especially at Berenike where between 18 and 28 per cent of the early and about 50 per cent of the late textiles are cotton.[81]

Yarns can be twisted two ways, usually described as 's' and 'z' (Figure 10.6). Yarns from Roman Egypt are primarily s-twisted, in warp as well as weft; z-twisted yarns do, however, appear in a number of textiles, and in some cases both yarn types appear in the same textile. In Egypt, the tradition of s-twisted yarns goes back to Pharaonic times and appears in flax as well as wool.[82] When cotton was introduced to Egypt at the beginning of the first millennium CE, the habit of making s-twisted yarn was transferred to this fibre too.[83] The preference for s-twisted yarn is also discernible in Syria and Palestine, while in other areas such as India and Iran, parts of North Africa and the European parts of the Roman world, z-twist was the rule.[84] Yarn twist is thus a pointer as to whether a textile is locally produced or not. Tabby is the most common weave regardless of the fibre.[85] It appears in a range of different qualities depending on the type of yarns and whether it is balanced or weft-faced, densely or open woven.[86] Half-basket and basket weave where the threads of one or both systems are paired are also variations of tabby.[87] *Twill* is less common; at Mons Claudianus 6 per cent of the textiles are twills; at military installations such as Krokodilô and Maximianon, however, 19 per cent of the textiles are twills (Figure 10.7). Varieties of twill occur too.[88] Other techniques such as taqueté, 'Coptic knitting' and felt also appear.[89] Hand weaver Lena Hammarlund has examined the wool tabbies and twills from Mons Claudianus and defined seven different varieties of tabby and five of twill.[90] Each of these may be perceived as a specific type of fabric. Hammarlund's categories are recognizable in other assemblages of archaeological textiles, including some made of cotton or flax.[91]

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[80]Bender Jørgensen, 'Textiles from Mons Claudianus', fig. 43.

[81]Wild and Wild, 'Textile Contrasts at Berenike', ch. 12 and chs. 27–30.

[82]Rosalind Hall, *Egyptian Textiles* (Aylesbury: Shire Publications, 1986), 12; Barry J. Kemp and Gillian Vogelsang-Eastwood, *The Ancient Textile Industry at Amarna* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 2001), 57–82.

[83]John Peter Wild, Felicity C. Wild and A. J. Clapham, 'Roman Cotton Revisited', in *Purpureae Vestes II. Vestidos, textiles y tintes. Estudios sobre la producción de bienes de consume en la Antigüedad*, ed. Carmen Alfara and Lilian Karali (València: Universitat de València, 2008), 143–7.

[84]Lise Bender Jørgensen, 'Textiles and Textile Trade in the First Millennium AD: Evidence from Egypt', in *Trade in the Ancient Sahara and Beyond*, ed. David J. Mattingly et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 238.

[85]Bender Jørgensen, 'Textiles from Mons Claudianus', fig. 44.

[86]Lena Hammarlund, 'Handicraft Knowledge Applied to Archaeological Textiles', *The Nordic Textile Journal* (2005): 86–119. Online: http://hb.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:870149/FULLTEXT01.pdf (accessed 1 January 2019).

[87]Bender Jørgensen, 'Textiles from Mons Claudianus', table 5.

[88]Bender Jørgensen, 'Textiles from Mons Claudianus', fig. 2 and table 6.

[89]Bender Jørgensen, 'Textiles from Mons Claudianus', ch. 10.

[90]Hammarlund, 'Handicraft Knowledge'.

[91]Lise Bender Jørgensen, 'North African Relationships: Textiles from the Nile Valley and the Sahara', in *Egypt as a Textile Hub. Textile Interrelationships in the 1st Millennium AD*, ed. Antoine de Moor, Cäcilia Fluck and Petra Linscheid (Tielt: Lannoo Publishers, 2019), 12–23.

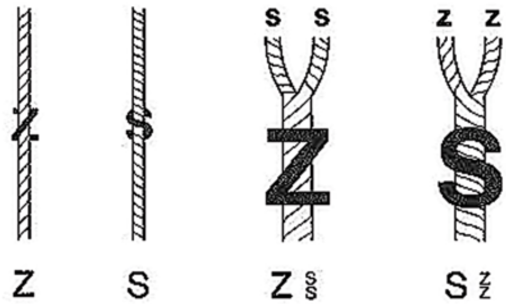


FIGURE 10.6 Yarn types. Drawing: C. Oksen.

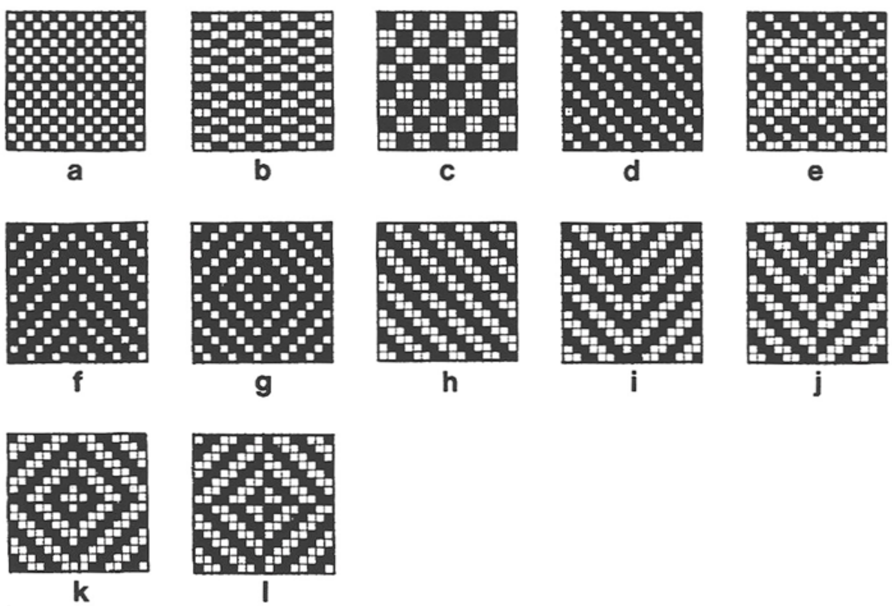


FIGURE 10.7 Weaves. Drawing: C. Oksen.

TEXTILE TOOLS

Textile tools are rarely found in the Eastern Desert. At most of the sites, just a few spindle whorls have been recorded.[92] It has been suggested that a group of pierced sherds labelled 'labels' from Mons Claudianus are loomweights,[93] but as they do not resemble this type of object at all, it is

[92]Maxfield and Peacock, *Survey and Excavation Mons Claudianus II*, 376–7, 'wooden roundels'; Valerie Maxfield and David Peacock, *Survey and Excavation Mons Claudianus III. Ceramic Vessels & Related Objects* (Le Caire: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 2006), 297, two sherds reworked into 'spindle whorls'; David Peacock and Valerie Maxfield, *The Roman Imperial Quarries. Survey and Excavation at Mons Porphyrites 1994–1998. Volume 2. The Excavations* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 2007), 313–14, 'spindle whorls', and 315, 'labels'.
[93]Bülow-Jacobsen, 'Texts and Textiles from Mons Claudianus'; Maxfield and Peacock, *Survey and Excavation Mons Claudianus III*, 294.

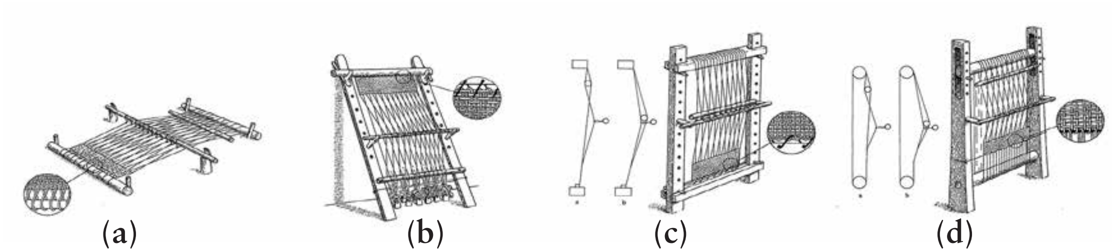


FIGURE 10.8 Loom types of Antiquity: (a) ground loom; (b) warp-weighted loom; (c) two-beam loom with revolving beams; (d) two-beam loom with tubular warp. Drawings: Poul Wöhlicke.

unlikely. Still, the warp-weighted loom was far from the only loom known in antiquity,[94] and as loomweights are scarce in Roman Egypt, other looms such as the two-beam loom or the ground loom are alternatives that easily could have been brought to the desert (Figure 10.8). An ostracon from Barud, a smaller quarry site near Mons Claudianus, asks Kalokairos to send his wife so that she can help with the weaving, and papyrologist Adam Bülow-Jacobsen suggests that the eight pieces of wood one Heracleides is sending to his sister was a loom.[95]

SECOND-HAND DEALERS

As we have seen, a partly preserved tunic from Mons Claudianus was found to have been pieced together by pieces of an old mantle, and the two *centi* found at the same site and at Didymoi had obviously been made from scraps of cloaks. Many other textiles from the sites in the Eastern Desert were obviously also put together from recycled items of dress.[96] At Didymoi, a complete pillow was recovered that proved to be filled with rags.[97] These items are likely to be the work of the *centonarii*, dealers in rags and second-hand clothing.[98] Guilds of *centonarii* are known to have existed in Italy and Roman Gaul; the multitude of recycled objects among the textiles from the Eastern Desert makes it likely that a similar guild existed in Roman Egypt.

WHERE WERE THE TEXTILES MADE?

As mentioned above, yarn twist may serve as a pointer to where textiles were made as most of the Roman East preferred s-twisted yarns, while z-twisted yarns were the norm in southern Europe, India and Iran.[99] Garments made of z-twisted yarns are therefore likely to be intrusive. At Berenike and Myos Hormos, cotton textiles are often made of z-twisted yarns and are likely to derive from

[94] Ciszuk and Hammarlund, 'Roman Looms'.
[95] Bülow-Jacobsen, 'Texts and Textiles from Mons Claudianus', 5–6.
[96] For example, Bender Jørgensen, 'Textiles from Mons Claudianus', fig. 13 and Wild and Wild, 'Textile Contrasts at Berenike', fig. 9.
[97] Cardon, Granger-Taylor and Nowik, 'How Were They Dressed', 276–81.
[98] Cardon, Granger-Taylor and Nowik, 'How Were They Dressed', 276; Lena Larsson Lovén, *The Imagery of Textile Making. Gender and Status in the Funerary Iconography of Textile Manufacture in Roman Italy and Gaul* (Göteberg: Göteberg University, 1998), 17; Mannering, 'Questions and Answers', 153.
[99] Bender Jørgensen, 'Textiles from Mons Claudianus', chs. 8–9 with further references.

India.[100] At Mons Claudianus, 22 per cent of the diagonal wool 2/2 twills are also made of z-twisted yarns; among the balanced diamond twills, 12 per cent have z-twisted warp and s-twisted weft. These fabrics may well derive from the European part of the Roman Empire. Similar textiles are frequently found at sites along the northern border of the Roman Empire and in bogs in Denmark and northern Germany.[101]

Another clue could be the yarns for *clavi*. Yarn twist for ground weave and *clavus* has been recorded for 149 bands from Mons Claudianus. The great majority were made entirely of s-twisted yarns and only two entirely of z-twisted yarns. In nine pieces the ground weave had s-twisted yarns in both systems but z-twisted yarn in the *clavus*. This may suggest that most tunics were produced in Egypt or other parts of the Roman East, and the few made entirely of z-twisted yarns might derive from Europe where such a twist was common. Technology is a further pointer. Several different loom types are known from antiquity[102] (see Figure 10.8a–d). The ground loom was used in Egypt since early Pharaonic times and is still used. A two-beam loom was introduced during the New Kingdom,[103] and similar looms are also still in use. The warp-weighted loom was used in Italy, Greece, Anatolia and the Southern Levant since the Neolithic period[104] but its characteristic loomweights are missing from Pharaonic Egypt. Although some weights are now turning up from the Roman period, the presence of such weights appears to be connected to the introduction of cotton from Nubia. As we have seen, the method of rearranging the warp threads in order to make the *clavi* can serve to argue whether a tunic was made on a two-beam loom or a warp-weighted loom.

CONCLUSION

Work clothes in Roman Egypt were basically ordinary Roman tunics and other items of clothing that may be recognized in mummy portraits and other sources. Mantles and cloaks, headwear, scarves, sashes, wrappings and footwear such as socks are all in evidence in the Egyptian desert. Most were heavily worn and repeatedly mended, and are likely the products of second-hand dealers, the *centonarii*, supplying clothing to the poorer levels of Roman society.

[100]Handley, 'The Textiles'; Wild and Wild, 'Textile Contrasts at Berenike', with further references.
[101]Bender Jørgensen, 'A Matter of Material'.
[102]Ciszuk and Hammarlund, 'Roman Looms'.
[103]Kemp and Vogelsang-Eastwood, *The Ancient Textile Industry at Amarna*, 335–8.
[104]Elisabeth J. W. Barber, *Prehistoric Textiles. The Development of Cloth in the Neolithic and Bronze Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 127–32, 300–1, but see Antoinette Rast-Eicher and Lise Bender Jørgensen, 'News from Catalhöyük', *Archaeological Textiles Review* 60 (2018): 102–3; Ulf-Dietrich Schoop, 'Weaving Society in Late Chalcolithic Anatolia: Textile Production and Social Strategies in the 4th Millennium BC', in *Western Anatolia before Troy. Proto-Urbanisation in the 4th Millennium BC*, ed. Barbara Horejs and Matthias Mehofer (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, 2014), 429–34; Orit Shamir, 'Textiles from the Chalcolithic Period, Early and Middle Bronze Age in the Southern Levant', *Archaeological Textiles Review* 57 (2015): 19.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

Roman Women Dressing the Part: The Visual Vocabulary from Paintings and Mosaics

LISA A. HUGHES

> Ornamentation provided a woman with a distinct persona, made her the focus of attention, and gave her the means to create a social spectacle of herself.'[1]

Kelly Olson has drawn essential conclusions about the use of visual evidence as a means to demonstrate the prescriptive treatment of Roman women's appearances by Latin authors. This chapter expands upon the visual evidence to offer further insights into representations of women's dress. The evidence draws upon select wall frescos and mosaics from Roman Pompeii and Herculaneum (late first century BCE and early first century CE). Overall, the aim is to provide additional insights into the styles, textile colours and textures of dress for female ritual participants, diners, entertainers and workers through the media of wall paintings and mosaics.[2] Moreover, this chapter briefly highlights methodological considerations concerning conservation, preservation and archaeological context. What becomes evident is that particular examples go beyond prescriptive or pejorative treatments of clothing to shed further light on Roman women's societal roles.

References to visual representations of Roman women's clothing demonstrate lacunae when it comes to detailed descriptions of garment style and colour. For example, while general mention of dress type appears, a holistic treatment of details such as length of the garment, sleeve length, belting and even colour is lacking. Since representations of women's dress on wall paintings and mosaics formulate their visual vocabulary per se, more care should be taken to nuance the differences of communicated dress language.[3]

Further issues hindering descriptive analyses pertain to the preservation, restoration and context. Many wall paintings and mosaics, for example, present signs of damage and significant deterioration. Exposure to the elements and human contact fade or alter the artifacts,[4] which in

[1]Kelly Olson, *Dress and the Roman Woman: Self-presentation and Society* (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), 116.
[2]Jonathon Edmondson and Alison Keith briefly mention the need for such a study. See Jonathon Edmondson and Alison Keith 'Introduction', in *Roman Dress and the Fabrics of Roman Culture*, ed. Jonathon Edmondson and Alison Keith (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 11.
[3]Roman dress historians have advocated this method. See Olson, *Dress and the Roman Woman*, 3–4; Mary Harlow, 'Dress in the *Historia Augusta*: The Role of Dress in the Historical Narrative', in *The Clothed Body in the Ancient World*, ed. Liza Cleland, Mary Harlow and Lloyd Llewellyn Jones (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2005), 143–4.
[4]Allia Wallace, 'Presenting Pompeii: Steps towards Reconciling Conservation and Tourism at an Ancient Site', *Papers from the Institute of Archaeology* 22 (2013): 115–36.

turn has some impact in terms of securely identifying the potential pigments used to represent textile colours. In other instances, dubious conservation practices of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have altered wall painting compositions.[5] Alternatively, problems arise with the concise identification of colour on wall paintings because scientific analyses of pigment in Roman wall paintings are relatively new.[6] Finally, descriptive analyses of wall paintings and mosaics often fail to acknowledge the archaeological context. Other artifactual evidence found in the original findspots can serve to broaden our understanding of the possible relationships between women's visual representations and the functional use of space.[7]

This overview has briefly outlined some of the caveats that present themselves to scholars who work on visual representations of dress, particularly in the Bay of Naples area. Nonetheless, it is vital to offer a starting point that will further contribute to our understanding of Roman women's dress in visual representations. The examples presented in this chapter are by no means exhaustive.[8] Nevertheless, what they do show is that women's dress has the potential to create an increased awareness of and interest in Roman women's participation in ritual, entertainment, as well as craft and trade.

RITUAL PARTICIPANTS

Two examples from Pompeii illustrate females engaged in a ritual or cultic practice. The first is an in situ from the upper register of the east wall of the kitchen (House of Sutoria Primigenia, I, 13.2, first century CE). A large group of participants watch the performance of a sacrifice to the *Lares* (household gods).[9] Two figures, who stand near the altar, are of interest in terms of dress. On the viewer's left, standing close to the altar, appears a female figure with *palla* (mantle) veiling her head and tunic. John Clarke identifies the figure as Sutoria herself, taking on the role of the *juno*[10] on the basis that she is wearing the *stola*.[11] Unfortunately, two factors mitigate the

[5]Extractions of portions of wall paintings or mosaics because of interest in figural representations resulted in losses of valuable contexts. Eric M. Moorman, 'Destruction and Restoration of Campanian Mural Paintings in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries', in *The Conservation of Wall Paintings: Proceedings of a Symposium Organized by the Courtauld Institute of Art and the Getty Conservation Institute, London, July 13–16, 1987*, ed. Sharon Cather (Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Institute, 1996), 87–102. For the problems associated with mosaic restoration and conservation, see Gaël de Guichen and Roberto Nardi, 'Mosaic Conservation: Fifty Years of Modern Practice', *CGI Newsletter* 21.1 (2006). Online: https://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications_resources/newsletters/21_1/feature.html (accessed 16 March 2020).

[6]Traditionally, studies on colour owe themselves to analyses based on colour found in Vitruvius and Pliny the Elder. For a general overview of the scholarship, see Ruth Siddall, 'Not a Day without a Line Drawn: Pigments and Painting Techniques of Roman Artists', *Proc R Microsc Soc* 2 (2006): 18–31.

[7]For further discussion of the artifactual evidence space, see Penelope Allison, *Pompeian Households: An Analysis of the Material Culture* (Los Angeles: The Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, 2004), 11–14.

[8]As well, wall paintings in this chapter receive more emphasis than mosaics. Most wall mosaics from this area during this period are emblemata (central panels with figural decoration) that depict mythological scenes.

[9]For illustrations, see John R. Clarke, *Art in the Life of Ordinary Romans: Visual Representations and Non-Elite Viewers in Italy, 100 B.C.–A.D. 315* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2003), figs. 39, 40; Onelia Bardelli Mondini, 'I, 13.2: Casa di Sutoria Primigenia', in *Pompei: Pitture e mosaici*, vol. 2, ed. Giovani Carratelli and Ida Baldassare (Rome: Istituto della enciclopedia italiana, 1990), 876–80.

[10]In the worship of the household gods (*Lares*), the *juno* is the guardian spirit of the woman, while the *genius* is that of the man. Wolfram-Aslam Maharam, 'Genius', in *Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World*, ed. Manfred Landfester, Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2006). Online: http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e421560 (accessed 9 July 2019).

[11]Olson, *Dress and the Roman Woman*, 27–32.

identification of the stola. First, the distinctive horizontal straps that would have been placed just below the shoulder of the sleeveless tunic are not visible in the painting.[12] Second, the distinctive band of coloured fabric sewn to the hem of the garment is also missing. It is highly probable that Clarke has tapped into a conventional reading of the figure based on the fact that the *palla* veils her head. Given that the identification of Sutoria has head veiled and stands directly beside the male sacrificant, who also has head veiled (none of the other thirteen members of the household have heads covered), it is likely that she too is assuming the role of sacrificant.[13] Notably, the cloak also has a red edging, similar to the male togate figure to the right.

The second example exhibits females who wear distinctive forms of dress that indicate their involvement in Isiac worship.[14] The Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli (MANN) currently houses this fresco (inv. 8919) taken from an unknown provenance in Herculaneum (Figure 11.1).[15] The scene may represent the festivities associated with the opening and closing of Isis' shrine.[16]

The composition of the fresco breaks down into two main parts. The upper portion reveals four figures standing in the cella of the podium-styled temple. In the background, one female figure in a white linen tunic beats a tympanum. Because the figures of this scene blur into the background of the composition, it is challenging to ascertain more specific details of the dress. One of the female participants (viewer's left) is a crouched female, shaking a sistrum in the left hand, holding a votive offering plate in the right. She wears a white semi-transparent linen tunic and fringed mantle that may be a similar garment to the performer in the upper portion of the composition. The white tunic and mantle also correspond to garments worn by the goddess Isis herself.[17]

[12]Sandra R. Joshel and Lauren Hackworth Petersen, *The Material Life of Roman Slaves* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 41–2; Federica Giacobello, *Larari Pompeiani: Iconografia e culto dei Lari in ambito domestico* (Milan: LED Edizioni, 2008), 156; John R. Clarke, *Roman Life, 100 BC to AD 200* (New York: Abrams, 2007), 29, figs. 14, 15; John Dobbins and Pedar Foss, *The World of Pompeii* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), 534; John R. Clarke, *Art in the Life of Ordinary Romans: Visual Representations and Non-Elite Viewers in Italy, 100 B.C.–A.D. 315* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2003), 76–8, figs. 39–40; Thomas von Fröhlich, *Lararien und Fassadenbilder in den Vesuvstädten: Untersuchungen zur, volkstümlichen, pompejanischen Malerei. Römische Mitteilungen* Supplement 32 (Mainz: von Zabern, 1991), L29, T28,1 and T28,2.

[13]Lisa A. Hughes, 'Unveiling the Veil: Social, Cultic, and Ethnic Representations of Early Imperial Freedwomen', *Material Religion: The Journal of Objects, Art and Belief* 3, no. 2 (2007): 218–41.

[14]Molly Swetnam-Burland notes that while women abound in the representations, there is no definitive evidence to show that all are priestesses. Instead, their presence denotes 'cultic association'. Molly Swetnam-Burland, 'Egyptian Priests in Roman Italy', in *Cultural Identity in the Ancient Mediterranean*, ed. Eric Gruen (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2011), 349, note 3. For a detailed discussion, see Sharon K. Heyob, *The Cult of Isis amongst Women in the Greco-Roman World* (Leiden: Brill 1991).

[15]Eric Moorman indicates that the source may have been a house near the theatre. See Eric M. Moorman, 'Ministers of Isiac Cults in Roman Wall Painting', in *Individuals and Materials in the Greco Roman Cults of Isis: Agents, Images and Practices*, ed. Valentino Gasparini and Richard Veymiers (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 367–8; Sharon K. Heyob, *The Cult of Isis amongst Women in the Greco-Roman World* (Leiden: Brill, 1991), 105; Victor Tram Tam Tinh, *Le Culte des divinités orientales à Herculaneum* EPRO 17 (Leiden: Brill, 1971), 85–6, no. 59, pl. 41, fig. 1; Victor Tram Tam Tinh, *Essai sur le culte d'Isis à Pompeii* (Paris: E. De Boccard, 1964), 97, 102–3.

[16]For further bibliography, see Moorman, 'Ministers of Isiac Cults', 370.

[17]See MANN, inv. 9558, temple of Isis, Pompeii, VIII.7.28; MANN, inv. 9555, House of the Duke d'Aumale, Pompeii, VI. 7, 15. Molly Swetnam-Burland, *Egypt in Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 125–37.



FIGURE 11.1 Ceremony of cult of Isis. Herculaneum. Fresco, first century CE. MANN, inv. 8919. Photo: Art Resource (ART62958).

ENTERTAINERS AND THE ENTERTAINED

This section focuses on representations of both female entertainers and entertained females/diners. The entertainers highlighted here focus on female actors and musicians. In the previous section, a female was identified in her role as an Isiac performer. It was her dress that clearly defined her for this role. In this section, the musicians who entertain are those who appear to have a connection with theatrical performances. The first example is a first-century BCE emblemata mosaic signed by Dioskurides of Samos from the so-called Villa of Cicero in Pompeii. It is now housed in the MANN (inv. 9985).[18] The mosaic presents four figures performing on the street. Moving from the viewer's left to right, one sees a male child, a masked female flute (*aulos*) player and two other male musicians, a cymbalist and a tympanist, respectively.[19] Whether the figure playing the flute is an actual woman or a man playing the role of a female is not entirely clear. The figure dons a white mask, yet the long hair, partly covered by a cloth, is pulled up and tied into a chignon at the top of the head. The figure wears a white long-sleeved leotard.[20] Over the top of the tunic, another

[18]For the illustration, see Katherine M. D. Dunbabin, *Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 45, fig. 44. A similar composition appears this time in a fresco painting from Stabiae. MANN, inv. 9034.

[19]Dunbabin, *Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World*, 46–7.

[20]Margarite Bieber refers to the leotard costume as 'tights' but does not refer to colour. The treatment of the sleeves may be to emphasize the pale skin colour of the flautist. The tympanist to the right has a similar long-sleeved garment but in brown. See Margarite Bieber, *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971), 95–6.

brown-coloured, short sleeve tunic with hem extends to the ankles of the figure. A turquoise mantle infused with browns, turquoise and yellow covers the tunic.

A second example is a fresco from an unknown provenance in Herculaneum (Figure.11. 2), first century CE (MANN, inv. 9023), which shows a woman seated on a bed (*klinê*) among three other women in the garden area of a peristyle.[21] She holds a harp in her left hand and plucks a cithara resting on the bed with the other.[22] She is dressed in a white linen tunic, imbued with turquoise and green. The white tunic completely covers her arms. Her dress is distinctive from the two other women depicted in the scene who eagerly listen to the musician. The woman standing on the viewer's right wears a turquoise mantle of turquoise and brown. The third figure standing on the viewer's left wears a white tunic that is covered by a yellow mantle with turquoise trim. Wilhelmina Jashemski, when referring to this example as one of several paintings that depicted musicians, has written that it is unclear 'whether the musicians in the paintings we have just described were performing at public entertainments or private dinner parties'.[23] Regardless, this offers a segue for the discussion of women who were entertained at dinner parties.

While representations of female musicians in dining contexts are seen as reputable, the opposite holds true for depictions of female diners. A series of moderately well-preserved frescoes of a dining room (*triclinium*) (room g) in Pompeii's House of the Chaste Lovers (IX. 12, 6-7) from the first century CE depicts various scenes.[24] The focus of attention is the fresco from the north wall that comprises a total of eight figures who appear beneath an embroidered canopy in an outdoor setting. In the centre, two couples recline. On the viewer's left, one woman sits raising a drink to her lips in one hand and holds the double oboe (*tibia*) in the opposite. A second woman stands behind her. On the far right, a servant pours wine from an amphora into a silver bowl. When describing the dress of these women, Clarke solely focuses on the reclining woman who kisses her male partner. He identifies her as a *hetaira*, who wears a yellow robe.[25] A better-preserved example of the same composition exists (except for a servant pouring wine on the far right) that may be from Pompeii, Herculaneum or Stabiae (MANN, inv. 9015, Figure 11.3).[26] In this instance, the same figure with a yellow garment appears.[27] Subsequently, Clarke believes that this cycle of frescoes portray Greek *symposia*, whereby the female attendants are prostitutes (*hetaira*).[28] In another composition in the same room, there are women portrayed either as unclothed from the waist up (yet, the arm of the male participant covers the breasts of the figure, and the genitalia are hidden beneath the bed covering)[29] or in semi-transparent dress, which, too, could point to their

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[21]See Wilhelmina F. Jashemski, *The Gardens of Pompeii, Herculaneum and the Villas Destroyed by Vesuvius* (New Rochelle: Caratzas Brothers, Publishers, 1979), 97–102.

[22]Stephano De Caro and Rosanna Cappelli, *The National Archaeological Museum of Naples* (Milan: Electa, 1999), 128; Jashemski, *The Gardens of Pompeii*, 99–101.

[23]Jashemski, *The Gardens of Pompeii*, 101.

[24]Clarke, *Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans*, 230–1.

[25]Olson notes that in ancient Greece, prostitutes and brides reportedly wore yellow. Olson, *Dress and Roman Women*, 120, note 9.

[26]Clarke posits that the two versions of this painting likely originated from a pattern book that patrons could commission works. Clarke, *Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans*, 231, 325, note 21, pl. 19.

[27]A similar scenario likely applies to the Villa of Cicero mosaic and its complimentary fresco from Stabiae.

[28]Clarke, *Art in the Life of Ordinary Romans*, 228–30. Also, see Katherine Dunbabin, *The Roman Banquet: Images of Conviviality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 52–63.

[29]See Clarke, *Art in the Life of Ordinary Romans*, pl. 17.



FIGURE 11.2 Female musician seated on a bed (*klinē*). Herculaneum. Fresco, first century CE. MANN, inv. 9023. Photo: Alamy MNTF2B.

roles as prostitutes. Perhaps an alternative reading that brings the actual Roman diners into the frame may shed more light, especially given that the tunics of all our figures are respectably dyed in colours of yellow, turquoise and purple.[30] A vital clue is the figure of Dionysus, who appears in the background of select images (Room g, north wall, MANN, inv. 9015). As Hales has persuasively questioned, why would Pompeiians have wanted to decorate spaces such as dining areas with

[30]Olson, *Dress and the Roman Woman*, 11–14. Judith Lynn Sebesta also remarks on the luxurious nature of such colours and how they pertain to women. See Judith Lynn Sebesta, '*Tunica Ralla, Tunica Spissa*: The Colors and Textiles of Roman Costumes', in *The World of Roman Costume*, ed. Judith Lynn Sebesta and Larissa Bonfante (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2001), 70–3.

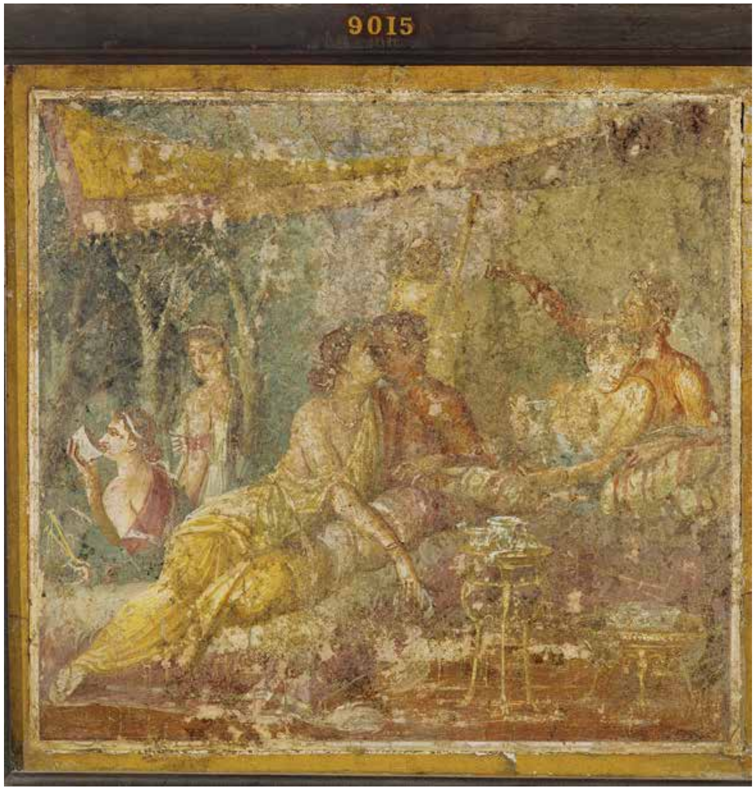


FIGURE 11.3 Two couples in a summer triclinium. Pompeii or Herculaneum. Fresco, first century CE. MANN, inv. 9015. Photo: Art Resource (ART77457).

imagery that had negative connotations?[31] It is highly suggestive that the female figures are dressed in garments appropriate for a Dionysian banquet (*convivium*), and they should also be treated as respectable women.

TRADES- AND CRAFTSWOMEN

The last section for discussion focuses on examples of trades- and craftswomen from Pompeii. In a similar fashion to our entertained women, certain negative stereotypes of women arise that require re-evaluation. A descriptive analysis of dress, as will become evident, may sway specific traditional ideas that have been part and parcel of scholarly analyses. Several visual examples from Pompeii identify trades- and craftswomen. The clothing worn by these women aligns with Olson's identification of the preferred sartorial choices such as tunics (*tunicae*) and mantles.[32] The representations reveal a rich source of variations in garment construction and colour.

The first example comes from the Caupona of Salvius, VI, 14, 36. A first-century frescoed frieze that initially appeared from the north wall of room 1 now appears in the MANN (inv. 111482)

[31]Shelley Hales, 'Dionysos at Pompeii', *British School at Athens Studies* 15 (2007): 341.
[32]Olson, *Dress and the Roman Woman*, 25–6.

(Figure 11.4).[33] The female tavern worker[34] stands among customers. In her left hand, she holds a pitcher, in her right, a glass. She wears an off-white tunic that falls at the ankles. The sleeves are three-quarter length. Moreover, thin red stripes are woven down the length of her garment. The bulk of drapery folds down the length of the garment indicate that the female also wears a mantle. Her clothing bears a resemblance to the garment of a seated male doling out bread found in a fresco from VII, 3, 30.[35] While Clarke acknowledges the uncertainty behind the identification of the man's dress as a toga, it seems that the garment construction and colour of the two examples are similar. If the individual doling the bread is wearing a toga, this has important implications for our barmaid. Select female tavern workers, for example, had connections with the sex trade. In the case of the barmaid, the possible donning of the toga may imply that she is a sex worker.[36] If this is the case, this may be the only known visual representation we have of togate sex worker. While links to



FIGURE 11.4 Tavern scene, Caupona of Salvius, VI, 14, 36. Pompeii. Fresco, first century CE. MANN, inv. 111482. Photo: Art Resource (ART468737).

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[33]Clarke, *Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans*, 161–2.

[34]Joanne Berry, *The Complete Pompeii* (London: Thames & Hudson), 231–2. According to Berry, a man calls to a barmaid 'Over here', and another man on the right says, 'No it's mine', and the barmaid says, 'Whoever wants it, should take it. Oceanus, come here and drink'. Clarke provides extensive descriptions of the characters in this scene that include detailed observations of clothing. Curiously, he discusses the stature and gesture of the barmaid but makes no mention of her clothing. Clarke, *Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans*, 165.

[35]The exact original location of this fresco is unknown, but Clarke surmises that it would have been situated on the left wall of the home's *tablinum*. The piece is now located in the MANN (inv. 9071). Clarke, *Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans*, 259–60.

[36]See *Dig*. 23.2.43 pr. For the identification of such relationships, see Kelly Olson, 'Matrona and Whore the Clothing of Women in Roman Antiquity', *Fashion Theory* 6 (2006): 395, 410, note 45.

prostitution, bakeries, mills and taverns may have existed, this appears to be more of a perceived notion, as Bond has observed.[37] The other more plausible possibility is that the two figures simply wear garments (e.g. tunics and mantles) reflective of their occupation, which may not be as negative as typically discerned.[38] The red stripes, moreover, appear on the tunics of individuals from many social standings.[39]

The second set of examples also poses a conundrum concerning clothing and the women's occupational roles in the scenes. A pier from the peristyle of a Pompeiian fullery (*fullonica*), VI, 8, 20 (Figure 11.5), is the source for a series of first-century frescoes. On the lower north side of the pier, there is a woman sitting and cleaning the instrument for carding wool (MANN, inv. 9774). Two other figures are standing to the viewer's left. One is a male who shows a cloth sample to another female. Suspended from the roof are pieces of cloth draped over sticks. The seated female figure wears a short sleeve, off-white tunic that has a thin, red, vertical rick-rack pattern running down the length of the garment. A green mantle drapes over the shoulders and lower torso of the figure. What has not been observed is that the female figure who stands to the right wears a similar



FIGURE 11.5 Women in the fullery, VI, 8, 20. Pompeii. Fresco, first century CE. MANN, inv. 9774. Photo: Art Resource (ART421590).

[37]Sarah Bond, *Trade and Taboo: Disreputable Professions in the Roman Mediterranean* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2016), 145.

[38]For a less prescriptive reading, see Steven J. R. Ellis, *The Roman Retail Revolution: The Socio-Economic World of the Taberna* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 12–13.

[39]Lauren Hackworth Petersen, '"Clothes Make the Man": Dressing the Roman Freedman Body', in *Bodies and Boundaries in Graeco-Roman Antiquity*, ed. Thorsten Fögen and Mireille M. Lee (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2010), 200; Irene Bragantini, 'VI, 14, 35, 36: Caupona di Salvius', in *Pompei: Pitture e mosaici*, vol. 5, ed. Giovani Carratelli and Ida Baldassare (Rome: Istituto della enciclopedia italiana, 1994), 366–71.

set of clothes: an off-white tunic with red rick-rack pattern falling down the front of the garment as well. A green mantle is draped over her shoulder and lower torso. Clarke has indicated two possible interpretations. First, this is a woman who brings the cloth in for cleaning; or second, she is there to pick up the cleaned product.[40] No connection is made, however, of the clothing similarities of both the seated and standing figures. Two more plausible scenarios apply. The first is that the scenes might illustrate a continuous narrative where the female figure is engaged in tool cleaning in one vignette. The woman then appears, again, holding the short end of the cloth with her male counterpart in the other scene. The second scenario could be that there are two female workers presented in the scene wearing 'uniforms' that are suitable for their trade.

The third example derives from the left pier of a doorway in the Workshop of Verecundus, IX. 7.5. It originally was located to the left side of doorway 7 off the Via dell' Abbondanza but is now in storage.[41] The female cloth seller stands behind the counter. The identity of this figure is likely the wife of the shop owner, Verecundus. Although the counter obscures the lower half of her body, she wears an indigo blue mantle draping her shoulders. The mantle is the same indigo colour of the tunic donned by Venus Pompeiana (Pompeii's patron deity), who features in the frescoes located on the shop front.[42] This colour association is relevant in terms of providing a visual link between the cloth seller and the goddess. This link further intensifies the seller's potential to attract attention because she, like the goddess, wears a garment dyed from imported materials.[43] Beneath the mantle is an off-white tunic with the customary tradesperson's red stripe, visibly falling down the length of the garment's left side.

The final category of Roman women dressed for the part is that of craftswomen, more specifically, painters. These frescoes have been studied mainly for the fundamental reason that they portray female artisans. However, what they wear seems to be largely overlooked. The first fresco originally from the House of the Empress of Russia (VI. 14, 42) is now housed in the MANN (inv. 9017). Two females are seated, one of whom paints a togate male. The painter wears an off-white tunic and has a white mantle draped around her shoulders.

A second fresco, dating to the first century CE, from a room located off the peristyle in Pompeii's House of the Surgeon (VI. 1, 9-10.23), features a seated female who gazes at her subject, a statue of Dionysus (Figure 11.6). Two other women stand to observe behind a pier. The woman on the left wears a green and yellow short-sleeved tunic with a rose colour mantle wrapped around the right shoulder and lower torso. The second figure wears a yellow tunic with turquoise and rose-trimmed mantle that completely covers the body and veils the head. The seated painter dabbles a brush into a pigment box and holds a palette in the other. At her feet rests a framed painting of the deity that is held by a crouching child. This example is especially important in that the female painter wears

[40]For the location of the piers, see Clarke, *Art in the Lives of Everyday Romans*, 113, fig. 64. Furthermore, Clarke has identified this as a 'drop-off scene' on the basis that the cloth is not carefully folded. Clarke, *Art in the Lives of Everyday Romans*, 116.

[41]Hilary Becker, 'Roman Women in the Urban Economy: Occupations, Social Connections, and Gendered Exclusions', in *Women in Antiquity: Real Women across the Ancient World*, ed. Jean Macintosh Turfa and Stephanie Lyn Budin (London: Routledge, 2016), 917; Clarke, *Art in the Life of Ordinary Romans*, 110–11, fig. 63; Walter O. Moeller, *The Wool Trade of Ancient Pompeii* (Leiden: Brill, 1976), 54.

[42]Clarke, *Art in the Life of Ordinary Romans*, 105–7, fig. 60.

[43]For indigo, see Sebesta, '*Tunica Ralla*', 68–9.

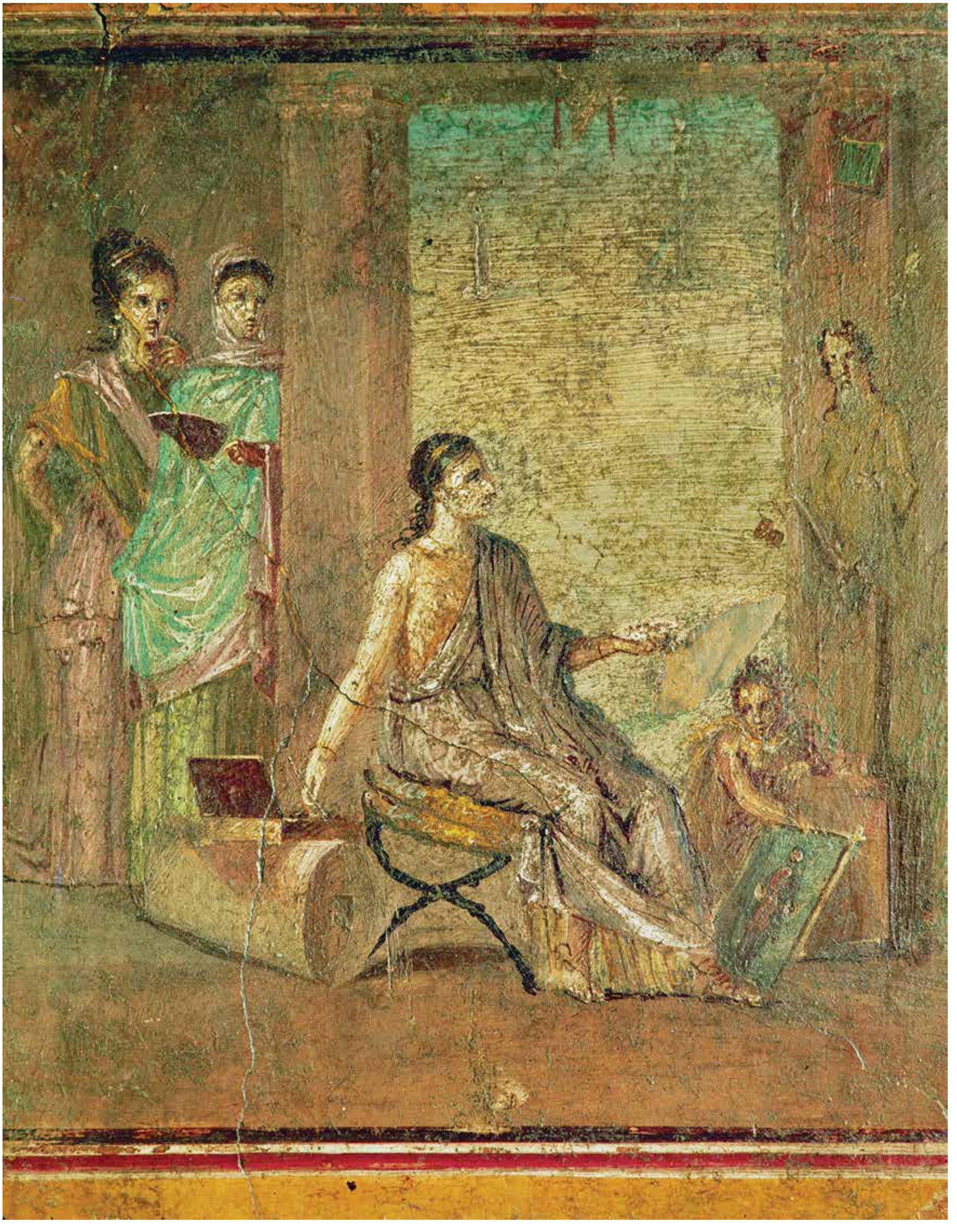


FIGURE 11.6 Female painter before the statue of Dionysus. House of the Surgeon, VI. 1, 9-10.23, Pompeii. Fresco, first century CE. Photo: Art Resource (ART77460).

a yellow sleeveless tunic with a beige-green mantle draped over her shoulder and waist. The status hue of the yellow garment, in this instance, conveys a respectable image.[44]

That last fresco presents a woman painting a theatrical scene initially from Herculaneum and now housed in the MANN (inv. 9019).[45] To the left is a seated male actor. The painter crouches down on the floor with either a stylus or paintbrush in her hand. It appears that she either writes a dedication or paints a further tableau below the representation of the tragic mask. Behind the tableau stands another male figure. It is safe to say that the female dresses similarly to the other painters mentioned above. She wears a lightweight, off-white, sleeveless, belted tunic, the hem of which falls at the ankles. The strap of the tunic hangs off her shoulder in a similar manner to the female diners presented at the House of the Chaste Lovers. A darker shaded mantle drapes around the lower half of her body. Similar to the other representations of the craftswomen, the dress relays a means to attract attention positively.

CONCLUSIONS

What is evident from this survey is that the descriptive overviews of women's dress in the frescos and mosaics of women's dress are wanting. Details of dress types and status colours are too often ignored. This foray into select Pompeiian examples from the late Republican and early Imperial periods reveals a rich source of evidence in terms of the diverse nature of clothing. As mentioned earlier, by no means is this an exhaustive sample of women's dress from this region in general or the Roman world as a whole. It is with hope that this chapter will spark the catalyst for future studies in areas of the Roman world that have received little attention in terms of dress studies. More detailed treatments of women can help break stereotypes or ideas that have run their course in secondary scholarship. In doing so, we revivify more voices of ancient Roman women that have been lost and forgotten over time.

[44]Silberberg-Peirce believes that the presence of the two other women looking at the painter and her work garner respectability. Susan Silberberg-Peirce, 'The Muse Restored: Images of Women in Roman Painting', *Woman's Art Journal* 14, no. 2 (1993): 35.

[45]Silberberg-Pierce, 'The Muse Restored', 34. For the Herculaneum example, see Oreste Ferrari and Enrica Pozzi, *Le Collezione del Museo Nazionale di Napoli* (Rome: De Luca, 1986), fig. 103; Karl Schefold, *Die Wäende Pompejis, Topographisches Verzeichnis der Bildmotive* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1957), 334.

CHAPTER TWELVE

'They Leave behind Them Portraits of Their Wealth, Not Themselves'[1]: Aspects of Self-Presentation in the Dress of the Deceased in Mummy Portraits and Portrait Mummies from Roman Egypt

LORELEI H. CORCORAN

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

Up until the late twentieth century, the scholarly climate concerning our understanding of the cultures of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt was biased in favour of the classicists' view of Egypt as a backwater province whose glory days were in the past and whose population consisted of the indigenous poor and an ill-defined Hellenic or Hellenized elite class, a core of first-class citizens that inhabited a second-class world of hybridized religious beliefs and artistic aesthetics. A corpus of funerary objects from Roman Egypt, the so-called Fayum portraits or mummy portraits,[2] has long been considered the quintessential example of a Hellenistic art form adapted to local customs by members of this Hellenized elite. In 1995, a monograph[3] based on a 1988 dissertation, the study of the iconography of the body decorations of these 'portrait mummies', was predicted to 'rock the hellenocentric art world'[4] because it exactingly documented that their decoration alluded to a grounded knowledge in ancient Egyptian afterlife beliefs that complemented the ultimate use of the portraits within the iconic product of ancient Egypt, a mummy.

[1]*Itague nullius effigie vivente imagines pecuniae, non suas, relinquunt;* Pliny *Nat*. 35.5.

[2]It is to the dedicated research of Klaus Parlasca that we owe the collection and publication of the more than 1,000 extant mummy portraits worldwide. Klaus Parlasca, Ritratti Di Mummie. *Repertorio d'arte dell' Egitto greco-romano*, Series B: I, ed. Achille Adriani (Palermo: Banco di Sicilia, Fondazione Mormino, 1969), Series B: II, III (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1977, 1980) and Klaus Parlasca and Hans G. Frenz, Ritratti di Mummie, *Repertorio d'arte dell'Egitto greco-romano*. Series B: IV, ed. Nicola Baracosa (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2003).

[3]Lorelei H. Corcoran, *Portrait Mummies from Roman Egypt (I–IVth Centuries A.D.), with a Catalog of Portrait Mummies in Egyptian Museums* SAOC 56 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1995).

[4]Robert S. Bianchi, 'The Mummy as Medium', *Archaeology* (November/December 1995): 61.

In the decades following that challenge to the then accepted practice of separating the mummy portraits from a context deeply rooted in ancient Egyptian theology, important studies have emerged based on archaeological and textual evidence that have helped to define and elucidate issues of significance to achieve a more balanced view of the lives of the people who appear in the paintings.[5] Nevertheless, the classical bias persists that privileges a perceived Greek versus Egyptian ethnicity. Writing in 2010, Hellinckx stated, 'Even in more recent publications such as the volume on mummy portraits edited by S. Walker and M. Bierbrier for the series "Catalogue of Roman Portraits in the British Museum" [*Ancient Faces: Mummy Portraits from Roman Egypt*, London, 1997] the classical perspective is still dominant.'[6] 'During her keynote address at the APPEAR conference at the Getty Villa (17–18 May 2018), Susan Walker pointed out that the linden wood on which many Fayum portraits were painted generally derives from southeastern Europe, thus including the heartland of the Macedonian veterans who settled in Egypt in the Hellenistic period'[7] which one conference participant extrapolated to mean that 'the addition of panel portraits to mummies in the early Roman imperial period could be understood as an expression of ethnic or cultural identity – a proud exclamation of the Graeco-Macedonian background of the wealthy upper-class inhabitants of the Fayum'.[8] Rowlandson has pointed out, however, that even by the late first century BCE, 'there were few who could call themselves of genuine Greek descent'[9] being 'largely Egyptian in origin'[10] due to intermarriage with native Egyptians and the absorption of native Egyptians into the class of 'Macedonian *katoikoi*' (the original group of Ptolemaic soldier settlers). Her statement, moreover, that 'the "Greek" identity of the 6475 [of the Arsinoite nome] was stressed in their title because it was not otherwise immediately obvious'[11] refutes Walker's argument why 'some references stress the Hellenic origin of the 6475'[12] and that 'the 6475 may well be represented in the most Romanized portraits from Hawara'.[13]

In his study of identity and burial practices in Ptolemaic Egypt, Landvatter cautioned that an insistence, such as Walker's and Borg's – on the perceived emphasis that the patrons of the mummy portraits placed on *their* 'Greekness' – borders on a 'projection of the concerns of a very specific,

[5]Caitlín E. Barrett, 'Hellenistic and Roman Egypt', in *Oxford Bibliographies in Classics*, ed. Ruth Scodel (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), doi: 10.1093/OBO/9780195389661-0189. Note additional bibliography in Bart Hellinckx's insightful article, 'Studying the Funerary Art of Roman Egypt', which is a review of *The Beautiful Burial in Roman Egypt, Art, Identity and Funerary Religion*, by Christina Riggs (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), in *Chronique d' Égypte* 85 (2010): 126–56, and Christina Riggs, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

[6]Hellinckx, 'Studying the Funerary Art', 129, fn. 26.

[7]Judith Barr et al., 'The Girl with the Golden Wreath: Four Perspectives on a Mummy Portrait', *arts* 8, no. 92 (2019): 19. doi:10.3390/arts8030092 (accessed 20 July 2019).

[8]Ibid.

[9]Jane Rowlandson, 'Dissing the Egyptians: Legal, Ethnic, and Cultural Identities in Roman Egypt', in *Creating Ethnicities & Identities in The Roman World*, ed. Andrew Gardner, Edward Herring and Kathryn Lomas (London: University of London, 2013), 219.

[10]Ibid., 225.

[11]Ibid.

[12]Susan E. C. Walker, 'Mummy Portraits in Their Roman Context', in *Portraits and Masks, Burial Customs in Roman Egypt*, ed. Morris L. Bierbrier (London: British Museum Press, 1997), 4.

[13]Ibid. See also Barbara Borg, 'Das Gesicht der Elite: Multikulturele Identitäten im römischen Ägypten', in *Ägypter, Griechen, Römer, Begegnung der Kulturen. Kanobas* 1, ed. Heinz Felber and Susanne Pfisterer-Haas (1999), 83–93.

colonial present onto a very different past'.[14] He argues further that this concern with 'ethnic identity' (in the Ptolemaic period) has been to the detriment of our identification of 'other identities such as socioeconomic level, regional origin and gender'.[15] Landvatter's viewpoint is relevant to our study notwithstanding that one of the most important distinctions to keep in mind when investigating material evidence from the 'Greco-Roman' period is that Ptolemaic Egypt is not Roman Egypt.

Although their impressionistic style of painting is related to the Hellenistic artistic tradition of fresco painting, the mummy portraits that first appear in the archaeological record in the early first century CE are securely a product of the culture of Roman Egypt. The men, women and children depicted in the paintings should, therefore, be identified according to criteria related to data now available from the centuries specific to their lifespans concerning such diverse perspectives as life expectancy, prevalent occupations and their status and role in the economy, facets of village and urban life including the architecture of domestic and cemetery sites, the eligibility of individuals for citizenship and its obligations, language fluency and literacy, ancient ideas of 'ethnicity', gender roles and their responsibilities, and religious and funerary beliefs. Hard data gleaned from the study of texts, such as receipts for the price of luxury goods or the exchange of letters,[16] archaeological evidence from preserved textiles[17] and domestic and funerary architecture,[18] and computer-aided investigations of physical remains,[19] are contributing to an objective description of what constituted the lifestyle (civic and religious) of the relatively small population of Roman Egypt that commissioned portraits and portrait mummies.[20] Conventionally, due to the presumed cost of

[14]Thomas Peter Landvatter, 'Identity, Burial Practice and Social Change in Ptolemaic Egypt' (PhD diss., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 2013), 2. 'This applies both to the idea of Hellenization as a nearly missionary enterprise which bestowed the benefits of civilization onto a grateful native population … and the application of the critiques of 19th and 20th century colonialism to the Hellenistic period', ibid., 2, fn. 7.

[15]Ibid., 3.

[16]Barrett, 'Taxation, Courvée and Liturgies', 23–4, 'Manufacture and Trade: From Production to Consumption', 4–26, 'Households and Families', 36–7, 'Women and Gender', 37–9, and 'Languages, Texts, Textual Evidence and Literary Culture', 51–3; all in 'Hellenistic and Roman Egypt'. Online.

[17]Among other monographs on the publication of the textile finds from the rubbish dumps of the garrisons along the route to the Red Sea, see especially, Hélène Cuvigny, ed., *Didymoi: une garnison romaine dans le désert Oriental d'Égypte. Vol. 1: les fouilles et la materiél*, FIFAO 64 (Le Caire: Institut française d'archéologie oriental, 2011). I am grateful to Tasha Vorderstrasse for this invaluable reference.

[18]Barrett, 'Architecture: Domestic and Civic', in 'Hellenistic and Roman Egypt', 66–8. Funerary architecture related specifically to portrait mummies is discussed by Klaus Parlasca, *Mumienporträts und verwandte Denkmäler* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1966), 50–8; W. A. Daszewski, 'Mummy Portraits from Northern Egypt: The Necropolis in Marina el-Alemain', in *Portraits and Masks*, 59–65; and Jana Helmbold-Doyé, ed., *Aline und ihre Kinder, Mumien aus dem römerzeitlichen Ägypten* (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2017), 17.

[19]CT scans and the subsequent 3-D printing of objects detected in scans have now allowed for the identification of inclusions within the mummy wrappings that contradicts Petrie's original assertion that portrait mummies did not contain amulets or items of any kind within their wrappings (W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Hawara, Biahmu and Arsinoe* (London: Field & Tuer, 1889), 20). See Lorelei H. Corcoran and Marie Svoboda, *Herakleides, A Portrait Mummy from Roman Egypt* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2010), 66–8, and Stuart R. Stock et al., 'Sex, Age and Mummification Practices: Evidence from 3-D X-Ray Imaging and X-Ray Diffraction', in *Portrait of a Child: Historical and Scientific Studies of a Roman Egyptian Mummy*, ed. Essi Rönkkö, Taco Terpstra and Marc Walton (Evanston, IL: Mary and Leigh Block Museum of Art, 2019), 76–9.

[20]Although, due to their rotted condition, an unknown number of portraits were abandoned in situ by Petrie (W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Roman Portraits and Memphis (IV)* (London: School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1911), 2), and presumably also by those working at other sites, the total number of portrait mummies ever produced is still only a small percentage of mummies that were manufactured overall and therefore represents only a minority of the inhabitants of Roman Egypt. Of his finds from Hawara, Petrie (*Roman Portraits*, 1) stated that 'out of about a hundred mummies of the same age, found buried in the same way, there is only one portrait preserved, and perhaps one more decayed or destroyed portrait'.

mummification and the decoration of the portrait mummies, the patrons of this genre of funerary outfit have been characterized as members of the 'elite', a sweeping statement too vague to be helpful.[21] Scholars are now aiming at a more precise definition of the lifestyles of these individuals who can be more specifically identified by their education and literacy (Greek and demotic), their ownership of property (land and goods), their access to restricted items and their chosen expression of self-presentation allowing for regional variations.

Mummy portraits, defined as naturalistic paintings of the face and upper torso executed in tempera or encaustic (pigments mixed in hot beeswax) or a combination of techniques ('wax-tempera') on wooden panels or on linen, became of major interest to the art world in the late nineteenth century as a result of portraits that were sold at auction by the Viennese art dealer, Theodor Graf. At that time, an accurate period for the *flourit* of these paintings was as yet unknown and a Ptolemaic date was suggested. Sir Flinders Petrie's excavations at Hawara confirmed that the portraits (and associated mummies) from that site belonged at the earliest to the reign of the emperor Tiberius. Present-day scholarly consensus is that the genre ranges at the earliest from the first century CE and that the latest portraits on wood panels date to the mid-third century CE whereas the tradition of portrait paintings on funerary shrouds and the use of cartonnage masks continued up to the fourth century CE.[22] Nevertheless, the dating of individual portraits has continued to be based on the same criteria that originally resulted in a Ptolemaic date: a subjective assessment of artistic technique, quality, hairstyles, jewellery and dress.[23]

[21]Throughout pharaonic history, saving for the cost of mummification and tomb production was incentivized by afterlife aspirations and individuals who might not be considered to have been among 'the elite' (if that included those from the highest level of government administration) would have sacrificed dearly for these amenities. With respect to quantifying those costs in the Roman era, although Maria Cannata ('Funerary Artists, the Textual Evidence', *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt*, 597) states that 'textual evidence for the production of mummies, burial assemblages, or tombs in Roman Egypt is almost non-existent', Dominic Montserrat ('Death and Funerals in the Roman Fayoum', in *Portraits and Masks*, 36) produced values for the cost and economic impact of a funeral from commodities lists 'since the commodities consumed at funerals – garlands, perfume, linen, foodstuffs – are all common items of daily use' as well. Montserrat (ibid.) was thereby able to estimate the cost of a funeral relative to the average worker's salary, an equation that helps to make these values relevant to a discussion of social status. A rare receipt for funeral expenses (ibid., 40) shows a price of 440 drachmas that Monserrat (ibid., 36) estimated at being approximately equivalent to a year's wage for a labourer. In Ulricke Horak's retranslation of the same document (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Papyrsusammlung, Inv. P. Vindob, G 24.913), dated to the second or third centuries CE, 'Papyrus Written in Black Ink, Listing the Expenses of a Burial', in *Ancient Faces, Mummy Portraits from Roman Egypt*, ed. Susan Walker (New York: Routledge, 2000), 160), she states, 'It becomes apparent how high the costs of a burial might be if one considers that in the second century an annual income probably amounted to between 200 and 300 drachmas. The expenses listed thus amounted to nearly two years' income, a sum surely only affordable by the upper middle class.' Nevertheless, this does not take into consideration that (1) an individual might save a lifetime for funeral expenses; (2) families could pool resources (Montserrat, 'Death and Funerals', 36) or (3) commodities of high value could be sold to raise the funds for expenses (ibid., 37). This last scenario might have helped to account for the fluid turnover in individuals and families of 'high status' within communities as family fortunes were gained or lost.

[22]For an overview of the history of the early acquisition of and dating dilemmas associated with mummy portraits, see Morris Bierbrier, 'The Discovery of the Mummy Portraits', and Susan Walker, 'A Note on the Dating of Mummy Portraits', in *Ancient Faces, Mummy Portraits from Roman Egypt*, ed. Susan Walker and M. Bierbrier (London: British Museum Press, 1997), 32–3 and 34–6.

[23]Among others who now urge that a combination of criteria should be used to date the portraits, see Céline Trouchaud, 'Bijoux à types isiaques sur les portraits d'enfants du Fayoum', *Studi e Materiali di Storia Religion* 79, no. 2 (2013): 397, who cautions against dating portraits using hairstyles alone because 'le manque de detail sur certaines portraits ainsi que le fait que l'arrière de la tête ne soit pas visible rende cette technique de datation parfois difficile à appliquer, notammente pour les femmes'. For re-dating portraits using contradicting dating criteria (Parlasca [style] vs. Borg [hairstyle]), see Joylene Kremler, 'Imperial Fashion Victims in Provincial Egypt: Re-dating Egyptian Mummy Portraits', *Art Journal* 43 (2003). Posted 2 June 2014. https://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/essay/imperial-fashion-victims-in-provincial-egypt-re-dating-egyptian-mummy-potraits/ (accessed 10 January 2020).

EVIDENCE FOR DAILY DRESS

Of the three categories of portrait mummy body decoration (rhombic-wrapped, red-shroud and stucco),[24] it is only on the bodyfields of mummies of the latter two categories that the deceased (male[25] and female) was depicted in a form of everyday dress.[26] For all three types, the feet, shod in sandals and occasionally also wearing socks,[27] could be represented on a separate cartonnage footcase, painted on a linen shroud or modelled in stucco (Figure 12.1).

Throughout the Roman Empire, the basic unisex garment, with few variations, consisted of a sleeved or sleeveless tunic (Latin: *tunica*), the majority of which were made of wool. The male version was knee-length or longer whereas the female version was modestly ankle-length. A rectangular mantle (unfastened) or a curved-hem cloak (fastened) might be draped (usually) over the proper left shoulder (Figure 12.2). A child's garment common to both sexes was the white/undyed tunic, differentiated only by its longer length for girls. As these garments were woven to shape and only minimally tailored, thin strips of textile 'belts' were used to adjust them in position. Cloaks were secured with buttons, pins or brooches (*fibulae*). These were often of gold, embellished with precious stones and they stood out against the plain backdrop of fabric as did the ever more elaborate jewellery and hairstyles of women.

The men, women and children depicted in mummy portraits[28] are shown in what might appear to us to be very plainly made clothing but which was undoubtedly their most formal attire – what Lise Bender Jørgensen refers to in her chapter in this volume as 'the Sunday best' – as is established in images from throughout the Roman Empire. Nevertheless, their clothing is very standardized in that what is represented (clothing types, colours and motifs) is not as varied as what is known from the archaeological record.[29] Adult males are almost without exception depicted wearing a white or undyed (natural brown) wool tunic[30] or tunic suite consisting of a matching undertunic

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[24]Corcoran and Svoboda, *Herakleides*, 11–13 and p. 12, fig. 1.

[25]Barbara Borg, *Mumienporträts: Chronologie und Kultureller Kontext* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1996), 129, suggested that only women were represented this way but allowed for future discoveries that might prove this observation incorrect. Indeed, men were also represented in this way. See Corcoran and Svoboda, *Herakleides*, 77–9.

[26]The full-length depiction of an individual in daily life dress is uncommon on coffins of pharaonic Egypt but did occur on the mummy boards of a group of New Kingdom mummies (1200 years earlier than the portrait mummies). Kathlyn M. Cooney, 'Gender Transformation in Death: A Case Study of Coffins from Ramesside Period Egypt', *Near Eastern Archaeology* 73, no. 4 (2010): 229–30, offers that such depictions of the deceased (male and female) in their white, linen garments were representations of them as purified *akhs* (souls) in a stage of their journey to the afterlife. Christina Riggs (*The Beautiful Burial*, 247) noted that in Roman era tomb depictions, 'the deceased tended to be portrayed in a naturalistic form [and in contemporary dress] at the liminal stage of his or her passage from life to death' as opposed to the archaic costume the deceased wears as a symbol of his or her transition to the afterlife. Could the naturalistic image of the deceased in a mummy portrait, wrapped within the confines of the mummy, always viewed as an incongruous artistic amalgam, also somehow illustrate this idea of the multi-stage transition of the deceased from life to death and rebirth?

[27]For socks and their depiction on a funerary shroud, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 09.181.8, see D. Cardon, H. Granger-Taylor and W. Nowik, 'What Did They Look Like? Fragments of Clothing Found at Didymoi: Case Studies', in *Didymoi. Vol. 1, 349–52. A knitted wool sock of the two-toe variety was also found at hawara* (Petrie: *Hawara*, pl. XVIII). See also Lise Bender Jørgensen's chapter in this volume for a further discussion of socks in ancient Egypt.

[28]See Cardon et al., 'What Did They Look Like', 282–352, where the authors provide comparisons between excavated textiles and their representation in the mummy portraits.

[29]Cardon et al., 'What Did They Look Like', 303.

[30]The broad, binary gender distinction rule of white tunics for males and coloured tunics for females is corroborated by a case study of a portrait mummy from Hawara (Brooklyn Museum 11.600) that Petrie initially catalogued as that of a woman (Petrie, *Roman Portraits*, pl. XXVI). Subsequent CT scans revealed the mummy to be that of a man (Edward Bleiberg, 'Male and Female Mummies: Bad Grammar, Bad X-Rays, and Bad Judgement', https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/community/blogosphere/2009/07/17/male-and-female-mummies-bad-grammar-bad-x-rays-bad-judgment/) (accessed 12 January 2020). The subject depicted in the portrait, therefore, had been fittingly depicted in a white tunic.



FIGURE 12.1 Portrait mummy of a woman shown in full-length dress wearing a red tunic with broad, dark *clavi* edged in gold and black sandals. Roemer-Pelizaeus Museum, Hildesheim, L/SN 1. Photo: Courtesy of the Roemer-Pelizaeus Museum.



FIGURE 12.2 Mummy portrait of a man wearing a white tunic with thin violet *clavus* and a white mantle. Benaki Museum, inv. 6878. Photo: Alamy FWHM3R.

and overtunic[31] with an aubergine (a bluish-purple so dark it borders on black) [32] vertical stripe that descends from each shoulder. Male children are also so dressed. The clothing of women was more varied in colour but they are almost ubiquitously depicted in light to dark violet-coloured tunics[33] with the same dark-coloured stripes as on the men's tunics, as are also some young girls.[34]

'The frequent light-pinkish and mauve to dark violet or burgundy colours represented in the clothing of the contemporary mummy portraits from Egypt were meant to represent the true mollusc purple dye.'[35] In the Republican period, 'Tyrian purple' was ideally reserved for the highest-ranking members of society, a restriction that was disregarded in Roman Egypt. Although only a small number of textiles in archaeological collections have been identified with the dye mollusc purple, 'from a social point of view, wearing clothes adorned with true purple dye was probably more accessible to middle and lower classes than ha[s] been thought so far'[36] due to the frugal depletion of dye from dye vats, the dilution of true purple dye with other dyes and the recycling of garments, especially decorative elements.[37] Madder lake, a vegetable dye, has been identified in the pigments used to paint the clothing in the mummy portraits and was also used, as a cheaper

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[31]Walker ('Mummy Portraits in Their Roman Context', 3) suggests that the decoration of the neckline of undertunics might have had regional significance within Egypt. Her statement (ibid.) that 'the undertunic was a fashion specific to Roman Egypt' is, however, not supported by a description of Augustus wearing more than one undertunic (Suet., *Aug.* 82, 20) and another of Horace (Hor., *Ep.* I.I. 95-6) being seen in an undertunic and tunic of unequal wear (Cardon et al., 'What Did They Look Like', 290).

[32]'The most sought after shade of purple was a reddish purple close to the prestigious colour of "Tyrian purple."' Online abstract of Dominique Cardon et al., 'Who Would Wear True Purple in Roman Egypt? Technical and Social Considerations on Some New Identifications of Purple from Marine Molluscs in Archaeological Textiles', in C. Alfaro et al., *Purpureae Vestes III, Textiles y Tintes en la Ciudad Antigua* (València, Spain: Universitat de València – Centre Jean Bérard [CNRS-EFR], 2011), 1, https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-00675033 (accessed 18 June 2019).

[33]Exceptions occur. For example, for a woman wearing a white tunic, see Bonn AKM D804; for lilac/pink, see British Museum EA 74705; for blue, see Petrie Museum, 14692; for green, see Württembergisches Landesmusem, Antikensammlung 131; and for yellow, see Louvre MNC 1694.

[34]Studies of the physical remains of the portrait mummies of two young girls (ÄM Berlin 11412 and Garrett-Evangelical Theological Seminary no inv.#) revealed that although their portraits depict them as adolescents wearing reddish-coloured tunics with black stripes and golden jewellery, their physical remains are those of children no more than four or five years of age. See, respectively, Jana Helmbold-Doyé, ed., *Aline und Ihre Kinder*, 33, and Stock et al., 'Sex, Age, and Mummification Practices', 75. The children's proleptic dress can possibly be attributed to a wish for their fecundity and rebirth in the afterlife according to Egyptian funerary beliefs that were modelled on the human reproductive cycle. The artistic convention of depicting children as miniature adults was also followed in Roman art (see Annika Backe-Dahmen, 'Roman Children and the "Horus-lock" between Cult and Image', in *Individuals and Materials in the Greco-Roman Cults of Isis. Agents, Images, and Practices*, Proceedings of the VIth International Conference of Isis Studies I, ed. Valentino Gasparini and Richard Veymeiers (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 531–2. The disparity between the physical remains of these children and the more mature presentation in their portraits (the Northwestern mummy was assumed to have been 12–14 years of age from her portrait and based on a 1960s era x-ray, see Lorelei Corcoran Schwabe, 'Hawara Portrait Mummy no. 4', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 71 (1985): 191) contradicts assertions that 'CAT scans of preserved portrait mummies [do] not reveal any obvious discrepancy in age between the individual depicted in the portrait and the mummified body within the mummy wrappings' as stated by Barbara E. Borg ('Painted Funerary Portraits', in *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, ed. Willeke Wendrich [Los Angeles], 7). http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz0021bx22 (accessed 9 January 2020). Other such discrepancies in age (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv. 1912.11.139, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, inv. 1425, and Brooklyn Museum, inv. 11.600) highlight the importance for future research on the physical remains of portrait mummies.

[35]Cardon et al., 'Who Would Wear True Purple in Roman Egypt', 1.

[36]Ibid.

[37]Ibid.

alternative to true purple, to dye clothing a pinkish-reddish colour.[38] Madder, and kermes[39] a dye produced from insects, could also be used alone or combined with mollusc purple to produce the desired colour.

Jørgensen has studied the technical aspects of the manufacture of Roman textiles and advocates for more precise terminology for the decorative elements that embellish them.[40] She distinguishes between vertical bands, woven in the weft, and horizontal stripes, which are woven in the warp. The vertical stripe that descends from each shoulder on a Roman tunic, initially a signifier of rank, is called a *clavus*. The similarity between the stripes on Roman garments to the decorative stripes along the sides of tunics found in Roman Egypt was first noted by A. F. Kendrich in 1920 and, although it is misleading, the term *clavi* subsequently became the standard terminology in reference to both.[41] The stripes on Roman era Egyptian tunics, however, did not have the same denotation of rank. They might even best be thought of as 'imitations of Roman *clavi*'.[42] There is not even any consistency in the width of the stripes that appear on the tunics depicted in the mummy portraits or in the archaeological record.[43] Jørgensen states that 'the signaling of rank must, however, have been lodged in something else than width' but what that might be was outside the scope of her chapter.[44] Perhaps initially the mere presence of '*clavi*' on tunics like those depicted in the mummy portraits was sufficient to denote status or rank and served as a material signifier to others that the wearer belonged to a certain sector of society.[45] The precise width or colour of the stripes was 'immaterial' to the message.

The restriction of certain goods deemed luxury items (pigments like Tyrian purple, certain types of clothing or jewellery such as signet rings) was a means by which the upper members of society maintained control. Such restrictions placed on items to which value has been attached as a means of institutional ideologies of social constraint can be documented in Egypt as early as the predynastic period. Decorative objects in the shape of cosmetic palettes made of greywacke were initially considered the prerogative of the few, items of social prestige associated with

[38]For madder as the pigment for painting tunics, '*clavi*' and garlands on mummy portraits, see J. Salvant et al., 'A Roman Egyptian Painting Workshop: Technical Investigations of the Portraits from Tebtunis, Egypt', *Archaeometry* 60, no. 4 (2018): 825–6; and for 'indigo and madder-lake pigments … [as] a cheaper substitute for "Tyrian-purple" pigment', see ibid., 824. For madder as a pigment for dying garments, see Cardon et al., 'What Did They Look Like', 289 and 332–3.

[39]Cardon et al., What Did They Look Like', 333.

[40]Lise Bender Jørgensen, 'Clavi and Non-Clavi: Definitions of Various Bands on Roman Textiles', in *Purpureae Vestes III. Textiles y Tintes en la Ciudad Antigua*, ed. C. Alfaro et al., 75–81.

[41]Ibid., 76.

[42]Ibid.

[43]Ibid. This is confirmed in the archaeological record from Didymoi (Cardon et al., 'What Did They Look Like', 284) where the width of *clavi* varied from 'a little less than one centimetre to around two and a half centimetres'.

[44]Jørgensen, 'Clavi and Non-Clavi', 76. That the *clavi* on the garments of those in the mummy portraits 'had no ulterior meaning' was first proffered by Cecil Smith, 'The Paintings', in Petrie, *Hawara*, 42. Jørgensen, however, 'Clavi and Non-Clavi', 76 and 81, references a forthcoming article by L[auren] McGhee, 'The Significance of Clavi in Mummy Portraits', to be published in *Mons Claudianus, Survey and Excavations IV: Textiles*, which promises to shed more light on the topic.

[45]In her study of gold Aegean signet rings, Nadine Becker refers to this phenomenon as the 'Knossos Effect' (after Malcolm Wiener's coining of the term 'Versailles Effect'), the voluntary adaption of goods associated with a culture of higher prestige by members of an interconnecting society. The mere wearing of such an item like a gold signet ring (or in our case, purple *clavi*) was a means by which the local elite might outwardly align themselves with the dominant social and administrative class. See Nadine Becker, 'The "Knossos Effect": Golden Signets as Visual Markers of Social Dependencies in the Aegean Bronze Age', *Proceedings of the 12th International Congress of Cretan Studies*, *Heraklion, 21-25.9.2016* (Heraklion: 2017), 1–11.

governmental power and authority.[46] Once these objects became commonplace, however, they lost their value as social markers, perhaps in the same way *clavi* and the colour associated with 'Imperial purple' lost its original meaning. These features were then emulated and co-opted by a new group of ambitious and aspiring individuals in Roman Egypt, some of whom were patrons of the mummy portraits. The purely decorative nature of these 'pseudo-*clavi*' the derivative nature of these garments and suggests that they should be considered an adaptation in Egypt of a Roman model.

The dead who were mummified in Roman Egypt according to traditional Egyptian practice were not buried in their clothing. Their bodies were wrapped in layers of linen bandages. Evidence for what their actual clothing would have looked like (discounting representations in sculpture and painting which do not convey texture or often even colour) comes instead from the excavation and analyses of literally thousands of fragments of textiles from the rubbish heaps of the Roman ports and quarries leading to and along the Red Sea: Mons Claudianus, 'Abu Sha'ar, Didymoi[47] and Myos Hormos among other sites that date from the late first to the mid-third century CE, the general date range of the mummy portraits.[48] Analyses of the garments from these sites show that they had been reworn for as long as several decades. The garments included tunics, mantles, military cloaks, hats, belts, scarves and socks. The recycled and repaired condition of this clothing from such working sites populated by stone masons, sailors and soldiers and a limited number of women definitely paints a very different picture of life with respect to the value of clothing than we see in the mummy portraits which present the patrons in comparatively sumptuous vestments. For example, one tunic with '*clavi*' from Mons Claudianus, dating to the early second century CE, had been 'heavily repaired and most of the original material replaced by patches'.[49]

Regardless of their preserved state, the value of the *study* of these garment fragments lies in their reconstructed lives before they were reduced to being used as scraps to create patchwork quilts (Greek: *kentrônes*) or passed down from generation to generation. Research on the fragments from Didymoi presents an excellent model for how physical evidence can serve as a primary source about the lifestyles of the patrons of the mummy portraits by providing a one-to-one comparison between textile fragments and the complete garments depicted in the portraits.[50] Additionally, the value of research on local Egyptian material, rather than using Italic garments as models, is in the identification of regional preferences such as that in Egypt and the eastern provinces infantrymen and civilians wore the *paenula* (semicircular cloak) asymmetrically and fastened at the right shoulder with a brooch.[51]

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[46]Alice Stevenson, 'The Material Significance of Predynastic and Early Dynastic Palettes', in *Current Research in Egyptology 2005, Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Symposium*, ed. Rachel Mairs and Alice Stevenson (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2007), 148–62.

[47]Cardon et al., 'What Did They Look Like', 272–395. See Bender Jørgensen, this volume.

[48]Among other publications, see Lise Bender Jørgensen, 'Textiles from Mons Claudianus, 'Abu Sha'ar and Other Roman Sites in the Eastern Desert', in *The Eastern Desert of Egypt during the Greco-Roman Period: Archaeological Reports*, ed. Jean-Pierre Brun et al. (Paris: Collège de France, 2018). https://books.openedition.org/cdf/5234 (accessed 12 January 2020) and Hélène Cuvigny, ed., *Didymoi., Vol. 1: les fouilles et le matériel*.

[49]Jørgensen, 'Textiles from Mons Claudianus', 17. The fact that the '*clavi*' had been 'meticulously preserved throughout all repairs' indicated to Jørgensen (ibid.) 'that they conveyed important information about the owner's social position'. The author did not speculate further except to say (ibid.) that 'clavied tunics were worn at the site, but hardly by everybody'. See also discussion above (fn. 44). Again, see Bender Jørgensen, this volume.

[50]Cardon et al., 'What Did They Look Like', 373–85.

[51]Ibid., 320.

Another important contribution is that the clothing fragments from Didymoi can be dated because they have been found in association with dated ostraca. For example, it was determined that knitted socks, previously dated from the fourth to sixth centuries CE, were already in use in the first century CE.[52]

GENDERED CLOTHING?

An unusual tondo painting on wood[53] depicts two adult males side by side (Figure 12.3). The large tondo (60 cm diameter) was never incorporated into a mummy but was perhaps displayed as a commemorative portrait.[54] Due to its findsite – Antinoopolis, a city founded by the emperor Hadrian in 130 CE – the tondo has been dated to the mid-second century CE. The men have been identified as siblings and the painting is known as the *Tondo of the Two Brothers*.[55]

Differences between the men in skin tone, the presence or absence of facial hair and wrinkles and the details of their costumes, however, have led Haeckl to challenge the idea that the men were related. She has proposed alternatively that they were lovers.[56] For evidence for the idea that these two were 'local counterparts of Hadrian and Antinoos',[57] she notes that the paler skin tone of the younger man on the viewer's left who sports a downy moustache contrasts with the darker complexioned, bearded older man on the right, an artistic convention usually employed to distinguish the flesh of women from that of men in Hellenistic and Egyptian art.[58] She also points to the compositional placement of the two men: the younger on the viewer's left slightly overlaps the other occupying the position usually held by the woman in images of opposite-sex couples in Pompeian wall paintings.[59]

Haeckl's provocative reinterpretation rests further on her observation of the distinction in the men's clothing. The older man wears a 'white toga-like mantle of manhood'[60] whereas the younger wears a crimson cloak that mimics the red colour much favoured for the tunics of women, and his glittering brooch is reminiscent of the elaborate jewellery of the females depicted in the mummy portraits.[61] She interprets the 'eye-catching scarlet swastika' on the (proper right) shoulder of the tunic of the younger man as 'a time-honored fertility symbol'.[62]

A swastika was identified on a fragment (D99.13103.1 C) of a tunic excavated at Didymoi and discarded between 220 and 250 CE[63] (100 years later than the tondo has been dated). Cardon et

[52]Ibid., 349.
[53]Egyptian Museum, Cairo, inv. CG 33267.
[54]Anne E. Haeckl, 'Brothers or Lovers? A New Reading of the "Tondo of the Two Brothers"', *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 38, no. 1–4 (2001): 65.
[55]Euphrosyne Doxiades, ed., *The Mysterious Fayum Portraits, Faces from Ancient Egypt* (New York: Abrams, 1995), 211–12.
[56]Haeckl, 'Brothers or Lovers', 63–78.
[57]Ibid., 77.
[58]Haeckl, 'Brothers or Lovers?', 72–4. For an overview of the artistic convention of gender-based flesh colour in Egyptian art, see Lorelei H. Corcoran, 'Yellow Is Not a Metaphor for "All [That]'s 'Fair' in Love and War"', in *Essays for the Library of Seshat: Studies Presented to Janet H. Johnson on the Occasion of Her 70th Birthday*, ed. Robert K. Ritner. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 70 (Chicago: Oriental Institute Press, 2018), 33–6.
[59]Haeckl, 'Brothers or Lovers', 76.
[60]Ibid., 66.
[61]Ibid., 76.
[62]Ibid, 76–7.
[63]Cardon et al., 'What Did They Look Like', 299–300.



FIGURE 12.3 Double portrait known as the *Tondo of the Two Brothers*. Egyptian Museum, Cairo, CG 33267. Photo: Alamy MX8JTD.

al. drew an immediate comparison with the tondo portrait, although the location of the swastika differed on the tunic, as they reconstructed it, from that depicted in the painting.[64] The authors assigned no particular symbolism to the swastika but noted that remnants of long-sleeved tunics also included other woven motifs such as 'rows of purple triangles, stepped pyramids, and notched or paired short *clavi* terminating in arrowheads and a *swastika*' [65] and that the arrowhead motif in particular might be associated with the military.[66] Moreover, they noted that 'the fashion of wearing tunics decorated with borders of purple triangles and short notched *clavi* with arrowheads or *swastikas*, under a cloak fastened by a brooch on the right shoulder, was also characteristic of soldiers in the Roman army, both in Egypt and outside'.[67] The younger man so clothed in the tondo

[64]Ibid., 300.
[65]Ibid., 293.
[66]Ibid., 294. The authors suggest a specific association of the arrowhead motif with Palmyrene archers.
[67]Ibid., 293–4. The authors point for comparison (ibid., 294) to a shroud in the Luxor Museum of Art (J.194; Q.1512) dated by Parlasca to the second to third century CE, closer in date to the tondo.

lacks a *balteus*,[68] however, which is usually a signifier for soldiers. Cardon et al. therefore suggest that the cloak the younger man wears might identify him as a 'traveller … dressed for his voyage to the afterlife'.[69] The analyses of the clothing of these two men has raised some intriguing questions.

JEWELLERY

The jewellery worn by women and girls complements their formal dress and, as Petrie noted, the portraits at Hawara reflect an increasing elaboration in the designs of earrings and necklaces that has been employed as a dating criterion. Earring styles changed from simple ball earrings in the first century CE to chandelier-type earrings with pendant pearls and hoop earrings with pearls or precious stones from the second century onwards.[70] Hairpins are associated with the complicated, Flavian period topknot.

The repetition of the limited examples of *parure* on Roman era mummy masks from Deir el-Bahri led Riggs to question the verity of the jewellery so depicted.[71] She likewise expressed doubt that the jewellery represented in the mummy portraits was what the individuals actually possessed. She proposed that it 'instead conveyed the status to which the deceased laid claim in death'.[72]

In addition to the publication of the textile finds of contemporary date to the mummy portraits from the excavations in the Eastern Desert, a second important contribution, in terms of its methodology, to the explication of the lives of the patrons of the mummy portraits is that of recent studies of the jewellery depicted in the portraits. Unlike previous publications that consisted primarily of descriptions, in a persuasive and text-grounded article based on her 1998 dissertation, Schenke addressed the doubts expressed by Riggs and Borg with respect to the authenticity of the jewellery in the mummy portraits.[73] She drew comparisons between the clothing and jewellery depicted in the mummy portraits of women (which constitute approximately half of all the known mummy portraits of adults) with the material assets detailed in the dowry receipts that were a part of the marriage contracts of Roman Egypt (as in Egypt today, where a married woman's gold and silver jewellery constitutes her personal bank account).[74] Schenke concluded that the representation of jewellery in the portraits is an encoded reference to the married status of the women depicted.[75]

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[68]The *balteus* or sword belt is shown in the mummy portraits of soldiers crossing either from the left shoulder to the right hip or vice versa (Cardon et al., 'What Did They Look Like', 284). It has been suggested that the direction was a signifier of rank (a right to left cross would indicate a centurion whereas a common soldier would wear the *balteus* from left to right), ibid., 324. This explanation has also been put forth to account for the alternate locations of the brooch on a military cloak: 'a *fibula* on the right side may possibly have indicated a higher status' (Barbara Borg, 'Costume, Hairstyles and Jewellery', in Doxiades, *Mysterious Fayum Portraits*, 234). The type of sword used might also have influenced the direction of the *balteus* (Cardon et al., 'What Did They Look Like', 324) but the most practical explanation might be that in *all* cases the position depended on whether the individual was left or right-handed. Cf., above, for a possible regional preference, fn. 51.
[69]Cardon et al., 'What Did They Look Like', 323.
[70]Petrie (*Hawara*, 19 and pl. xi).
[71]Riggs, *Beautiful Burial*, 241.
[72]Ibid.
[73]Gesa Schenke, 'Der Schmuck der Frauen: Mumienporträts im Kontext papyrologischer Zeugnisse', in *Atti del XXII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia, Firenze, 23–29 agosto 1998*, vol. II, ed. Isabella Andorlini et al. (Florence: Istituto Papyrologico G. Vitelli, 2001), 1187. I thank the author for kindly sending me a PDF of her article.
[74]While in a gold shop in modern Luxor, I was witness to an altercation between the owner and a woman who had come to exchange, for currency, a gold bracelet that her husband had gifted her. The bracelet, it turned out, was not solid gold but plated, and the woman vented her emotional distress on the unfortunate merchant.
[75]Schenke, ' Der Schmuck der Frauen', 1198.

That this jewellery was also very real, however, was documented by comparison of the items in the portraits with descriptions of the gold and 'real'[76] pearl items in the dowry receipts and finds of jewellery in the archaeological record.[77]

Although the gold, emerald and amethyst jewellery and small pearl earrings depicted in the portraits are thereby corroborated, there is one item that seems to call into question its own authenticity: the large, perfectly matched pearl necklace (single- or double strand) the likes of which have not survived (Figure 12.4). An outstanding example, a double-strand necklace consisting of matching pearls approximately 20 mm in diameter is depicted on the neck of a woman in a mummy portrait in Bonn.[78] In ancient as well as in modern times, pearls have been considered one of the most precious of gemstones. In antiquity, however, all pearls were natural pearls. As only approximately one pearl forms naturally out of 25,000 oysters, they must have been exceedingly rare.

Pearls of such large size recall the story related by Pliny[79] that characterized the wanton excess (Greek: *tryphe*) of Cleopatra and Marc Antony who allegedly staged a competition to see if the queen might expend a fortune of 10,000,000 sesterces on a single banquet. When Cleopatra served an ordinary affair, Antony thought himself the winner. But following the meal, the clever queen removed one of her treasured pearl earrings, dropped it into her drinking vessel whereupon, it is claimed, the pearl dissolved. While reaching for the matching gem to repeat the act, she was halted by the umpire of the wager who declared Antony the loser, the moral being (if there was one) that not even these Roman paradigms of profligacy should bear the loss of two such precious pearls.

The increased number of natural pearls in Roman jewellery was seen as a reflection of excess as witnessed also by Pliny's complaint against Caligula's third wife: 'I have seen Lollia Paulina, who became the consort of Gaius not at some considerable or solemn ceremonial celebration, but actually at an ordinary betrothal banquet, covered with emeralds and pearls interlaced alternately and shining all over her head, hair, ears, neck and fingers.'[80] In retrospect, that an empress, however ephemeral, might afford such extravagance is plausible[81] but was a large, double-strand pearl necklace within the reach of a middle-class matron of Roman Egypt? Instead of considering such a necklace an example of 'aspirational jewellery', however, perhaps we should consider that these pearls, like some of the gemstone jewellery depicted, were owned by the women but were made of less expensive materials like glass.

[76]Ibid., 1196–7. The adjective 'real' was added to items in the dowry receipts presumably because substitute gems of glass are also known from the archaeological record. See Riggs, *Beautiful Burial*, 241, who lists some materials of jewellery of lesser value as 'iron, lead, bone and glass'.

[77]Although jewellery has not been found within the wrappings of portrait mummies, the outer decoration of Egyptian Museum Cairo CG 33216 includes engraved gems that might have been a part of the deceased's collection in life (Corcoran, *Portrait Mummies*, 73 and 179–80). For examples of jewellery contemporary with that depicted on the portraits, see *Ancient Faces*, ed. Walker, 149–56.

[78]For a stunning photograph of the 'pearl' necklace depicted on Akademischen Kunstmuseum Bonn D 804, see Elisabeth Fugmann and Yvonne Schmuhl, 'Das Mumienporträt eines Mädchens im Bonner Akademischen Kunstmuseum', *Kölner und Bonner Archaeologica* 7, no. 2017 (2019): pl. 1 and detail on 203, pl. 6.

[79]Pliny, *Nat.* 9.119-21.

[80]Ibid., 117–18.

[81]Two natural pearls belonging to Napoleon III's wife, Empress Eugenie, sold in 2014 for $3.3 million. Nan Summerfield, 'Mrs. Plant's Pearls', *Doyle Auctions Notebook*, https://doyle.com/specialists/nan-summerfield/stories/mrs-plants-pearls (accessed 3 January 2020).



FIGURE 12.4 Mummy portrait of a woman wearing pearl hoop earrings, a gold and 'emerald' necklace and a strand of large 'pearls'. Altes Museum, Antikensammlung Berlin, inv. 31161/12. Photo: Art Resource (ART300789).

In addition to jewellery that is colourful and showy, the mummy portraits document that some jewellery was worn to signify the owner's religious and afterlife convictions. Gold pendants in a crescent shape (*lunulae*) on chains with wheel-shaped clasps are thought to have had solar/lunar symbolism associated with rebirth.[82] These same pendants are also often associated with fertility.[83] Gold Asclepian snake rings and bracelets, worn by women in the first- and second-century mummy portraits, were

[82]Catherine Johns, 'Gold Necklace with Crescent Pendant', in *Ancient Faces*, ed. Walker, 150.
[83]Doxiades, *Mysterious Fayum Portraits*, 56.

associated with the Greek healer deity[84] but were easily adapted in an Egyptian context since the snake was a generic determinative for any goddess. Other necklaces, particularly those associated with children, consist of images of Isis Sarapis and/or Horus attesting to the popularity of the cult of Isis[85] contemporary with the time of production of the mummy portraits. Trouchaud's convincing argument that these amulets were real possessions of the children depicted wearing them (and not stereotypic motifs) is corroborated by the preservation of gold pendants of these same deities.[86] The children, aligning themselves with the child god Horus/Harpocrates, were thus virtual members of the divine family, placed under the protection of the maternal goddess Isis in life as in death.

HEADDRESSES AND WREATHS

It is noteworthy that in the mummy portraits, we do not see any headgear or head coverings associated with daily life. Men do not wear helmets or caps,[87] nor do the women demurely draw mantles over their heads as a veil (although the voluptuous curves of painted or gilded stuccoed linen around the faces of some stucco mummies mimic the appearance of a mantle head covering, e.g. Brooklyn Museum, inv. 69.35). Headdresses consist only of those rare examples that depict or resemble the sun disc, feathered and horned crown of Isis (CG 33216 and CG 33281)[88] and the seven-pointed star diadem of a priest of Sarapis (National Gallery, London, inv. 2912).[89]

The only accoutrement that is otherwise seen on the head in the mummy portraits is a gilded wreath that is worn by less than 10 per cent of subjects.[90] The wreath had social and funerary meaning in ancient Egypt, Greece and Rome. Its ambiguous intention on the mummy portraits could draw upon various traditions: from its pharaonic association with Book of the Dead Spells 19 and 20 that were meant to be recited as a wreath was placed on the brow of the deceased[91] to the myrtle[92] and laurel wreaths, standing respectively for consecration and victory in a Greek or Roman context.

Only recently have these wreaths become the object of formal interest. That is because their shape and material may help us to date the portraits or tell us more about the symbolism of the botanical selections. The wreaths vary in their appearance from the stylized look of rhombic-shaped cut-outs of gold leaf applied in a double row to resemble a crown of leaves attached to a golden vine, to a painted wreath that evokes a tiara of 3-D modelled flowers,[93] to a gilt wreath composed of tendrils of leaves and flowers rendered so naturalistically that one feels it should be possible to identify the species of plant of which it was fashioned (e.g. Art Institute of Chicago, inv. 1922.4798 [Figure 12.5], and Bonn

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[84]Catherine Johns, 'Five Gold Snake-rings and Three Snake-bracelets', in *Ancient Faces*, ed. Walker, 141–52.
[85]Céline Trouchaud, 'Bijoux à types isiaques sur les portraits d'enfants du Fayoum', *Studi e Materiali di Storia Religion* 79, no. 2 (2013): 396–418.
[86]Ibid., 414, and figs. 7 and 8.
[87]For descriptions of preserved caps, see Cardon et al., "What Did They Look Like', 344–9.
[88]Corcoran, *Portrait Mummies*, 179 and 192.
[89]Ibid., 71–2.
[90]Barr et al., 'The Girl with the Golden Wreath', 12.
[91]For the ambiguous nature of wreaths in the context of the mummy portraits and their possible association with the Isis cult, see Corcoran and Svoboda, *Herakleides*, 32–4.
[92]Annika Backe-Dahmen, 'Roman Children and the "Horus-lock" between Cult and Image', in *Religions in the Graeco-Roman World*, ed. Valentino Gasparini and Richard Veymeir (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 509–38. The myrtle wreath could be associated with Demeter, ibid., 535.
[93]As depicted on Brooklyn Museum inv. 41.848. The flowers may be the closed blossoms of the convolvulus.



FIGURE 12.5 Mummy portrait of a man wearing a botanically naturalistic-looking gold wreath. Art Institute Chicago, inv. 1922.4798. Photo: Art Resource (ART528146).

AKM D804[94]). During an excavation of the burial of a young girl in Cádiz, Spain, a golden crown of similar appearance to the naturalistic ones in the paintings mentioned above was discovered. The wreath, found in tiny fragile fragments, was partially reconstructed to its original appearance[95] and tentatively identified as an ivy or grape vine.[96] The gold wreath preserved on the Art Institute portrait has leaves, however, that I believe more closely resemble the *convulvulus* plant, which was associated in ancient Egypt, due to its marked heliotropism, with birth, and hence rebirth, and the solar cult.

[94]Fugmann and Schmuhl, 'Das Mumienporträt', 198 and fn. 22. A number of dating criteria are considered for the Bonn portrait, including the similarity of the wreath on it to that on the Chicago portrait.

[95]'Diadema Funeraria', Museo de Cádiz, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2ywSn0cfl2c (accessed 7 July 2019).

[96]Fugmann and Schmuhl, 'Das Mumienporträt', 198. 'Der Kranz besteht aus einem zarten Zweig mit Blättern. Parlasca erkennt eine Efeu- und Borg –mit Verweis auf die "annähernd runde" Form der Blattelemente – eine Weinranke. Da jedoch die Einzelteile aus etwa quadratischen Blattgoldauflagen bestehen und beides traditionell möglich ist, kann keine Entscheidung getroffen werden.' The authors conclude that due to the inability to find an exact parallel for the shape of the leaves that perhaps no specific plant was intended.

Because the grave in which the Cádiz wreath was found can be dated to the early first century CE, it impacts the third century CE date that had been assigned to the portrait in the Bonn Museum (AKM D804) on stylistic grounds.[97] A study of a portrait of a woman with a golden wreath in the Allard Pierson Museum (APM 724) has also suggested a re-dating to the researchers[98] who advocate for a catalogue of wreaths by form and degree of naturalism that might provide evidence for regional preferences and specific workshops. The presence of the wreaths themselves is significant because they are the one consistent element of dress in the portraits that testifies to the otherworldly function[99] of the paintings because it can be demonstrated, by features such as the overlap of the gilded elements onto the linen bandages, that many of these wreaths were applied after the portrait was secured to the mummy.[100]

CONCLUSION

The men and women who chose the mummy portraits as a means of self-presentation for themselves and their children wished to be commemorated for eternity in images that recorded them in an ideal state. In ancient Egyptian, this is the meaning of the phrase *m At.f* ('in its moment') that describes a subject in its most characteristic and essential state of being (as, for example, a cobra when it strikes). Scholars have long debated whether or not these images truly capture the physical characteristics of the subjects as individuals (as confirmed by CT scan comparisons). Regardless as to their possible verisimilitude, however, research now suggests that artists produced these 'portraits' employing a universal guideline that specified the placement of facial features in order to create a uniform appearance[101] that places them in direct line with the generic faces of pharaonic funerary masks. Rather than a recognizable physical likeness of their unique facial features, therefore, what was most significant for them is what is presented to us for recognition: their social standing and religious convictions.[102]

New methodologies, new avenues of pursuits and new archaeological discoveries are beginning to better inform our understanding of the specifics of these aspects of the lived identities of the

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[97]Fugman and Schmuhl, 'Das Mumienporträt', 198. The hairstyle of the young girl in the Bonn portrait is unhelpful in dating because it is one that spans many generations.

[98]Barr et al., 'The Girl with the Golden Wreath', 12.

[99]Gilding was sometimes applied to the lips (Cleveland Museum of Art, inv. 71.137), throat (Louvre, P 217) or background of a portrait but the time of these additions, whether while in quotidian use or just before insertion into the mummy wrappings, cannot be as definitively proven.

[100]Corcoran and Svoboda, *Herakleides*, fig. 13, show that two leaves of gold on the portrait's proper left side were placed out of sequence so that they fit beneath the ones above them but within the border of the red shroud framing the face.

[101]Jevon Thistlewood et al., 'A Study of the Relative Locations of Facial Features within Mummy Portraits', APPEAR Conference 17–18 May 2018, *Abstracts*, 4, http://getty.edu/museum/research/appear_project/downloads/appear_abstracts.pdf (accessed 9 January 2020), suggest that although the mummy portraits appear to have 'recorded the personal features of their subject ... they still have group identity which connects them to even the most stylized examples'. The authors explore 'the similarities in the location and size of facial features in a range of Mummy Portraits' and concur that 'the most obvious similarity is the general presentation of the face. They generally adopt a similar pose and calm reserve which suggests an almost clinical process in parts'. Further (quoting J. Berger), 'the Fayum painter was summoned not to make a portrait, as we have come to understand the term, but to register his client, a man or woman, looking at him ... like a modern day passport photograph'.

[102]For a discussion of the concept of self-presentation in ancient Egyptian art, see Jan Assmann, 'Preservation and Presentation of Self in Ancient Egyptian Portraiture', in *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, ed. Peter der Manuelian (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1996), 55–81.

patrons of the mummy portraits. According to the standards of the Roman definition of status, these individuals (and specifically with regard to data available for the women) (1) were educated, evidenced by recent studies of written sources in Greek and demotic[103] and the inscriptions on two portraits;[104] (2) were landed (as specified in dowry contracts); (3) owned expensive clothing, the value of which is known not only by its worth detailed in dowry contracts but by the archaeological evidence of the use of expensive dyes and dying processes; and (4) they owned elaborate jewellery, also detailed in the dowry contracts. For the patrons of the mummy portraits, these images were their final opportunity for the display of their constructed, fluid, multi-layered, uniquely and distinctly Roman-Egyptian[105] identities and social status – the ostentatious show they put on for eternity – the realities of which are just beginning to be substantiated.

[103]See Barrett's entries on 'Education and Literacy', 59–60, and 'Women and Gender', 37–9, in 'Hellenistic and Roman Egypt'.
[104]Dominic Montserrat, 'Heron "Bearer of Philosophia" and Hermione "Grammatike"', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 83 (1997): 223–6. Note that the plate number given (p. 224) for Heron's bandages in Petrie's *Roman Portraits and Memphis (IV)* should be pl. X, 3, not pl. XXIV, 2.
[105]For other 'Roman' identities, see Lisa Brody and Gail Hoffmann, eds., *Roman in the Provinces: Art on the Periphery of Empire* (Boston: McMullen Museum of Art, 2014) and Louise Revell, *Ways of Being Roman: Discourses of Identity in the Roman West* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2016).

SECTION C

Meanings

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

Dress and Ceremony in Achaemenid Persia: The '*Gaunaka*'

LLOYD LLEWELLYN-JONES

Clothing was central to ancient Persian culture and especially so for the Achaemenid elite. For them the significance of dress could be physical, economic, social or symbolic, and the function of clothing was multiple: dress could protect, conceal, display or represent a person's office or even a state of being. Persian courtly identity was defined through its clothing, but so too was the nomadic horseman ancestry of the Iranians, although this important element is less studied.

Elite men at the Achaemenid court could be identified wearing two distinctive types of dress. The first sort, what I label the 'court robe', was a highly significant garment and may have been of pure Persian invention, although it does bear resemblance to Egyptian-style royal tunics of the New Kingdom and Late Period.[1] Margaret Root argues that the garment originated in Elam but there is nothing to support this. Although it is *possible* that from the reign of Darius I a Perso-Elamite identity was somehow expressed through the garment, I would not like to push that point too far.[2] Constructed from a huge double-square of linen or wool (or perhaps cotton or even silk) and worn over baggy trousers (largely hidden), the voluminous tunic was tightly belted at the waist to form a robe with deep folds which created an overhang resembling sleeves.[3] The court robe was richly embellished with woven designs and ornamented appliqué decorations made from gold and semi-precious stones; it was as costly as it was beautiful.[4] This was the costume of the Great King par excellence and in Achaemenid art he is represented wearing it repeatedly, whether sitting on his throne or actively fighting in battle or killing an animal (mythical or otherwise).[5] In reality, the court robe was a highly impractical garment for any form of active combat, so the choice to

[1]See Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones, *King and Court in Ancient Persia, 559–331 BCE* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), 3, 217, fig. F10, 221, fig. F14.

[2]On the Egyptian *mss*-tunic, see G. Vogelsang-Eastwood, *Pharaonic Egyptian Clothing* (Leiden: Brill, 1993). For arguments for the Elamite origins of the Achaemenid court robe, see M.C. Root, 'Elam in the Imperial Imagination: From Ninevah to Persepolis', in *Elam and Persia*, ed. J. Álvarez-Mon and M. B. Garrison (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2011).

[3]See P. Beck, 'A Note on the Reconstruction of the Achaemenid Robe', *Iranica Antiqua* 9 (1972): 116–22; B. Goldman, 'Origin of the Persian Robe', *Iranica Antiqua* no. 4 (1964): 133–52, and 'Women's Robes: The Achaemenid Era', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, no. 5 (1991): 83–103; A. Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire. A Corpus of Sources from the Achaemenid Period* (London: Routledge, 2007), 532; Llewellyn-Jones, *King and Court*, 208, 210, 214, 217, 221.

[4]Athenaeus 12.525d-e.

[5]W. Xin, 'Violence and Power Visualized: Representations of Military Encounters between Central Asia and the Achaemenid Persian Empire', in *The Archaeology of Power and Politics in Eurasia: Regimes and Revolutions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 78–90, figs. 4.4, 4.6.

depict the monarch wearing it with such regularity can only be explained by the fact that it was symbolically important. In my estimation, the court robe represented Empire-wide Achaemenid royal authority; it was the symbol of the sedentary aspect of Persian court society, which had emerged during the formative generations of Empire-building under Cyrus, Cambyses and Darius.

The other form of dress found at the Achaemenid court was of a very different, far older and traditional sort. It was actually made up of five items of clothing:

1. a long-sleeved coat (OP. **gaunaka*; Elam. *kam-na-ak-ka*; Avest. *gaona*; Gk. *kandys* (?))
2. a long-sleeved fitted knee-length tunic (OP. **kantu*, **kam*; Gk. *ependytēs* (?)) which was often belted
3. trousers, leggings or chaps (Gk. *anaxyrides*)
4. footgear (which might sometimes be built into the trousers to form a kind of slipper-legging)
5. a felt, cloth, leather or suede cap.[6]

Taken in combination, this ensemble was ideal for a people dependent upon horse riding for transportation, warfare, status display and many other forms of cultural identity.[7] The Greeks erroneously, but consistently, called this mode the 'Median dress' and, unfortunately and frustratingly, the tag has stuck in much contemporary scholarship, but there is no evidence for these garments being limited to the Medes.[8] The complete outfit is worn by several groups of tribute bearers on the Persepolis Apadana staircases (Figures 13.1 and 13.2): Delegations I (Media); IX (Cappadocia); XI (Skythia); XVI (Sagartia or Armenia) and Willem Vogelsang note that 'geographically, all of these trouser-wearing delegations derive from northwest, north, and northeast of the Achaemenid empire. They originate from the long belt of lands that

[6]See Llewellyn-Jones, *King and Court*, 220, fig. F13. There is little agreement over Greek and Old Persian clothing terminology. S. Hawkins ('Greek and the Languages of Asia Minor to the Classical Period', in *A Companion to the Ancient Greek Language*, ed. E. J. Bakker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 226) reads OP **gaunaka* as a 'thick cloak', although a cloak per se (i.e. an unstitched mantle) was not worn by Iranians in the Achaemenid period. For him, the Greek *kandys* is the Persian sleeved tunic. M. C. Miller (*Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century BC. A Study in Cultural Receptivity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 166) regards the *kandys* as a garment, 'worn from the shoulder by men as a kind of cloak in conjunction with a sleeved *chitōn* … ; its most striking feature is the unused sleeves'. Miller uses the Greek *ependytes*, which is 'linguistically Greek rather than foreign' for the sleeved tunic (or *chitōn*). R. Schmitt (*Encyclopedia Iranica*, vol. XI, Fasc. 4, 360) defines the dress terms thus: '*gaunákē(s)*, also *kau-* "Iranian cloak or blanket" (from OIr. **gaunaka-* "hairy, shaggy"); *kándys*, "Median upper garment with sleeves" (with *kandytânes* "clothes-bag", containing OIr. *-dāna-* "holder")', although the imprecise English dress terminology does nothing to help clarify matters. An additional Greek term *sarapis* might also refer to a long-sleeved coat. See further discussion by G. Thompson, 'Iranian Dress in the Achaemenian Period. Problems concerning the *Kandys* and Other Garments', *Iran* no. 3 (1965): 121–6 and G. Widengren, 'Some Remarks on Riding Costume and Articles of Dress among Iranian Peoples in Antiquity', *Arctica*: *Studia Ethnographica Upsaliensia*, no. 11 (1956): 228–76.
[7]See further Llewellyn-Jones, *King and Court*, 83–5.
[8]See, for instance, N. V. Sekunda, 'Changes in Achaemenid Royal Dress', in *The World of Achaemenid Persia*, ed. J. Curtis and S. Simpson (London: British Museum Press, 2010), 256–72. See also R. Schmitt, '*Candys*', *Encyclopedia Iranica*, vol. IV, Fasc. 7: 758: 'The currently prevailing opinion is that the *candys* … was part of the Median riding costume … that is represented often in the Persepolis reliefs.'



FIGURE 13.1 Tribute bearers carrying a set of clothes (left to right): trousers with built-in feet, sleeved tunic, *gaunaka. East staircase. Audience Hall of Darius I (Apadana). Photo: Art Resource (ART72356).



FIGURE 13.2 Relief showing Persian noblemen wearing riding dress. The figure at the far right wears a *gaunaka draped over his shoulders. Persepolis, South Iran, sixth to fifth century BCE. Relief sculpture on the stairway to the Audience Hall of Darius I (548–486 BCE). Photo: Art Resource (ART922191).

stretches to the delta of the Danube in the west to the boarders of China in the east'.[9] One fact cannot be stressed enough: these are the clothes worn by the traditional horse-riding peoples of the Empire.

The Persians themselves strongly retrained the nomadic traces of Eurasian horse-societies. For the Achaemenids, the horse had a significant practical and symbolic purpose and the importance of horses among the nobility is evidenced by the fact that many of them bore names compounded with the Old Persian word *aspa* – 'horse'. Several of Darius I's inscriptions note that Persia was a land containing both good men and good horses (DZe §1; DPd §2) and Herodotus famously states that Persian fathers were intent on teaching their sons 'to ride, to draw the bow, and to speak the truth'.[10] The premium Persian horses were bred in the alfalfa-rich plains of Media, and it was here that the main royal stud farms were located (Polybius 10.70). Most prized of all were those steeds bred on the plains of Nisaea near Ecbatana and Bisitun, and Nisaean horses became celebrated for their magnificence, fine proportions and swiftness.[11] Nisaea is said to have sustained 160,000 horses, although stiff competition came from Media and Armenia which were also used for breeding good steeds, as were the provinces of Babylonia (where one satrap possessed 800 stallions and 16,000 mares), Cilicia (which provided an annual tribute of 360 white horses), Chorasmia, Bactria, Sogdiana and lands of the Saka which provided the Empire with its cavalry.[12] The Persepolis texts often speak of horses, usually in the context of their food provisions and maintenance but also as property of the king or members of his family.[13] The texts also name individuals who safeguarded the welfare of the royal horses as well as groups of court officials serving as Masters of the Horse, as it were, and show that these men operated within a hierarchical system and could be paid well beyond the average ration-rate and could enjoy a diet of regular meat.[14] This suggests a high rank at court for Masters of the Horse.

A companion in life, the horse also played its role in the ceremonies of death and with the passing of a king or noble, his horse was included in the mourning procession with its mane cropped short.[15] The horse played a noteworthy role in Achaemenid rituals and beliefs and just as kings were mounted high on horse-drawn chariots, so Ahuramazda and other deities had similar modes of transportation.[16] Moreover, just as the finest present to give a Persian was a horse, so were the gods honoured with equine gifts such as the white horses which were sacrificed to the sun and to the waters, both rituals being widely practised among Indo-European peoples.[17] As founder of the Empire, Cyrus II was honoured with a horse sacrificed to his soul every month. Moreover, the infamous tale recounted by Herodotus of how Darius I acquired

[9]W. Vogelsang, 'Trouser Wearing by Horse-Riding Nomads in Central Asia', in *Berg Encyclopedia of World Dress and Fashion, Volume 5: Central and Southwest Asia*, ed. G. Vogelsang-Eastwood (Oxford: Berg, 2010), 349–54, and *The Rise and Organisation of the Achaemenid Empire: The Eastern Evidence* (Leiden: Brill, 1992).

[10]Herodotus 1. 136; see also Strabo 15. 3.18.

[11]Herodotus 3. 106, 7. 40.

[12]Diodorus Siculus 17.110; Strabo, *Geogr.* 11. 13.7; 11. 13.8, 14.9; Herodotus 1. 192 and 3.90.

[13]PF 1668-69, 1675, 1793; PFa 24, 29.

[14]PF1942, PF1943, PF1947, PF1948.

[15]Herodotus 9. 24; Curtius Rufus 10. 5.17.

[16]Herodotus 7. 40; Arrian, *Anab.* 2. 11, 3.15; Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 8. 3.12.

[17]Xenophon, *Anab.* 1.2.27; Herodotus 1. 216, 7. 113; 1. 189; Xenophon, *Cyr.* 8. 3.11-12; *Anab.* 4. 5.35; Pausanias 3. 20. 4; Strabo, *Geogr.* 11. 13.7; 11. 13.8, 14.9.

his kingdom through a trick involving the neighing of his horse is, in all probability, a Greek misunderstanding of the Iranian practice of hippomancy, or divination through the behaviour of horses, demonstrating the deep-set importance of the horse as the *key* species in the Iranian consciousness.[18]

The coat-tunic-trouser outfit evolved in response to the horseback lifestyle of the Iranians, which had developed in northern and eastern Iran and the wider steppes of Eurasia in the millennium or so before the apex of Achaemenid territorial power. Therefore, the labelling of this type of outfit as 'Median' is not only unhelpful, it is manifestly wrong. An alternative terminology needs to be employed: 'riding dress', 'cavalry costume' or some other suitable equine-related idiom would, I propose, serve the purpose, for there can be no doubt that this fashion is indeed a projection of an Iranian branch of the horse culture of Eurasia.[19] Oddly, however, Achaemenid monumental art never depicts the king wearing trousers or the **gaunaka*; he is always shown in the court robe, a symbol, I think, of his sedentary courtly Elamite-Achaemenid identity. In reality, there can be no doubt that he did wear trousers and the sleeved coat too, if only as a practical way of hunting or travelling on horseback.[20] But there is something else going on to judge from the fact that the four groups of Greater Iranian Persepolitan delegates who bring coats, tunics and trousers as tribute gifts to their ruler is a court motif so well established as to be repeated on the Nereid Monument from far-off Xanthos in Asia Minor.[21] Why is this so? Because the message which was conveyed through these garments was singularly important in the articulation of the two core aspects of royal identity, for as well as being the foremost Persian courtier in his splendid court robe, the Great King was the premiere Iranian horseman-nomad-chief too and was expected to dress appropriately.[22] The riding habit spoke of Persia's deep Eurasian nomadic ancestry.

[18]Herodotus 3.85; see also Ctesias F13 §17.

[19]Note important comments by M.C. Root, *King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art* (Leiden: Brill, 1979), 280, n. 147.

[20]Discussions in L. Summerer and A. von Kienlin, eds., *Tatarlı: renklerin dönüşü/The return of colours/Rückkehr der Farben* (Istanbul: Istanbul Archaeological Museum, 2010).

[21]Root, *King and Kingship*, 281 and fig. 69.

[22]For Root, *King and Kingship*, 281, 'it was a symbol for the king-as-warrior'. This has some cogency, but the fact remains that many seal images of battle show the king wearing the court robe, as unlikely as this may have been in reality since the bag tunic is unsuitable for combat. It must be stressed that the combination of cut, shaped and stitched garments that made up the Iranian coat, tunic and trousers makes its first appearance in Western Asia during the early Achaemenid period in this particular form of equestrian costume. For the inhabitants of the old civilizations of Mesopotamia, Asia Minor and Egypt, as well as for the Greeks – all of whom employed unshaped drapery as the fundamentals of their clothing – Persian riding dress was nothing short of revolutionary. The conspicuous covering of the body, a hallmark of Iranian self-identity across the millennia, was in marked contrast to draped and more routinely displayed bodies of the peoples of the western Achaemenid Empire, and it is not surprising that the Greeks of the late Archaic and classical periods in particular defined themselves in opposition to the Persian nemesis in terms of dress, a theme routinely found in Attic art, but one which also is articulated in literature. Herodotus (6.12) insists, for instance, that '[The Athenians] were the first Greeks, that we know of …, to endure seeing Persian dress and the men who wore it', the suggestion being that, at best, this cut, shaped and fitted Persian body-concealing form of dress was an eyesore to the aesthetic sensibilities of the Greeks and, even worse, it solicited in them an inter-polis trauma. For the Greeks, Persian dress was barbarian costume par excellence. See further, Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones, '"That My Body Is Strong": The Physique and Appearance of the Achaemenid Monarch', in *Fluide Körper-Bodies in Transition*, ed. F. Wascheck and A. Shapiro (Cologne: Wilhelm Fink, 2015), 211–48. In spite of hostilities, the Greeks nevertheless fixated on the exotic otherness of Persian dress and also willingly expressed their admiration for its unique beauty, and, as M. C. Miller (*Athens and Persia*) has demonstrated, the long-sleeved **gaunaka* was enthusiastically imported into Greece where it became the fashionable must-have for the wives of the Athenian aristocracy (a clear play on the gender inversion the Athenians regularly spun around the figure of the Persian).

THE STYLE AND SYMBOL OF THE *GAUNAKA

Irene Good sensibly suggests that the **gaunaka* was a kind of overcoat with wide, often overlong, sleeves and that it was usually worn hanging from the shoulders.[23] One of the earliest attestations of the garment being worn this way dates to the ninth century in the form of a bronze stand found at Hasanlu in Iran, although the coat itself was ultimately derived from a very ancient rectangular-shaped garment shaped on the loom and known as the *chapan*; it is distinctly Central Asian in style (the same coat style is found in early China and has a common origin).[24] Garments found in Achaemenid-era Scythian burials demonstrate how completely perfunctory the hanging sleeves might be, as they were cut and sewn so thin and long that no arm could be placed within them.[25] The fabric of the coat might have ranged from a tightly woven three-quarter twill to piled and quilted fabrics used for warmth. The Old Persian **gaunaka* has the meaning 'hairy' or 'shaggy' (Avest. *gaona* – 'hair'), suggesting that the coat must have been made from wool, felt or fur (or was at least lined or trimmed with fur).[26] A painted tomb from Karaburun in northern Lycia shows a Great King, or more probably a satrap, wearing a white **gaunaka* lined with a thick white lynx fur.[27] All in all this denotes the **gaunaka* as a garment of considerable cost and a clear indicator of wealth and status, and it was worn, therefore, exclusively by the elite. In fact, the Persepolis reliefs show it was worn only by the nobility; food-bearing servants wear just the long-sleeved tunic with trousers.

It becomes clear from the Greek literary sources that the **gaunaka/kandys* played an important role in court etiquette and that the garment, which in Achaemenid art is usually shown draped over the wearer's shoulders with the sleeves hanging loosely at the sides, was loaded with ceremonial symbolism. The ultra-long sleeves (Greek: *korē*) were supposed to be used in the presence of the Great King and any suppliant before the throne was expected to place his arms into them and allow the excess fabric to fall over his hands, thereby rendering them harmless (since they could not grip weapons).[28] Failure to do this was read as an insult to the monarch or his representative, and Cyrus the Younger, we are told, used such an affront as an excuse to execute two of his powerful – and potentially troublesome – kinsmen:

[23]See I. Good, 'Early Islamic Textiles and Their Influence on Pre-Islamic Dress' in *Berg Encyclopedia of World Dress and Fashion, Volume 5*, 282–7. Schmitt ('*Candys*', 758) may be correct in criticizing Widengren's identification of the *kandys* with Polish *kontusz* as 'linguistically anachronistic', but Widengren's term, 'a great coat', may be the best suited to the **gaunaka*.

[24]E. R. Knauer, 'Towards a History of the Sleeved Coat: A Study of the Impact of an Ancient Eastern Garment on the West', *Expedition* 21, no. 1 (1985): 18–36 and 'Ex Oriente Vestimente', *ANRW* II *Principät* 12.3 *Künste* (1985): 578–741, and 'A Quest for the Origins of the Persian Riding Coats: Sleeved Garments with Underarm Openings', in *Riding Costume in Egypt. Origin and Appearance*, ed. C. Fluck and G. Vogelsang-Eastwood (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 7–28.

[25]See V. Gervers, *The Hungarian Szür: An Archaic Mantle of Eurasian Origin* (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 1973), 578–741. See also S. I. Rudenko, *Frozen Tombs of Siberia. The Pazyryk Burials of Iron Age Horsemen* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), 91.

[26]See J. Tavernier, *Iranica in the Achaemenid Period (CA. 550–330 B.C.): Lexicon of Old Iranian Proper Names and Loanwords Attested in Non-Iranian Texts* (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 188.

[27]Even if the figure is a satrap, we nevertheless get a good indication of the look of the royal coat, since satraps were expected to represent the king as closely as possible and therefore imitated his dress as closely as possible, given the limits of what was considered appropriate – see below. It is possible, of course, that the figure is of a local dynast who is deliberately Persianising.

[28]Xenophon, *Cyr.* 8.3.12.

> In this year, Cyrus executed Autoboisakes and Mitraios, the sons of (Darius II's) sister because, when they met with him, they did not put their hands into their long sleeves. Now, the Persians do this only as a mark of respect for the king; this type of sleeve is longer than a normal sleeve so when one puts a hand into it, the hand is rendered harmless.[29]

While this type of story might be hyperbole on the part of Xenophon, showing as it does the capriciousness of Persian royalty, it does alert us to the possibility that, as in all sophisticated court societies – and Achaemenid Iran is undoubtedly a fine example of a highly civilized and visible royal culture – dress-etiquette really mattered.[30]

Other court ceremonies focused on the **gaunaka* too, in which this costly iconic court garment became an item of significant exchange in which notions of loyalty and patronage were codified and through which gestures of humility, obedience, privilege and status could be negotiated and played out. I refer here, of course, to the notion of investiture and the political importance attached to the custom of royalty bestowing the **gaunaka* as a robe of honour onto a worthy recipient.

THE *GAUNAKA AS KHA'LAT

Luxury textiles have always contributed to the wealth and power of ruling dynasties, and they have always performed important roles in the ceremonials of state.[31] Pageantry introduced in the Achaemenid era was reimagined in Sassanian ceremonials, which, in turn, were influenced by Byzantine ceremonials and went on to inform Umayyad and later Islamic royal rituals. There is, I would argue, a direct line of influence from the Achaemenids to the Ottomans, Safavids and Moghuls in which textiles – clothing, carpets, hangings and tents – were visible everywhere as extravagant but vital displays of court wealth and monarchic power.

We know that in the Islamic period, clothing, furnishing fabrics and tents were stored in imperial treasuries as major financial assets of dynastic rule.[32] There is every reason to believe

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[29]Xenophon, *Hell.* 2.1.8.

[30]Decked out in their finery, Achaemenid courtiers clearly cut fine figures; all the more humorous therefore is Xenophon's vivid account of them, all bedraggled and mud-splattered, attempting to free baggage wagons from the quagmire of an impassable road. Xenophon, *Anab.*1. 5. 8: 'At one time they can across a very narrow muddy place where the going was tough for the carts. Cyrus [the Younger] halted with his entourage of courtiers and commanded Glous and Pigres to take some men from the barbarian troops and get the carts free from the mud. But he thought they were taking too long over the job and so, pretending to be angry, he told the Persian nobles in his entourage to help the carts get a move on. It then became possible to see a wondrous thing: they allowed their long purple coats to drop to the ground without caring where they stood and sprinted, as if they were running a race down a very steep hillside, while wearing their expensive tunics and trousers, with some of them even wearing necklaces and bracelets on their arms. As soon as they got there, they jumped into the muck in all their finery and heaved the carts free from the mud more quickly than would ever be thought possible.'

[31]There is yet to be a systematic cross-cultural study of dress and textiles in court societies, but individual studies must include N. Arch and J. Marschener, *Splendour at Court: Dressing for Royal Occasions since 1700* (London: Batsford, 1987); K. Chrisman-Campbell, *Fashion Victims: Dress at the Court of Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette* (New Haven: Yale, 2015); T. Dawson and G. Sumner, *By the Emperor's Hand: Military Dress and Court Regalia in the Later Romano-Byzantine Empire* (Oxford: Oxbow, 2015); G. Dickinson and L. Wrigglesworth, *Imperial Wardrobe* (London: Ten Speed Press, 2000); A. Ertug and P. Baker, *Silks for the Sultans: Ottoman Imperial Garments from the Topkapi Palace* (Istanbul: Ertug & Kocabiyik, 2000).

[32]Harun Al-Rashid (786–809 CE), for instance, had a textile treasury which included 40,000 items of dress, 8,200 furnishing fabrics, 3,900 carpets, 1,300 hangings, 3,000 cushions and 4,000 ceremonial tents. See L. W. MacKie, *Symbols of Power: Luxury Textiles from Islamic Lands* (New Haven: Yale, 2015), 45.

that pre-Islamic Iranian courts kept large stocks of textiles too, as suggested by texts from early sixth-century BCE Susa which record, for instance, supplies of *kuktum* garments – a type of finished shirt or coat (*ku-uktum/tu*) made of linen or cotton[33] – coming into the royal palace from a diverse array of places scattered throughout Neo-Elamite territory.[34] In both the pre-Islamic and Islamic courts, textiles and completed articles of clothing were bestowed by rulers on their courtiers, visiting dignitaries or other deserving people as marks of high honour, as a way of securing loyalty and of securing legitimacy. As Stewart Gordon explains, 'At its simplest, a king or his representative bestowed on another person … an outer [garment] … In a robing room adjacent to the court, the recipient donned the … outfit, re-emerged to the acclaim of the assembled nobles and – if not so before – was deemed "suitable" to take his place in court.'[35]

This type of ceremonial gifting of robes was practised in Iran from Achaemenid period into the Sassanian era, while in the Islamic period, the practice spread far and wide throughout the Middle East and Asia. At this time both the ceremony and the garment gifted during the ritual were known by the Arabic term *khil'at* (sing. *khil'a* – 'to take off') or, in a standard Persian pronunciation more fitting to this study, *khal'at*.[36] We have, sadly, no means of knowing the original Old Persian term for this honours ceremony (although I am in no doubt that there was one). While robing ceremonies themselves no doubt evolved and changed over the centuries, the fundamental importance of *khal'at* never changed – the gifted robe served as a bond between superiors and subordinates.[37]

Underpinning the notion of *khal'at* was, of course, the concept of reward, a theme clearly propounded in Darius I's Bisitun Inscription: 'The man who cooperated with my house (*viθ*), him I rewarded well; he who did injury, I punished thoroughly' (DB §63), and again on his tomb at Naqš-i Rustam: 'What a man does or performs … with that I am satisfied' (DNb §8e), which finds parallel with Xerxes', 'I generously repay men of good will' (XPl §26). The reward is physically expressed through the gift, and in Achaemenid ideology the interplay between

[33] W. Hinz and H. Koch, *Elamisches Wörterbuck*, vols. I and II, *Archäologische Mitteilungen aur Iran Ergänzungsband* 17 (Berlin: Reimer, 1987), 559.

[34] W. Henkelman, 'Persians, Medes and Elamites: Acculturation in the Neo-Elamite Period', in *Continuity of Empire (?) Assyria, Media, Persia*, ed. G. Lanfranchi, M. Roaf and R. Rollinger (Padova: SARGON, 2003), 180–231; D. T. Potts, *The Archaeology of Elam* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 299.

[35] S. Gordon, 'Khil'a: Clothing to Honor a Person or Situation' in *Berg Encyclopedia of World Dress and Fashion, Volume 5*, 462–7.

[36] More obscure Persian terms such as *pay-zeh* and *sarupa* ('from head to foot') might also be used. For discussions of *khal'at*, see especially S. Gordon, ed., *Robes and Honor. The Medieval World of Investiture* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001): 'A World of Investiture' in *Robes and Honor*, 1–22; *Robes of Honour. Khil'at in Pre-Colonial India* New Delhi: OUP, 2003). See also Gordon 'Khil'a', 462–7.

[37] For the *longue durée* of gift-giving in the Middle East, Eurasia and China, see L. Komaroff, ed., *Gifts of the Sultan: The Arts of Giving at the Islamic Courts* (New Haven: Yale, 2011), 13, where she notes that 'in Arabic and Persian, there are all kinds of nuanced words that we don't have in English that describe if it's a forced gift, or from a lower ranking official to a higher ranking, or one given to curry favour. It kept the wheels greased. People preferred to give gifts than fight battles'. For the classic account of gift-giving, see M. Mauss, *The Gift. The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*, trans. M. Douglas (London and New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1950). See further, M. Satlow, ed., *The Gift in Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

service and the gift was profound since the monarch was perceived as receiving the gifts of his people in the form of loyalty, service and produce.[38] *Khal'at* was a logical expression of the loyalty gift.

The features of *khal'at* identified in Arabic and Mughal sources are clearly apparent in the earlier Greek and Hebrew texts which focus on Achaemenid court practices; the Great Kings of Persia employed the same techniques of largess for the same political purposes as their Islamic-era successors, although remarkably, this has by and large been overlooked by Gordon Stewart in his important studies of the worldwide history of investiture. He argues that the formation of this courtly tradition belongs to the Han Chinese and, subsequently, to the Iranian Sassanians, but surprisingly he overlooks the corpus of evidence relating to the Achaemenid *khal'at*.[39]

But the evidence is rich: Xenophon, for instance, records clearly the way in which a Great King expressed his favour to a courtier through the use of gifts: 'Cyrus presented him with the customary royal gifts – that is to say, a horse with a gold bit, a necklace of gold, a gold bracelet, and a gold scimitar, (and) a Persian robe [i.e. a **gaunaka*].'[40] This formalized gift-giving of 'unequal exchange', as Pierre Briant terms it, bears a striking resemblance to an Honours List for courtiers articulated in the Hebrew Bible's book of Esther 6. 8-9:

> Let royal robes brought which the king has worn, and a horse that the king has ridden, with a royal crown on its head. Let the robes and the horse be handed over to one of the king's most noble officials; let him robe the man whom the king wishes to honour, and let him conduct the man on horseback through the open square of the city, proclaiming before him: 'Thus shall it be done for the man whom the king wishes to honour.'[41]

The act of gift-giving was an important tool for the Achaemenid monarchy, as it established as system of debt and dependency on the part of nobles and other courtiers. Moreover, courtiers designated as 'friends of the king' had the right to eat from the royal table or assist the king as a body servant and these were highly prized and ferociously policed privileges.[42]

However, not all who aspired to the honour were worthy of *khal'at*, as a story recounted by Plutarch (possibly taken from Ctesias) makes clear. It concerns a Spartan named Demaratus, who had defected to Persia and had become one of the Great King's benefactors:

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[38]Of course the king was master of the Empire and thus the conquered lands of his realm *ipso facto* came under his authority (the Old Persian word for 'land', *būmi*, has the implication of 'land under royal right') and as such, the king expected payment of tribute and taxes from his subject peoples. These fiscal obligations to the throne, 'the king's share', were called *bāji* (Old Persian) and *baziš* (Elamite; see P. Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander. A History of the Persian Empire* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2002), 398, 439) and were made up from a portion of produce from lands under the king's jurisdiction. It is worth citing L. Allen, *The Persian Empire* (London: British Museum Press, 2005), 120, who sensibly notes that 'the terminology distinguishing gifts from tribute … may have been the result of diplomatic rhetoric … The boundaries between the concepts of land-obligations, tithes, tribute, and gifts were likely to be very fluid'.

[39]Gordon, 'Khil'a', 62. Although he acknowledges the episode in Esther 6, Gordon's focus remains on the early Chinese and Sassanian sources.

[40]Xenophon, *Anab.* 1.2.27.

[41]Biblical translations are from the NRSV.

[42]The title 'friend of the king' had a long pedigree in the Near East, and it is particularly well attested in the Hebrew Bible (2 Sam. 15.37; 1 Kgs 4.5, 16.11) and in Akkadian texts as *rukhi šarri*. The title does not seem to have implied any specific function, but being a 'friend of the king' was clearly a closely guarded privilege and a source of pride for those who bore it; thus Tiribazus, the powerful satrap of Armenia, was a particularly favoured 'friend of the king' (Artaxerxes II), and, when resident at court away from his satrapy, 'he alone had the privilege of mounting the king upon his horse' (Xenophon, *Anab.* 4.4.4; see further Curtius Rufus, 3.3.14.21, and Briant, *Cyrus to Alexander*, 321).

> And when Demaratus the Spartan, being encouraged to ask for a gift, asked that he might ride in state through Sardis, wearing his *tiara* upright after the manner of the Persian kings, Mithropaustes the King's cousin said, touching the headdress of Demaratus, 'This *tiara* of yours has no brains to cover; you'll not be Zeus just because you hold a thunderbolt.'[43]

The story of royal benefaction found in Esther finds, in fact, many parallels in the Greek corpus. Xenophon believed that it was Cyrus who had begun this practice of lavish gift-giving (*polydoria*), but ever since Cyrus's time, generosity became one of the hallmarks of the qualities of Achaemenid kingship.[44] Although this Cyrus-centred aetiology might be doubted, nevertheless stories of Cyrus's largess create a picture of robe gifting on an imperial scale:

> Cyrus began the practice of lavish gift-giving … Who is known to adorn his friends with more beautiful robes than the king? Whose gifts are so clearly recognized such as the bracelets, necklaces, and horses with gold-studded bridles as those which the king bestows?[45]

Xenophon's Cyrus frequently resorts to the gifting of robes, gold, weapons (such as daggers, bows, arrows and quivers) and, of course, fine horses; these items form the archetypal imperial honour-gift.

The sheer number of gifts suggests that the imperial workshops and stables were kept occupied. Before a major parade, for instance, Cyrus is supposed to have 'distributed amongst the nobles the most beautiful robes, Median coats [i.e., **gaunaka*], for he had a great many made, with no lack of purple dye, red, and scarlet, or sable' and Herodotus notes that 'every year a suit of Median clothes [i.e., the riding habit] and other gifts held to be of great value' was distributed by the king to his loyal courtiers.[46]

No doubt jobs at court endowed a courtier the right, probably the obligation, to wear special **gaunaka* as a kind of royal livery and courtiers took their right to wear *khal'at* garments seriously: the eunuch Mithradates, rewarded by Artaxerxes II for his services during the Battle of Cunaxa, never failed to appear in public without his royal coat and his gifted jewellery, prompting an envious eunuch to declare: 'A magnificent outfit indeed, Mithradates, is that which the king has gifted you! The necklaces and bracelets are glorious, and your dagger (*akinakēs*) of immeasurable cost! He's made you happy, the object of every eye!'[47] And in a similar manner, Artapates, Cyrus the Great's loyal sceptre-bearer, 'had a gold dagger, and wore a necklace and bracelets and all manner of ornaments which noble Persians put on; for he was honoured by Cyrus because of his affection and steadfastness'.[48]

Briant notes that 'these robes and jewels were not baubles; they were resplendent marks of the king's favour … [T]he royal gift was symbolically charged … With all of the Persian nobles wearing sumptuous robes and prize jewellery, we should not be surprised that the ceremony of awarding gifts was held in public'.[49] Indeed, the honour bestowed upon Mordecai is amplified through the

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[43]Plutarch, *Them.* 29.5; discussion by M. Heltzer, 'Mordekhai and Demaratos and the Question of Historicity', *AMI* 27 (1994): 119–21.
[44]See discussion by Briant, *Cyrus to Alexander*, 305, 308.
[45]Xenophon, *Cyr.* 8.2.7-8.
[46]Xenophon, *Cyr.* 8.3.3; Herodotus 3.84.
[47]Plutarch, *Art.* 15.2.
[48]Xenophon, *Anab.* 1.8.29.
[49]Briant, *Cyrus to* Alexander, 307.

centrality of the public aspect of the ceremony – in particular the horseback ride through the royal city. This accords closely with the Central Asian *khal'at* practices studied by Stewart Gordon. There is little to challenge his notion that Eurasian robing customs entered into Persia via the nomadic peoples of the Steppes and beyond; indeed the more we push the Iranian-Eurasian nomadic connection, the more we are able to understand the minutiae of Achaemenid culture.[50] According to Gordon, the *khal'at* traditions of Central Asia followed six distinct norms:[51]

1. Presentation of *khal'at* was highly personalized and the gift of luxurious robes reinforced the relationships between a leader and his men.
2. The robe was granted from the hand of the leader before the whole band of nobles, representing solidarity with that band, cross-cutting family and dynastic ties; in other words, those distinguished through the wearing of gifted robes formed an elite club.
3. The robe was given in conjunction with traditional items of war: daggers, swords, bows, arrows.
4. A central and enduring connection existed between robing and horses as well as highly decorated horse-trappings.
5. As an indicator of wealth and status in itself, the robe was nevertheless always accompanied by something gold (weaponry, jewellery, horse trappings).
6. The *khal'at* robe was always a shaped and sewn garment rather than a wrapped or draped one, and it was always compatible with horse riding; in fact, in many of its later manifestations the robe of honour often had side- or back-slits for ease of riding. It was always the outermost and most visible garment of court dress.

Each of these indicators, qualified by Gordon as the non-negotiable, absolute features of Central Asian *khal'at*-style investiture, is comfortably located in the Achaemenid-era evidence. So much so, in fact, that it becomes clear that the Achaemenids should take their rightful place in the early, indeed formative, period of *khal'at* history. But the Achaemenid evidence provides even more thought-provoking materials, and a further examination of a specific detail of the Achaemenid *khal'at* will go some way towards helping us understand the sense of reverential awe which was activated when in the presence of these special garments.

THE ROYAL *GAUNAKA AS TALISMAN

Further understanding of the nature of *khal'at* emerges when we focus again on the wording of a specific sentence in the Esther passage: Haman pronounces that royal robes 'which the king has worn' should be brought and gifted to the worthy recipient. This is an important detail. The highest level of *khal'at*, it appears, was to receive a robe from the royal wardrobe which had been worn by the king himself. Not all courtiers were guaranteed this privilege but the chosen were quite literally touched by, and with, majesty – that special, sacred *charisma* known as *farr* or *khavaneh* which oozes into and out of the body of the king. The ancient Iranian concept of a demi-mythical

[50] An idea inherent in D. T. Potts, *Nomadism in Iran* (Oxford: OUP, 2014).
[51] Gordon, 'World of Investiture', 1–22.

force wherein God bestowed upon the kings of Iran a mystical light (*farr-ī īzadī*) that legitimized their rule was so strong that it can be thought of as emanating from the royal body, permeating his garments and making them hallowed.[52] This is best seen in the accession ceremonies of the Achaemenid monarchs.

When a Great King of Persia died, his body was mourned, prepared for burial and finally interred in a rock-cut tomb. Then the ceremonies of a royal investiture could begin and a new monarch could take his place upon the throne and begin the process of governing his Empire. Greek authors knew something of the cultic rituals that surrounded this important ceremony, but much of its details were lost to them although it is clear from the writings of Plutarch (following Ctesias's first-hand observations) that some kind of accession ceremony was enacted at Parsagade, the traditional tribal homeland of the Persian monarchy.[53] It was here that Cyrus himself was buried and it was here within the tomb that the accoutrements of Cyrus's kingship, including his clothing, were stored.[54]

At the shrine of Anahita, and in the presence of a few select courtiers and Magi, certain rituals were enacted which conferred the legitimacy and sanctity of kingship upon the monarch. At the royal investiture, the new Persian king adopted an official throne name and symbolically took on a new 'body' and it was the investiture ceremony rather than the physical birth – or even the death of the previous king – that marked the moment when the king became a different, more august, person. Accordingly, during the ritual he was 'given' a different anatomy and underwent a classic rite of passage of 'exclusion-inclusion' which was expressed through his undressing, his donning of symbolic garments, his eating of specific foods and the imbibing of ritual liquor (terebinth, milk, *homa*), another undressing, followed by his dressing in new garments to symbolize an altered state of being. The Achaemenid monarch actually underwent two symbolic *khal'at* rituals himself, while the drinking of the sour milk and the acts of ingesting humble foods and hallucinogenics confirmed the initiate's liminal status, as did the new king's dressing in the pre-monarchic, tribal clothing of Cyrus.[55] Humility and humbleness were stressed in the ritual as the monarch was reminded of his tribal nomadic ancestry and only afterwards, when the king donned a robe of state, was his new monarchic brilliance, strength and vitality confirmed.

We are meant to think of Cyrus's garment as a **gaunaka*. By donning Cyrus's coat every subsequent Great King became an extension of Cyrus and after he had removed the precious relic, the new king was then re-clothed in a newly made riding coat – richly dyed and beautifully worked with exquisite designs – which signified his nomadic horseman ancestry, his new status as warrior king, and confirmed his right to rule. As the king put on his new **gaunaka*, he donned the power of rulership.[56]

Thereafter any **gaunaka* worn by the king became imbued with the profound religious aura of the royal *farr*.[57] Curtius Rufus notes that the most costly version of the garment was purple, white and gold and was decorated with the 'motif of gilded hawks attacking each other with their beaks'

[52]This phenomena might be compared to that of the law contagion discussed by Batten, this volume.
[53]Ctesias F17 = Plutarch, *Art.* 3.1-4.
[54]Arrian 29.1-11.
[55]H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg, 'Persian Food: Stereotypes and Political Identity', in *Food in Antiquity*, ed. J. Wilkins (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1995), 286–302.
[56]Xenophon, *Cyropaedeia* 8. 3.13-14; Curtius Rufus 3. 3.17-19.
[57]Comparisons might be made to some early Christian texts; see Peters, this volume.

– no doubt his mangled interpretation of the winged Ahuramazda-symbol. It was this ensemble which, Ctesias notes, struck the Persians with an almost religious awe (*thaumaston*), for the Great King's **gaunaka* was a talisman.[58] When Cyrus the Younger plotted to kill his brother Artaxerxes II, he was unable to strike the death blow while the king was wearing this garment since it acted as a kind of protective force field around the royal body.[59]

The true significance of the robe as a manifestation of the kingship itself is the key to understanding the bloody story Herodotus tells about Xerxes's robe. Amestris, Xerxes's wife, made him a royal robe; he in turn gave it to his mistress (his brother's daughter) who wore it in public. The result was a bloodbath at court. Behind the story, no doubt, lies a Persian account of Masistes's attempt to usurp the throne (Herodotus's audience would probably have known that Xerxes himself was assassinated in a court coup, thereby adding significance and irony to the story).[60] The very real paranoia lying behind the idea of usurpation and its relationship to the royal robe is likewise encountered in a Persian story told by Deinon, which has the ambitious and treacherous Assyrian queen Semiramis trick her weakling husband into lending her his royal garment which she subsequently refuses to return.[61] Even when ripped or tattered the king's robe possessed extraordinary powers: one courtier, Teribazos, managed to get hold of one of Artaxerxes II's cast-offs and wore it openly in front of the court. But he escaped the death sentence which naturally accompanied such a rash act because of the king's benevolence and because Teribazos was prepared to debase himself by playing the fool in front of the king and was thus exonerated of treason.[62]

The king's **gaunaka* was uniquely his. An aetiological legend recounted by Xenophon tells how Cyrus the Great received the prototype royal robe from the daughter of the Median king, whom he then took as a wife, and the robe, it is suggested, bestowed the kingship of Media on Cyrus.[63] Thus there is little doubt that the Persians believed the Great King's robe to have possessed the supernatural powers of monarchy. Xerxes, troubled by dreams, instructed his uncle Artabanos to put on royal clothes and to sleep in the king's bed, and, as Artabanos slept, the same apparition that had visited Xerxes came to Artabanos too, decked out in the paraphernalia of royalty and imbued with the requisite aura of majesty.[64] Alexander of Macedon's careful employment of articles of Persian royal dress following his defeat of Darius III is best understood in this light and suggests that he wanted to be acknowledged as a legitimate Great King.[65]

The idea that a magical sympathy exists between an individual and his clothing was acknowledged by James Frazer who noted a primitive belief that 'whatever is done to clothes will be felt by [a] man himself'.[66] To honour a favoured courtier what better gesture of respect might a king proffer than to offer him a robe, which had touched his own royal person? If Frazer is correct, then the recipient experiences, however tentatively, a moment of that sacred mystery of monarchy. Clothing touched

[58]Curtius Rufus 3. 3.17-19; Ctesias F45pγ.

[59]Ctesias F17 = Plutarch *Art.* 3.5.

[60]Ctesias F17 = Plutarch, *Art.* 3.1-4; Herodotus 9. 109-111. See comments by H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg, 'Exit Atossa: Images of Women in Greek Historiography on Persia', in *Images of Women in Antiquity*, ed. A. Cameron and A. Kuhrt (London: Routledge, 1983), 28–9.

[61]Deinon F7 = Aelian, *Var. hist.* 7. 1.

[62]Plutarch, *Art.* 5.2.

[63]Xenophon, *Cyr.* 8. 5.17-19.

[64]Herodotus 7.17.

[65]Plutarch, *Alex.* 45.2; Diodorus Siculus 17. 77.4-5.

[66]J. Frazer, *The Magic Art* (London: Grove, 1911), 207.

by a king who had himself touched the **gaunaka* of the great Cyrus was transferred to a worthy recipient in a public ceremony of high prestige. For that moment, the courtier shared a union with Cyrus and with the line of kings who followed him; he became part of an elite clan. The gifting of clothing is a bonding moment and works in two directions: the king accepts robes of delegates, thereby acknowledging his place in the horseman tribal societies of Greater Iran, and in turn, he hands out robes, thereby bringing outsiders into the inner orbit of the Achaemenid clan.

CONCLUSION

The ceremonies of robe-gifting allowed the noble recipients of *khal'at* to share in the special aura that the royal garment expressed. As I have argued, *khal'at* gifts were not given to the recipient by the king as arbitrary tokens of royal favour; they carried within them the image of Achaemenid kingship itself. The recipient who wore the royal robes was 'touched' by the monarch's 'spirit' – his *charisma*, *farr* or *khvarenah* – which was retained and carried within the royal gift.[67] The magical and spiritual bond which royal gifts created enabled the Great King to establish a ring of dependence, loyalty and control of the nobles and his subject-peoples as well. This is why Achaemenid monarchs, following long-established Central Asian traditions, often transferred, in public ceremonies, the horse-riding clothes that they themselves had worn to individuals whose competence, honesty or bravery pleased them. The nomadic essence of the horse-peoples of Eurasia was codified in the garments of the Achaemenid Persians who, drawing upon tribal identity, thereby utilized those clothes as sophisticated tools in court ceremonial.

[67]Mauss, *Gift*, 9. As Mauss informs us, in Polynesia the *hau*, namely the spiritual power that each gift retained, emerged as one of the *leitmotifs* of Maori gift-giving customs. For Iranian concepts, see A. Lubotsky, 'Avestan *x*^{v}*arənah*: The Etymology and Concept', in *Sprache und Kultur*, ed. W. Meid (Innsbruck: SCS, 1998), 479–88.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

Hair and Social Status in the Near East and Early Greece, *c.* 900–300 BCE

LLOYD LLEWELLYN-JONES

IN THE BEGINNING …

… there was hair. In ancient Mesopotamian thought, a primeval monster known as a Lahmu or wild man was a hairy individual. He had long, wavy hair worn in six elaborate twisted braids and a full beard composed of dozens of twisted corkscrew ringlets.[1] The Lahmu was usually depicted wielding his spear in combat with animals[2] and while some scholars like to see him in the guise of a Master of Animals, his Akkadian name, 'the hairy one' or the 'hairy hero-man', indicates that the Lahmu was more homo ferox than homo sapiens. The hairiness of the Lahmu was key to his identity, though, since the creature inhabited the sphere of the steppe and the wilderness, his power was harnessed for humanity's good and he became a protective totem of doorways and liminal spaces. This liminal aspect of the creature is best understood by examining the Lahmu's hairstyle, for the distinctive and carefully parted, plaited and bound locks, and the delicately curled beard imply a surprising level of cultural construction and humanization for this benevolent wild man.

Unsurprisingly, the biblical hero Samson, with his long hair divided into seven locks and with his lion-slaying feats, is often likened to the Mesopotamian 'hairy hero-man' but Samson was an urban strong man, a man of the Israelite and Philistine cities, and so perhaps more appropriate for this comparison is the Mesopotamian hero Enkidu.[3] According to the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, Enkidu was a foundling child who rose to adulthood in the wilderness. He was raised by a gazelle who acted as his mother and by a wild ass that performed the role of surrogate father so that Enkidu, naked and hairy, was raised with the four-legged animals of the wilderness and, as he grew to maturity, acted as their guardian and protector. In appearance, habit and sentiment, Enkidu was clearly more animal than human, a fact reflected in several of his epithets – 'wild ass', 'mule' and 'panther':

[1]The question of the representation of hair in ancient Near Eastern art is addressed by Susan Niditch, '*My Brother Esau Is a Hairy Man': Hair and Identity in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 25–62.
[2]See the Middle Assyrian cylinder seal in the British Museum, BM 89862.
[3]Judg. 14.5-6, 16.19; Gregory Mobley, *Samson and the Liminal Hero in the Ancient Near East* (New York and London: Bloomsbury, 2006).

All his body is matted with hair,
He bears long tresses like those of a woman:
the hair of his head grows as thickly as barley,
he knows not a people, nor even a country.
Coated in hair like the god of the animals,
With the gazelles he grazes on the grasses,
Joining the throng with the game at the water-hole,
His heart delighting with the beasts in the water.

(Gilgamesh Tablet I: 101-118)

But Enkidu's life changed forever following his sexual intercourse with a city prostitute named Shamhat. Thereafter Enkidu begins a process whereby he loses his animal identity and becomes increasingly more human; as he does so, he shifts his locale from the wild steppe to a shepherd's hut and finally to the city of Ur, and as he progresses on this journey he learns the basics of what it is to behave like a man – he eats bread, drinks beer and sleeps indoors. His final gesture of acculturation, however, is to shave the hair from his body, to anoint his body with perfumed oil and put on clothing:

The barber groomed his body so hairy,
Anointed with oil he turned into a man.
He put on a garment, became like a warrior,
He took up his weapon to do battle with lions.

(Gilgamesh Tablet II: P92-111, 59-62)

From that moment, animals become his prey, the source of sport and prowess.[4] Enkidu is acculturated through the cutting and taming of his hair. This act marks him out as a human and gives him authority over nature. The *Epic of Gilgamesh* stresses the idea that rulership and civilization are encoded through the taming of one's hair.

In this chapter, I will explore how notions of power and status were articulated through the cultural traditions of growing, dressing and displaying hair in the ancient Near East and in Homeric Greece, since both civilizations shared similar preoccupations with hair as status display. In the ancient world (as in successive eras) hairstyles were created by and for the elite. Kings and royal women took the lead in setting styles which were both fashionable and, therefore, socially aspirational. The elaborate styles of hairdressing (including beards and wigs) which developed throughout antiquity required maintenance and care; professional hairstylists were unavailable to common people and the elaborate, often architectural, shapes of court hairstyles demonstrated that the wearers were not engaged in manual labour. The economics of hair was clear to see in the ancient world as the wealth of the elite was emphasized through a conspicuous display of hair-care products (oils, perfumes, hairpieces and wigs), services, styling tools and adornments.[5] Underlying

[4]See comments by A. R. George, *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic: Introduction, Critical Edition and Cuneiform Texts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

[5]For a theoretical exploration of the culture of hair, see Geraldine Biddle-Perry and Sarah Cheang, eds., *Hair. Styling, Culture and Fashion* (Oxford: Berg, 2008); Kurt Stenn, *Hair. A Human History* (New York: Pegasus Books, 2016) and Diane Simon, *Hair. Public, Political, Extremely Personal* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1992).

the desire for displaying status through hair was the belief that hair had an inherent power. The Hebrew Bible's story of Samson and Delilah is not simply a story of a strong man betrayed by a femme fatale but a vivid demonstration of the power thought to be located in hair. Samson's locks give him both physical strength and the charismatic power of leadership.[6]

HAIR AND THE CULTURE OF OPPOSITES: RULERSHIP AND OPPRESSION

Reading hair as an expression of an ancient 'culture of opposites' is useful. It codified notions of the wild and the tame, as we have seen, and promoted economic and social differences. Slaves, manual workers and prisoners often had their hair cropped short or shaved off altogether, while the courtly elites fostered elegant styles made from surplus amounts of hair. Consider the biblical description of Prince Absalom, the son of King David of Israel:

> Now in all Israel there was no one to be praised so much for his beauty as Absalom; from the sole of his foot to the crown of his head there was no blemish in him. When he cut the hair of his head (for at the end of every year he used to cut it; when it was heavy on him, he cut it) he weighed the hair of his head, two hundred shekels by the king's weight. (2 Sam. 14.25-26)[7]

The Hebrew Bible rarely describes the physical attributes (good or bad) of its protagonists and so we are forced to stop and consider what the author is doing in this unusually detailed, somewhat quirky, description of the Israelite prince.[8] Absalom is undoubtedly a handsome man (the father, moreover, of a girl named Tamar, who 'became a beautiful woman', the chronicler adds; 2 Sam. 14:27) and his hair is associated with his perfect beauty ('From the top of his head to the sole of his foot there was no blemish in him').[9] So thick and rich is his hair that it is cut once a year in an eye-catching act that determines how much the beautiful locks weigh.

A cursory reading of this text may well suggest that Absalom is nothing more than a narcissistic dandy, but I think something more significant underlies the focus drawn to Absalom's wealth of hair, given the prince's backstory. For Absalom is set for greatness. He is the favoured son of the king and in David's eyes he can do no wrong. Yet Absalom is not content with his lot and he aims at taking the throne away from his father and establishing himself as king. To do this he turns on the charm which, combined with his good looks, easily wins over military and political allies: he kisses all who 'do obeisance to him' and steals their hearts.[10] Absalom is skilled at projecting an image of power, and his hair contributes in no small way to this kingly vision. The biblical author sets up Absalom as a genuine threat to David's throne through his physical appearance; the prince's luxurious locks stress his appropriateness to rule.

However, Absalom's claim on the throne is as presumptuous as it is hubristic and ungodly and the narrator only establishes the picture of the perfect prince in order to shatter the illusion. Absalom's

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[6]For a discussion, see Niditch, *My Brother Esau*, 63–73.

[7]Biblical translations are from the NRSV.

[8]As Jeremy Schipper, 'Plotting Bodies in Biblical Narrative', in *The Oxford Handbook of Biblical Narrative*, ed. Danna N. Fewell (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 392, notes: 'Physical description was usually included in biblical narrative only when required by the plot.'

[9]See further Keith Bodner, *The Rebellion of Absalom* (London: Routledge, 2014), 50–3.

[10]2 Sam. 15.5, 6.

attempt to usurp his father's throne ultimately fails and in a dramatic chase-scene Absalom is pursued by David's military commander, Joab, and his soldiers through the Judean countryside; he meets his end when his hair becomes entangled in the branches of an oak tree as he rides beneath it on his royal mule:

> And the mule went under the thick branches of a great oak. His head caught fast in the oak, and he was left hanging between heaven and earth, while the mule that was under him went on. … Joab … took three spears in his hand and thrust them into the heart of Absalom, while he was still alive in the oak. And ten young men, Joab's armour-bearers, surrounded Absalom and struck him, and killed him. (2 Sam. 18.9, 14)

Thus the rebellious prince, as Susan Niditch comments, 'is hoisted by his own petard'.[11] Absalom's penchant for wearing his hair thick and free-flowing is in itself a hubristic act of self-belief – even Samson plaits his hair, while iconography from across the Near East demonstrates that elite men 'tamed' their hair by braiding, curling and binding it (see below). Moreover, as we noted with Enkidu, excessive hair-growth had overtones of the animalistic, so that when the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar's state of mind finally collapsed, his courtiers read the external sign when they observed that 'his hair grew as long as eagles' feathers, and his nails became like birds' claws'.[12]

In the story of Absalom's pretensions to hold power, his hair makes him appear greater than he is. The focus given to his hair 'is beautifully manipulated in this tale to suggest an antihero, not one who is chosen to lead, not one who is divinely chosen, a fake – all hat and no cattle'.[13]

The Absalom story has at its core the notion that hair is an expression of the 'body-self', an idea championed by Mary Douglas who explored the way in which the body serves as a natural symbol of 'self'.[14] Similarly, Raymond Firth argues that hair permits humans to use 'their own physical raw material in terms of the social norms to provide indices to their personality and to make statements about their conceptions of their role, their social positions, and changes in these'.[15] An interwoven extension of this concept is the idea of the 'body politic', grounded in the work of Michel Foucault who famously explored the 'regulation, surveillance, and control of bodies'.[16] As an expression of the 'culture of opposites', therefore, hair expresses and shapes specific messages about power and status as well as subordination and the loss of status. The enforced wearing of certain hairstyles is therefore a form of social control, a theme vividly explored by Weikun Cheng whose investigation into the enforced wearing of the queue (pigtail) in Qing China 'reflected the Manchus' drive to submit Han [Chinese] to the minority's political and cultural hegemonies and its symbolic standardization of the people's political ideology'.[17] Similarly, the enforced cutting or removal of hair is a powerful indicator of social control.

Ways of controlling the appearance of the hair of others is frequently found in ancient sources where there was a long-standing tradition for shaving the heads of slaves and war captives, both male and female. The image of a victorious leader gripping a defeated foe by the hair was also a

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[11]Niditch, *My Brother Esau*, 80.
[12]Dan. 4.33.
[13]Niditch, *My Brother Esau*, 80.
[14]Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (New York: Praeger, 1966).
[15]Raymond Firth, *Symbols: Public and Private* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1973), 298.
[16]Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality. Volume 1: An Introduction* (New York: Vintage Press, 1980), 7.
[17]Weikun Cheng, 'Politics of the Queue: Agitation and Resistance in the Beginning and End of Qing China', in *Hair: Its Power and Meaning in Asian Cultures*, ed. Alf Hiltebeitel and Barbara D. Miller (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1998), 128.

potent sign of power. In Egyptian art, for instance, prisoners are gripped by the hair by a victorious pharaoh and in an iconic image of Egyptian kingship, the pharaoh Narmer grasps an inert foe by the hair and prepares to crush his skull (the same motif that still had resonance in Egypt's Greco-Roman period). The shearing of Samson's locks by Delilah can be read as the Philistines' desire to stamp their authority over the Israelite leader just as the Assyrians took prisoners of war and shaved off half of their beards in order to humiliate them. Accordingly, Israelite prophets threatened the populace with the promise that the king of Assyria would 'shave with a razor … the head and the hair of the feet, and … will take off the beard as well' and, somewhat surrealistically, they predicted that men would go into exile, 'bald as the eagle'.[18] Jeremiah's vision of a desolate Jerusalem is one where

> every head is shaved
> and every beard cut off. (Jer. 48.37)

Ancient Hebrew law also carefully specified what should happen to a female war captive:

> When you go out to war against your enemies, and the Lord your God hands them over to you and you take them captive, suppose you see among the captives a beautiful woman whom you desire and want to marry, and so you bring her home to your house: she shall … shave her head. (Deut. 21.10-12)

The treatment of the captive woman is harsh since, as Niditch notes, 'she has been made to represent the control of her enemies, her transformation by her captors, and her removal from her own society and cultural environment'.[19] A truly remarkable passage in the eighth-century BCE prophecies of Isaiah anticipates a similar treatment for the 'daughters of Zion', the aristocratic women of Jerusalem, who will, he foretells, become the victims of Assyrian invaders:

> Because the daughters of Zion are haughty,
>   and walk with outstretched necks,
> glancing wantonly with their eyes,
>   mincing along as they go,
>   tinkling with their feet;
>   the Lord will afflict with scabs

[18]Isa. 7.20; Mic. 1.16 (the image employed by Micah evokes the image of the eagle or vulture, whose pale down-covered head contrasts with the feathered heads of other birds); see also 2 Sam.10.4-5. When Julius Caesar (*Gal. War*. 5.12) conquered Gaul he ordered that the heads of the long-haired Gauls be shaved as a symbol of their submission. Romans also shaved the heads of early Christians as a form of humiliation. See Victoria Sherrow, *Encyclopaedia of Hair. A Cultural History* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2006), 317. See further examples from Assyria in Cynthia Chapman, *The Gendered Language of Warfare in the Israelite-Assyrian Encounter* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2004), 39. A more recent example of forced shaving, of course, is the Nazi preoccupation (on an industrial scale) with cutting the hair of Jews and other concentration-camp inmates; see Richard J. Evans, *The Third Reich in Power* (London: Penguin Books, 2006), 540. See further Rebecca M. Herzig, *Plucked. A History of Hair Removal* (New York: New York University Press, 2015).

[19]Niditch, *My Brother Esau*, 8. We might consider here the situation during and after the end of the Second World War, when thousands of French women (and British women on the Island of Jersey) had their heads shaved in front of cheering crowds as punishment for collaborating with the Nazis. See Kristine Stiles, *Shaved Heads and Marked Bodies: Representations from Cultures of Trauma* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993) and Fabrice Virgili, *Shorn Women: Gender and Punishment in Liberation France* (Oxford: Berg, 2002).

the heads of the daughters of Zion,
and the Lord will lay bare their secret parts.
Instead of perfume there will be a stench;
instead of a sash, a rope;
and instead of well-set hair, baldness;
and instead of a rich robe, a binding of sackcloth;
instead of beauty, shame. (Isa. 3.16-17, 24)

HEROIC HAIR IN HOMER

Long hair was the hallmark of aristocratic breeding in the ancient Greek world, and male warrior elites spent time in grooming each other's hair.[20] The heroes of Homeric Greece represented virile and generative manhood through the appearance of long, well-groomed hair. Well-tended hair was an important outward sign of aristocratic rank and a distinctive mark of rulership. Thus, as the *Odyssey* moves towards its climax, when Odysseus is changed into a beggar, Athene makes him look older and uglier by deliberately 'destroying his blonde hair' (*Od.* 13.399, 431); later, to show that he is fit to take up power again, she reverses the process and restores his luxuriant hair and darkens his beard:

> Athene touched him with her golden wand. She clothed him in a clean tunic and cloak, increased his stature, and restored his youthful complexion. His colour returned, his cheeks filled out, and his beard darkened. (*Od.* 16.174-6)

Homer frequently characterizes his heroes through their hair and throughout *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, beauty, dignity and authority – and conversely, ugliness, ignobility and servitude – are encoded in hair. Hair colour is alluded to with surprising regularity and Achilles, Menelaos, Odysseus and Meleager are all noted as blondes (*xanthos*).[21] This might presuppose that Homer regarded blondeness as a heroic trait and that rulership is fittingly only attributable to fair-headed men, but this is not so: while some heroes are indeed *xanthoi*, others, and most significantly, gods, are *kuaneoi* ('dark' or 'blue-haired' – *kuanochaita*). Hector, Odysseus (as we have seen, when

[20]A story related by Herodotus notes the particular Spartan preoccupation with hair-care: 'Xerxes sent a mounted scout to see how many [Greeks] there were and what they were doing. While he was still in Thessaly, he had heard that a small army was gathered there and that its leaders were Lacedaemonians, including Leonidas, who was of the Heracleid clan. Riding up to the camp, the horseman watched and spied out the place … He saw some of the men exercising naked and others combing their hair. He marvelled at the sight and took note of their numbers' (Hdt. 7.208). Plutarch thought that the Spartans grew their hair long because it 'makes a handsome Spartan more handsome, and an ugly Spartan more ferocious' (a quotation he attributes to Leonidas), but the reality is that long and well-groomed hair identified Spartan men as the warrior elite, in direct contrast to the enslaved Helots who undertook all hard labour in Sparta thereby allowing Spartan men to focus on warfare and the attainment of physical perfection. In a way the long hair so carefully maintained by the Spartans prevented them from doing manual labour and therefore became a potent symbol of an aristocratic fighting class. Indeed, the Spartan fetishization of hair as status can be traced back to the Heroic age of Greece, at least as codified in the epic poems of Homer. See further: Plutarch, *Ap. Lak.* 230b (= *Nikandros* 2), 232d (= *Charillos* 6), 228f (= *Lykourgos* 29) cf. Plutarch, *Lyk.* 22.1; Plutarch, *Ap. Bas. kai Str.* 189f (*Charillos* 3); Aristotle, *Rh.* 1367a; Xenophon, *Rep. Lac.* 11.3; Herodotus, 1.82. See discussion by E. David, 'Sparta's Social Hair', *Eranos* 90 (1992): 11–21. See also M. Harlow, ed., *A Cultural History of Hair in Antiquity. vol 1: Antiquity* (Oxford: Berg, 2018).

[21]Blonde heroes: Achilles: *Il.* 1.197 al.; Menelaos: 3.284 al.; Odysseus: *Od.* 13.399, 431; Meleager: *Il.* 2.642. Interestingly, the epithet *xanthê* is used only once for a woman, Agamede, at *Il.* 11.740.

transformed by Athene before his meeting with Telemachos), Zeus, Dionysos and most notably Poseidon, whose blue-black hair is noted more than any other deity's, are all dark-haired.[22]

It is possible that in the description of hair (including eyebrows and eyelashes) as *kuaneos* Homer is indebted to an ancient Egyptian tradition of imagining the hair of gods as pure lapis lazuli (*khesbedj*).[23] In ancient Egypt, blue (*irtyu*) was the colour of the heavens and hence represented the universal rulership of the gods; blue was also the colour of the Nile's waters and symbolized the primeval state of creation and the creator god Amun was often depicted with a blue face and body. According to belief, the hair of the gods was made of precious lapis lazuli and a number of pharaohs imitated the gods and were depicted in art with blue faces or hair. Indeed, elevated, god-like, status may well be implied by Homer when he describes heroes as *kuaneos* given that the word is mainly used in situations when anger or authority is being stressed.[24] Poseidon's many descriptions as *kuaneos* can best be understood as referring to his terrible aspect as the supreme ruler of the seas and of earthquakes.

More difficult to explain, however, is the one reference to Odysseus's 'hyacinthine' hair at *Odyssey* 6.231:

> But when he had washed his whole body and anointed himself with oil, and had put on him the raiment which the unwedded maid had given him, then Athena, the daughter of Zeus, made him taller to look upon and mightier, and from his head she made his locks like the hyacinth.

This description might be linked to the shape of the petals of the hyacinth, suggesting Odysseus's hair is curly (as is mentioned at *Od.* 16.175)[25] or, possibly, to the colour of the flower – violet – as a (diluted) way of linking Odysseus to the *kuaneos*-haired gods and heroes (even though elsewhere Odysseus is blonde).

More important than hair colour for Homer, though, is the length and thickness of a hero's hair: *karêkomoôntes* ('long-haired') is a very common epithet of Homer's Achaean elite.[26] Achilles's hair is so long that Athene can grip him by it in order to restrain him from attacking Agamemnon:

> Athene came from heaven … and seized the son of Peleus by his fair hair, appearing to him alone. No one of the others saw her. Achilles was seized with wonder, and turned around, and immediately recognized Pallas Athene. Terribly her eyes shone. (*Il.*1.197)

The Trojan leaders wear their hair long and thick too: Hector's hair actually drags along in the dust as his corpse is pulled behind Achilles's chariot,[27] while Paris's hair is likened to a horse's mane:

[22]Hector: *Il.* 22.401-2; Odysseus: *Od.* 16.176); Zeus: *Il.* 1.528, 17.209; Dionysus: *Hymn.* 7.5; Poseidon: *Il.*13.563, 14.390, 15.174 and 201, 20.144; *Od.* 3.6, 9.528 and 536.

[23]G. Hart, *The Routledge Dictionary of Egyptian Gods and Goddesses* (London: Routledge, 2005).

[24]*Il.* 1.528; 17.209; 15.102; 22.402; *Od.* 17.176.

[25]The hair of Eurybates, Odysseus's herald, also curls: *Od.* 19.246. See E. Irwin, "Odysseus' 'Hyacinthine Hair' in *Odyssey* 6.231', *Phoenix* 44 (1990): 205–18.

[26]*Il.* 2.323 al., but see Abantes at *Il.* 2.542. Women's hair is also prized in Homeric society, and goddesses and noblewomen are often called *êükomos*, 'rich-' or 'fair-haired' (*Il.* 1.36 al.), or *euplokamoi*, 'with beautiful braids (ringlets)' (6.380 al.); their long locks are sometimes anointed with perfumed oils (14.175-7; *Hymn.* 24.3), a symbol of wealth and fertility. For Hera's hair, see *Il.* Hera: 15.102-3.

[27]*Il.* 22.401-2.

> Even as when a stalled horse that has fed his fill at the manger breaks his halter and runs stamping over the plain, keen to bathe himself in the fair-flowing river, holds high his head in pride whilst about his shoulders his streaming mane floats, and as he glories in his splendour … even so Paris, son of Priam, strode down …, all gleaming in his armour like the shining sun, laughing for glee, and his swift feet carried him forward. (*Il.* 6.509-10)

Poseidon, the great 'tamer of horses', is appropriately enough called 'dark-maned' (*kuanochaita*)[28] and other gods such as Apollo and Dionysus have long locks too.[29] In a powerfully vivid image, when Zeus nods his head to grant the suppliant goddess Thetis her request, thickly perfumed curls fall over his brow:

> The son of Kronos spoke, and bowed his dark brow in assent, and the ambrosial locks waved from the king's immortal head and he made great Olympus quake. (*Il.* 1.529-30)

Unusually for Homer, however, the wealthy Greek warrior Euphorbos is depicted with an elaborate hairstyle of tight braids decorated with gold and silver ornaments. Homer does not criticize these extravagant locks nor does he consider them unmanly; he notes in fact that Euphorbos's hair, blood stained from battle, is as beautiful as that of the Graces.[30] In contrast to Euphorbos's glittering tresses and the thick, long, healthy hair of the warrior elites is the mangy scalp of the ugly Thersites, the lowest-ranking character among Homer's soldiery and an embodiment of obnoxiousness:

> Evil-favoured was he beyond all the men that came to Ilium: he was bandy-legged and lame in one foot, and his two shoulders were rounded, stooping together over his chest, and above them his head was warped, sprouting scraggly, woolly hair. (2.217-19)

Homer's vitriolic description of Thersites's appearance acts as a kind of cultural barometer since, for him, a man's outward physique was indissolubly linked to his moral worth. The *Iliad*'s fixation on combat and physical prowess to achieve glory is used as a proxy for a man's honour and heroes are therefore described as hulking specimens of manhood, revered as much for their bodies as for their acts of bravado and leadership. As we have seen, hair is a vital part of that outward code of inner worth, which enables heroic governance. Conversely, mangy-scalped, straggly haired Thersites is not only a consummate physical weakling, disdained by all who know him, but a commoner unfit for leadership. His natural subservience is as plain to see as the lack of hairs on his balding head.[31]

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[28]*Il.* 13.563 al.

[29]Apollo: *Il.* 20.39; Dionysus: *H. Dion.* 7.4-5.

[30]*Il.* 17.51-2. See D. Letaio, 'Adolescent Hair-Growing and Hair-Cutting Rituals in Ancient Greece: A Sociological Approach', in *Initiation in Ancient Greek Rituals and Narratives: New Critical Perspectives*, ed. D. Dodd and C. Faraone (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 109–29.

[31]The association between luxurious hair and an innate ability to rule was fostered by Alexander the Great who saw himself as a second Achilles. His distinct portrait sculpture always highlighted his thick head of hair, leonine-like in its fullness (although, notoriously, Alexander eschewed the Greek vogue for beards); the heavy-layered hair was carefully delineated by Alexander's sculptors who also carefully rendered his idiosyncratic 'cow's lick' or flick of fringe above his forehead (the *anastole*). So deep was this particular image of charismatic rulership embedded in the subsequent Hellenistic concept of kingship that successive Greek-speaking kings adopted the same hairstyle: a fascinating sculpture of Attalos I of Pergamon, for instance, was reworked sometime in the 230s BCE to include a stone 'wig' in imitation of Alexander's hairstyle, complete with a diadem, the Hellenistic symbol of rulership par excellence. This 'Before and After' representation encodes a clear message: 'Hellenistic kingship is good for your hair' – see John Ma, 'Kings', in *A Companion to the Hellenistic World*, ed. Andrew Erskine (Oxford: Blackwells, 2003), 178.

COIFFURED KINGS OF MESOPOTAMIA AND PERSIA

The head held the highest place in the ancient Near Eastern body's hierarchy and was the most honourable part of the human figure. To be anointed and crowned in the case of the king, it was the seat of life and reason; consequently, Near Eastern texts often refer to the head as the 'life force' of the monarch.[32] Since the head represented the whole person, beheading an enemy gave a dramatic emphasis to the destruction of the opponent's whole being.[33] Neo-Assyrian palace reliefs frequently show mounds of severed heads of enemies near battlefields, and the head as a war trophy has a long history in the Middle East.[34] Perhaps stimulated by reflecting on the function of the physical head in relationship to the body, ancient Near Eastern peoples used the term 'head' as a symbol of leadership and authority. The king is thus the head of the body of the state.

The hair that ornaments the head and face, as we have seen, was a symbol of power and of status, and rulers carefully controlled the artistic depiction of their hair-covered features. Monarchs were active in promoting and commissioning royal art and a letter sent by a craftsman asks King Sargon II of Assyria to review some preparatory sketches for a new statue which had been ordered:

> We have caused to bring an image of the king; in outline I have drawn [it]. An image of the king of another sort they have prepared. May the king see (them) and whatever is pleasing before the king, we shall make instead. May the king give attention to the hands, the elbows, the hair, and the dress.[35]

Of course we should not regard the images of ancient Near Eastern rulers as 'portraits' per se and, in fact, the Akkadian term used to refer to a royal 'portrait' is *ṣalam-šarrūtia* – 'the image of my office of kingship', a clear demonstration that ancient Near Eastern kings promoted more the official image of the institution of rulership than any individual likenesses. Near Eastern art provides an image 'of the ideal and able king, in royal garments and with royal insignia, fashioned by the gods and in the likeness of the gods'.[36]

From the earliest times, the physical trait most conspicuously stressed in Near Eastern images of kingship is the hair. A gold helmet of a ruler named Meskalamdug (*c.* 2600 BCE) from his tomb at Ur, for instance, was actually made to look like its wearer's own hair, with a knotted chignon at the back of the head, a woven plait that encircles the head (worn with a fillet which keeps the chignon in place) and a myriad of corkscrew curls which extend past the ears.[37] The same type of helmet was worn by King Sargon of Akkad in a magnificent bronze bust (*c.* 2340 BCE); the hairstyle replicates that of Meskalamdug. It is feasible that this arrangement of the chignon and plait was only employed by the kings of Kish – the rulers of Sumer and Akkad.[38]

[32] 1 Sam. 10.1. For a discussion, see Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones, *King and Court in Ancient Persia 559–331 BCE* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), 56–66.

[33] Gen. 3.15; 1 Sam. 17.46.

[34] Julian Reade, *Assyrian Sculpture* (London: British Museum Press, 2004), 80–91.

[35] J. Waterman, *Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire*, vol. 2, 4 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1930–36), 233.

[36] I. Ziffer, 'Portraits of Ancient Israelite Kings?' *Biblical Archaeology Review* 39, no. 5 (2013): 51. See also Irene Winter, 'Art in Empire: The Royal Image and the Visual Dimensions of Assyrian Ideology', in *Assyria 1995*, ed. S. Parpola and R. M. Whiting (Helsinki: State Archives of Assyria Project, 2009), 266.

[37] Richard Zettler, ed., *Treasures from the Royal Tombs of Ur* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998).

[38] Sargon wears the same hairstyle on his victory stele; see Benjamin R. Foster, *The Age of Agade. Inventing Empire in Ancient Mesopotamia* (London: Routledge, 2016), 3, fig. 1.2.

Why, even at so early a time, did rulers pay so much attention to the representation of hair? At the most mundane level, hair signalled a person's state of health or lack of it (poor-quality hair could signal disease or uncleanliness; the tearing out of the hair was a symbol of emotional distress). Therefore, men of the warrior elite carefully grew and cared for their hair to represent their strength and virility and their right to rule, but they were careful to dress it and arrange it too (as we see in the fillets being used to control the plaits and chignons on the Sumerian helmets) thereby symbolically 'taming' and 'civilizing' it. It is clear that Sumerian, Assyrian, Babylonian and Persian monarchs took extreme care with the representation of their hair, carefully delineating the plaiting, braiding and twisting of their locks and beards, and resulting elaborate coiffures of ringlets and curls.[39]

In reality, the hair and the beard were carefully dressed into these styles by skilled hairdressers who twisted the curls into shape and fixed them in position by the careful use of perfumed oil, which helped control the hair, in addition to keeping it shiny and fragrant. Egyptian pharaohs had an age-old tradition of wearing carefully dressed wigs and there can be little doubt that Mesopotamian and Persian kings and courtiers likewise wore wigs and false hairpieces; their images certainly suggest that false tresses could be plaited into natural hair and beards. This fashionable caprice must have made hair expensive, and, if we follow what classical authors have to say, the Great King of Persia actually demanded a 'tribute' of hair from provinces of the Empire specifically for the creation of wigs.[40]

Anointing the hair and beard with oil was a ritual practice for ancient monarchs, but it was also a beauty rite for its own sake and one associated with festivity and hospitality too. Kings lavished their wealth on costly perfumed hair-oil, and one particular sort, *labyzos*, was even more expensive than myrrh and much loved by Achaemenid rulers.[41] One Mesopotamian song entitled *Lettuce Is My Hair* lauds the beauty of well-dressed and perfumed tresses, carefully tended by a beautician:

> Piled up [are] its small locks,
> My attendant arranges (my hair),
> The attendant (arranges) my hair which is lettuce, the
> most favoured of plants.[42]

In fact this association between hair and vegetation – that is to say, between the real and the representational – is a motif commonly found in Mesopotamian literature. A Neo-Assyrian 'God-Description Text', for instance, describes the body of a male deity and equates each part of his body to an object, a metal or a substance (knees are likened to cedars, a mole is like a raven, earwax is lead, etc.). Particular attention is given to hair, which is equated with plants:

> His topknot is tamarisk.
> His whiskers are a frond …

[39]See images in Zainab Bahrani, *The Graven Image. Representation in Babylonia and Assyria* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003) and Michal Dayagi-Mendels, *Perfumes and Cosmetics in the Ancient World* (Jerusalem: Israel Museum, 1989), 66–7.

[40]Pseudo-Aristotle 2.14d; Strabo 15.3.21 notes that hair was therefore a taxable item.

[41]Dinon F25a = Athenaeus 12. 514a.

[42]Cited in James B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament. Third Edition with Supplement* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), 644.

His armpit hair is a leek …
His chest hair is a thorn bush.
The hair of his groin is a boxthorn.[43]

Images of Near Eastern kings invariably depict them with thick and luxuriant hair. Abundant curls cover his head and a full, bushy beard falls to his chest; the monarch is always represented with fullest head of hair and the longest and thickest beard – the length of the monarch's hair must have signalled larger issues such as strength, wisdom, vitality and potency (perhaps the beard even encoded a certain sacrosanct quality). Commenting on the appearance of Assyrian kings, Julia Assante notes:

> The royal beard was luxurious and elaborate, spouting so profusely that it nearly envelops the cheeks, and falling to the level of mid-chest where it is dramatically squared off. The effect is one of … rigid control. Individual styles of royal beard were crucial … In royal imagery beards conveyed power, maturity and … aggressive sexuality …, while fastidious grooming of the beard and the exacting way in which it was curled might have conveyed discipline in addition to identity, high-status, and luxury.[44]

In contrast to the Sumerian royal beard, which split into two curly, elongated masses, the shape of Assyrian and Persian royal beards was always rectangular. A pointed type was worn by subjects in a kind of ranking system that demarcated courtiers who wore beards of medium length and soldiers who sported close-cropped beards. The Bisitun relief of the Persian monarch Darius I therefore depicts him with a bigger and better beard than anyone else's (Figure 14.1) and the audience relief at Persepolis also shows the king sporting a beard far superior to any courtier's (although his son and heir standing next to him is granted the privilege of long beard too; Figure 14.2).

In the ancient Near East beards were clearly significant.[45] The ornament of machismo, the beard was symbolically loaded: it was the object of salutation and the focus of oaths and blessings, although, conversely, the beard could also be a locus of shame, since an attack on the beard was an attack on the individual who sported it. Because the beard was the superlative symbol of manhood and social status, it was a great insult to degrade it. When, for instance, the Ammonites, the disreputable enemies of King David, wanted to show their contempt for him, they shaved off the beards of his captured servants and courtiers and sent them back to him in this dishevelled state. This act was thought to be so shameful an insult that David instructed his men to stay within the walls of Jericho

[43] Zainab Bahrani, *The Infinite Image. Art, Time and the Aesthetic Dimension in Antiquity* (London: Reaction Books, 2014), 65–6. For an analysis of the classifications, see Alasdair Livingstone, *Mystical and Mythological Explanatory Works of Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars* (Winona Lake: Esienbrauns, 2007), 92–112.

[44] Julia Assante, 'Men Looking at Men. The Homoerotics of Power in the State Art of Assyria', in *Being a Man. Negotiating Ancient Constructs of Masculinity*, ed. Ilona Zsolnay (London: Routledge, 2016), 66. See also T.A. Madhloom, *The Chronology of Neo-Assyrian Art* (London: Athlone Press, 1970), 83–9.

[45] Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones, '"That My Body Is Strong": The Physique and Appearance of the Achaemenid Monarch', in *Fluide Körper-Bodies in Transition*, ed. F. Wascheck and A. Shapiro (Cologne: Centre for Advanced Studies 'Morphomata', 2015), 211–48; Niditch, *My Brother Esau*. See further illuminating discussions on the culture and history of beards in Allan Peterkin, *One Thousand Beards. A Cultural History of Facial Hair* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 2001); Allan Peterkin, *One Thousand Moustaches. A Cultural History of the Mo* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 2012); Kevin Clarke, *Beards. An Unshaved History* (Berlin: Bruno Gmuender, 2013). For a quirkier account, see Reginald Reynolds, *Beards* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1950).



FIGURE 14.1 Bas-relief of King Darius I (detail). Mount Bisitun, Iran. Photo: Art Resource (AR9444230).

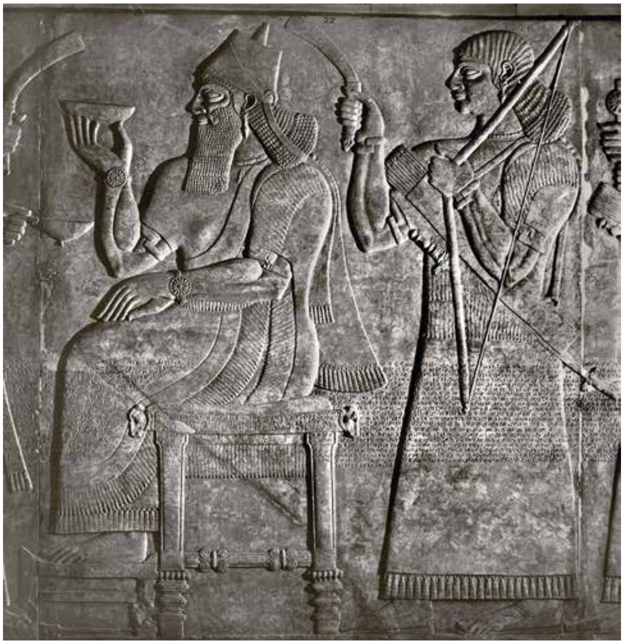


FIGURE 14.2 King Ashurnasirpal seated between two attendants, Assyrian relief, *c*. 880 BCE. Relief from the north-west palace of Nimrud, Iraq. From the British Museum, London. Photo: Art Resource (AR9153626).

until their beards had grown back and their self-worth had been restored.[46] Similarly, a royal report of Sennacherib's campaign against the Elamites in 691 BCE has the king boasting of his victory over the enemy: 'I cut off their beards and robbed them of their dignity.'[47] It seems to have been a practice at the early Achaemenid court of Iran to have plucked the beards off the chins of courtiers, aristocrats and grandees who had offended the Great King as an obvious mark of humiliation.[48]

Even if an enemy or subservient managed to keep his beard in place, it still had the potential to be the object of shame. Obeisance in the form of kissing the feet of a ruler was an expected ritual of etiquette in many Near Eastern courts, but the Assyrians expected more outward displays of humility from vassals and suppliants. Assurbanipal II, for instance, records how Tammaritu, the ruler of Elam, 'kissed my royal feet repeatedly, and he swept the ground with his beard', and this image of subservience is vividly captured on the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III where Jehu, king of Israel, rubs his beard in the earth as he prostrates himself in front of the king.[49]

The real champion of inferiority, however, was the beardless unarmed court eunuch who habitually accompanied the kings of Assyria and Persia. As Assante notes:

> His soft face, unsullied by hair, and often fleshy body exaggerate the mature, hardened virility of the monarchs he serves … [a] man participating in the real-life state functions that the artworks depicts would actually see the king surrounded by anxiously attentive beardless males … [To] the masses the eunuch was a display object in public processions and palace ceremonies, a strange and uncommon spectacle … He was no doubt accustomed to a good deal of gawking … he symbolized the king's power to command devotion so extreme that it required the sacrifice of his rightful social and physical identity as a man … The eunuch … stood as an emblem of the king's hegemonic dominion over men.[50]

Interestingly, the Greek historian Ctesias tells a story (which probably has at its core a genuine Iranian version) of the time a powerful court eunuch, Artoxares, attempted to overthrow the throne of Darius II and establish himself as Great King of Persia; to do this, Ctesias says, he asked a woman (who goes unnamed in the text) to procure for him a beard and moustache of false hair:

> Artoxares the eunuch, who was very influential with the King, plotted against the king because he wished to rule himself. As he was a eunuch he ordered a woman to procure a moustache and beard for him so he could look like a man. She informed against him and he was arrested and handed over to Parysatis [the king's mother]. And he was killed. (Ctesias F15. Photius, 41b38-43b2 [§54])[51]

Ctesias's point is to confirm that to rule as a king, one must look the part; the vital accoutrement for the job was the luxuriant royal beard. Since Artoxares was incapable of growing his own, he

[46] 2 Sam. 10.4; see discussion by Hilary Lipka, 'Shaved Beards and Bared Buttocks. Shame and the Undermining of Masculine Performance in Biblical Texts', in *Being a Man,* 176–97. Christopher Oldstone-Moore, *The Revealing History of Facial Hair* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016), 42, notes that a similar ideology was engrained in classical Greece and that without his beard, a man was stripped of his 'armour' – unmanned and humiliated.
[47] Oriental Institute Prism V; see A. R. George, 'The Poem of Erra and Ishum: A Babylonian Poet's View of War', in *Warfare and Poetry in the Middle East*, ed. Huge Kennedy (London: I.B. Tauris, 2013), 39–71.
[48] Plutarch, *Mor.* 173D; 565A.
[49] Mayer I. Gruber, *Aspects of Non-Verbal Communication in the Ancient Near East* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1980), 258–9.
[50] Assante, 'Men Looking at Men', 64, 69–70. On court eunuchs in Persia, see Llewellyn-Jones, *King and Court*, 38–40.
[51] Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones and James Robson, *Ctesias' History of Persia. Tales of the Orient* (London: Routledge, 2010).

would seize on the fashion for false hair and wear a counterfeit one.[52] Preserved here, I think, is a genuine Persian belief that the monarch was the first among men and that his ability to rule and to preserve cosmic order was signified through his appearance. Not surprisingly, then, given the close association between the beard and physical power and martial ability, the Great King's impressive beard clearly demarcated him as the Empire's alpha male.

WOMEN, VEILED HAIR AND SOCIAL DISTINCTION

Women's hair was also prized in Near Eastern and Homeric society, and like aristocratic men, women's hair was elaborately dressed and held in place with fillets, nets and pins. A fragmentary Neo-Elamite relief from Susa, known as 'The Spinner', shows a high-status woman whose hair is piled up high and decorated with wide fillets and looping braids – a masterpiece of the hairdresser's craft.[53] In Homer, goddesses and noblewomen are often called *êükomos*, 'rich-' or 'fair-haired' (*Il*. 1.36 al.), or *euplokamoi*, 'with beautiful braids (ringlets)' and their long locks are sometimes anointed with perfumed oils, a symbol of wealth and fertility. Homeric women also decorated their hair with fillets, headbands, snoods and tiaras.[54] When displayed by certain types of women, hair was a positive force intertwined as it is with notions of desirable feminine fertility, status or even wealth, but the same quality of luxuriant hair can also assume a negative trait in contexts where the same female sexuality or fertility are viewed with suspicion and disparagement. Many ancient societies therefore required elite women to carefully cover their hair when out of doors or in the presence of non-blood kin males.[55]

In Assyria veiling the hair was used as an indicator of a female's superior social status since, remarkably, veils are at the centre of a civic law code used by the Assyrians from at least 1250 BCE. In his study of the legal rights and marriage customs of Assyrian women, Claudio Saporetti has demonstrated that during the Middle Assyrian period (*c*. 1400–1050 BCE), the sexual regulation of women of the propertied class became increasingly entrenched, and the virginity of respectable daughters became a financial asset for the family.[56] What evidently became problematic for the Assyrians, however, was how to distinguish clearly and permanently between respectable and non-respectable women; this was accomplished not merely by a social policy of conformity but by the enactment of Middle Assyrian Law 40, a law code that seems to have been applied and accepted throughout the several centuries of Assyrian rule. The law itself begins thus:

> Neither wives of Lords nor widows nor Assyrian women who go out onto the streets may have their heads uncovered … The daughters of a lord … whether it is [with] a shawl, robe or mantle, must veil themselves … When they go out onto the streets alone, they must veil themselves. A concubine

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[52]See Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones, 'Eunuchs and the Harem in Achaemenid Persia', in *Eunuchs in Antiquity and Beyond*, ed. Shaun Tougher (London and Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 2002), 39.

[53]J. Connan and O. Deschesne, *Le bitume à Suse: collection du Musée du Louvre* (Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des Musées nationaux, 1996), 227, 339–40. On female hair and beauty in the Near East, see Martin Stol, *Women in the Near East* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016), 17–55, and Amy Rebecca Gansell, 'Images and Conceptions of Ideal Feminine Beauty in Neo-Assyrian Royal Contexts, c. 883–627 BCE', in *Critical Approaches to Ancient Near Eastern Art*, ed. Brian A. Brown and Marian H. Feldman (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016), 391–420.

[54]*Il*. 1.36, 6.380, 14.175-7; *Hymn*. 24.3. For hair ornaments, see *Il*. 22.468-72; *Hymn*. *Cer*. 295, *Hymn*. 6.1; Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones, *Aphrodite's Tortoise. The Veiled Woman of Ancient Greece* (Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 2003), 30–3.

[55]See especially Llewellyn-Jones, *Aphrodite's Tortoise*.

[56]Claudio Saporetti, *The Status of Women in the Middle Assyrian Period* (Malibu: Undena Publications, 1979).

> who goes out on the street with her mistress must veil herself … A prostitute … must have her head uncovered on the street; she must not veil herself. Her head must be uncovered … He who has seen a harlot veiled must arrest her, produce witnesses and bring her to the palace tribunal; they shall not take her jewellery away but the one who arrested her may take her clothing; they shall flog her fifty times and pour pitch on her head.[57]

This harsh law is highly symbolic, since the covering of the hair with pitch gives the harlot the only kind of veil she is entitled to wear. Practically speaking, it must have rendered her unfit for earning a living, since the removal of the pitch would necessitate the shaving off of the hair, leaving her disfigured – and undesired – for a long time.[58] The law goes on to state that the slave woman who is caught wearing a veil would have her clothes taken away and her ears cut off, although, interestingly, the law also stipulates that if a man fails to report a violation of the veiling law then he will be beaten, his ears will be pierced, threaded with rope and attached to his hands, which will be tied behind his back with the same rope and, trussed up like an animal, he will be forced to perform hard labour for a month.

In Assyria it was the notion of concealed hair that was adopted as a symbol of a woman's high social status; the veiled wife, concubine or virgin daughter, with their hair conspicuously covered, was visually identified as a woman of rank who was under the protection of one man and, as such, she was marked off as inviolate. Conversely, the unveiled woman with her hair on display was clearly labelled as unprotected and therefore, in theory, could be fair game for sexual violation by any man.

Interestingly, there appears to be a connection between high female social status and veiling in Homer's epics too, and from the poems it seems that (certain) women were routinely expected to cover their hair, at least when out of doors. In Homeric epic, we find the hair-covering veil worn by Helen, Hecuba, Andromache, Penelope, Nausicaa, Thetis, Hera, Ino, Circe and Calypso – daughters, wives and mothers of kings and princes, or else divine women.[59]

Perhaps the clearest indication we get from Homer for the concealment of hair being used to signify a woman's rank through her familial association with a nobleman comes in *Iliad* 22 (442–72) with the death of Hector. When news reaches his wife Andromache of his tragic and bloody end, she is discovered at home weaving a robe for her husband. She runs to the city wall like a frenzied maenad to witness Achilles dragging Hector's corpse behind his chariot. Andromache tears from her head the various coverings that conceal her hair, including the veil (*krēdemnon*) that had been given to her by Aphrodite on her wedding day. It is a vivid symbol of the intense grief she

[57]Middle Assyrian Law 40; G. R. Driver and J. C. Miles, *The Assyrian Laws* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1935).
[58]It is noteworthy that the veiling law provides punishment only for de-classed women and non-conforming men and that there seems to be no punishment for women who failed to denounce violators of the law – a strange phenomenon given that ancient Near Eastern law held women fully accountable for their deeds in other cases. Gerda Lerner, *The Creation of Patriarchy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 138–9, has found an explanation for this anomaly in the supposition that respectable upper-class women would need no incentive for co-operating with a law that was written, after all, for their own benefit and that, therefore, they may have been keen adherents of the legislation. The shame of being unveiled to the public gaze is similarly aimed at the highborn women of Babylon by the Hebrew prophets of the first millennium BCE (from the rare appearances of women in Babylonian art, it would seem that the women of Babylon inherited the styles of dress of Assyria). The vengeance of Yahweh, they state, will fall upon Babylon and its haughty daughters who will be forced to perform menial tasks or hard labour and they will be stripped of their rich apparel and their veils; see Isa. 47.1-3.
[59]See Llewellyn-Jones, *Aphrodite's Tortoise*.

feels at her sudden loss. But it is more than just a routine gesture of mourning; with the death of her husband Andromache is suddenly unprotected and acts out her downfall symbolically with the removal of her veil and the loosening and display of her hair. She knows that what lies ahead for her is the threat of sexual violation and slavery and the fearful prospect of becoming a concubine to one of her conquerors. The removal of the veil takes with it Andromache's rank of princess and wife as well as the safety she had enjoyed under the sexual protection of one man. The revelation of her hair makes her vulnerable and lacking in status and, like the Assyrian slaves and harlots, the widowed Andromache has become fair game for violation, slavery and shame.

CONCLUSION

Maria Warner has noted that 'the language of the self would be stripped of one of its richest sources without hair'.[60] Hair is loaded with meaning because it signifies the human need for expression. It can be manipulated, managed, displayed, removed or concealed. Throughout history shifting attitudes to an endless repertoire of cutting and growth, concealment and exhibition, have played key signifiers of social status. Thinking about the use of hair in antiquity involves engaging with its stories, histories, depictions and rituals and has the potential to offer a kaleidoscopic vision of the complexities of ancient cultures. As an indicator of status or monetary worth, ancient peoples were constantly grappling with ways of demonstrating their constructed sense of 'self'; in our own daily hair practices we are not necessarily so very different.

[60]M. Warner, *From the Beast to the Blonde: On Fairy-Tales and Their Tellers* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1995), 371.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

Stepping over the Line: Shoes and Boundary-Crossing in Ancient Greece

SUE BLUNDELL

'Quick, put those walking shoes on, just as you've seen your husbands do when they go off to the Assembly, or any of their other haunts.'

(Aristophanes, *The Assemblywomen* 269–71)

In Aristophanes's comedy *The Assemblywomen*, the women's leader Praxagora and her co-revolutionaries are disguising themselves as men so that they can infiltrate the Athenian Assembly. They put on false beards and filch their husbands' cloaks and their *lakonikai*, their sturdy outdoor shoes. To the ancient Greeks shoes meant mobility and quite often transitions or boundary-crossings; and in this play the women will be stepping over the line in a variety of ways. They will be leaving their homes, which means crossing the dividing line between the domestic and public spheres. This was an everyday occurrence for Athenian men but was less common among their wives; Athenian women may not have been confined to the house, but there was nevertheless an assumption that the house was the best place for them.[1] Aristophanes's women are breaking a few other rules as well. They are headed for a spot which they never normally set foot in – the meeting place of the Assembly, exclusive to adult males. On their walk there they will be wearing the wrong shoes. And in one final surreal twist, once inside the Assembly they will take over the reins of democratic government from their dumbfounded menfolk. In fifth-century Athens, shoes could apparently carry one across a number of social and political boundaries, at least in the flights of fancy conjured up by a comic playwright.

In classical Greece both men and women sometimes went barefoot, especially when they were indoors. Some people even walked through the city without shoes. Socrates was well known for it (Plato, *Symposium* 174A), and philosophers in general are lampooned for it: they are 'white-faced, barefoot windbags', according to one of Aristophanes's characters (*Clouds* 102-3)[2]. In Athens some people were 'shoeless and homeless' on account of poverty (Plato, *Symposium* 203D)[3];

[1]See Sue Blundell, *Women in Ancient Greece* (London: British Museum Press, 1995), 135–8.

[2]Crazy geniuses like Socrates may be prone to shoelessness. In the film *The Big Short* (Adam McKay, 2015), and apparently also in real life, Michael Burry, the man no one believed who made a fortune by 'shorting' subprime mortgages, always walked around the office in shorts and refused to wear shoes. All translations of primary sources are my own.

[3]For poverty and bare feet, see Susanna Phillippo, 'Stepping onto the Stage. Aeschylus' *Oresteia* and Tragic Footwear', in *Shoes, Slippers and Sandals. Feet and Footwear in Classical Antiquity*, ed. Sadie Pickup and Sally Waite (London: Routledge, 2019), 157–8.

and in Sparta the constitution stipulated that youths should go barefoot as a way of toughening them up and making them more agile (Xenophon, *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians* 2.3). But for most people, even in Sparta, footwear was the norm, especially when leaving the house. In Greek art men are seen sporting shoes more often than women, but this is probably a convention arising from an ideology which situates male citizens in the great outdoors.[4] There is plenty of evidence to indicate that women wore shoes as well, for example when going to a religious festival (Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae* 262-3) or even around the house. Pretty indoor slippers could be quite seductive (Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 42-8); and one abject young wife is ticked off by her insufferable husband for flaunting herself in make-up and shoes with platform soles in her own home (Xenophon, *Treatise on Household Management* 10.2).[5] Slaves seem to have worn shoes too (Aristophanes, *Knights* 319-21); and at the other end of the spectrum gods and goddesses are often equipped with footwear when they make their appearances down among the humans.[6]

Clothing was not an obvious indicator of wealth or status in ancient Greece. Rough or shabby shoes would doubtless have been recognized as a mark of poverty, but in both democratic Athens and militaristic Sparta people were discouraged from using their apparel as a way of showing off.[7] So upwards or downwards mobility was not generally advertised through a change in footwear. But in Athens shoes could, it seems, serve as a badge of citizenship. On a wine cup painted by Peithinos in about 500 BCE (Figure 15.1; Berlin, Antikensammlung 2279), we see young men wearing sandals who are courting boys on one side and women on the other. Both the boys and the women are barefoot, and this marks them out as people of inferior status, who do not enjoy the same privileges as the young men. Shoes – along with the walking sticks which they are carrying – are indicators of the freedom of movement enjoyed by the men.[8] Shoes also come into play when movement between different areas of experience is being contemplated. Performances of all kinds were a vital part of social, political and religious interactions in ancient Greece, so it is not surprising that rituals involving shoes should have figured as demonstrations of a transition to a new area of activity. Both in real life and in representations putting shoes on or taking them off could function as a sign that boundaries were being crossed. In what follows I shall be exploring the deployment of shoes in journeys from the private to the public, the secular to the sacred and finally from life into the realm of death.

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[4]See Sadie Pickup and Sally Waite, 'Introduction. Surveying Shoes, Slippers and Sandals', in *Shoes, Slippers and Sandals*, 5.
[5]Mobility is such an important aspect of footwear in ancient Greek culture that 'shoes which incapacitate' do not really feature, even for women; the platform sole is perhaps the nearest we get to the concept. The theory is that women are incapacitated by their clothing, including their high heels, and this serves to advertise the fact that their husbands are so well off that their wives do not need to work around the house: see Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1899), 171–2, who is also discussed by Beth E. Graybill, in this volume. See also Russell W. Belk, 'Shoes and Self', *NA – Advances in Consumer Research* 30 (2003): 27–33. The husband in Xenophon's *Treatise*, by contrast, is very insistent that his wife should do plenty of work in the home, and this is one reason why he objects to her platform soles.
[6]Pickup and Waite, 'Introduction', 5, and notes 17 and 18.
[7]See Sue Blundell, 'Beneath Their Shining Feet: Shoes and Sandals in Classical Greece', in *Shoes: A History from Sandals to Sneakers*, ed. Giorgio Riello and Peter McNeil (Oxford: Berg, 2006), 33.
[8]For more on the contrast between bare and sandaled feet, see Daniel B. Levine, '*EPATON BAMA*: ("Her Lovely Footstep"): The Erotics of Feet in Ancient Greece', in *Body Language in the Greek and Roman Worlds*, ed. Douglas L. Cairns (Swansea: The Classical Press of Wales, 2005), 67–8. For more on shoes, walking sticks and citizenship, see Valérie Toillon, 'At the Symposium: Why Take Off Our Boots? The Significance of Boots Placed Underneath the Kline on Attic Red-figure Vase Painting (c500–440 BC)', in *Shoes, Slippers and Sandals. Feet and Footwear in Classical Antiquity*, ed. Sadie Pickup and Sally Waite (London: Routledge, 2019), 90–104.



FIGURE 15.1 Young men courting women. Wine cup painted by Peithinos, 500 BCE, Berlin, Antikensammlung 2279. Photo: Art Resource (ART581061).

PRIVATE AND PUBLIC

Most ancient Greeks had a strong commitment to political and social engagement, so for them the dividing line between the community and their own homes was particularly potent. For Athenian men the passage from indoors to outdoors involved a shouldering of civic responsibilities; and as we have seen in the quote from Aristophanes's *Assemblywomen*, this transition was marked by the donning of sturdy shoes. For women, movement away from the home would have been more problematic and may have seemed – at least to their menfolk – to entail an element of transgression. According to the husband of the woman in the platform soles, for example, 'it is seemly for a woman to remain inside and not venture out of doors' (Xenophon, *Treatise on Household Management* 7.30). The performance of sacred duties was an exception, however: religion was one area of activity where Greek women had an acknowledged and significant public role. The Parthenon frieze, created in about 440 BCE, depicts a religious procession staged by the Athenians every four years to honour their patron goddess, Athena; and here both females and males are suitably shod for a journey. At the eastern end of the building young women wearing sandals are seen walking in front of the cavalcade, carrying implements which will be used in sacrifice (British Museum, Parthenon frieze, E2–17, E50–51, E53–63). Roughly one-half of the procession is made up of young men on horseback who would have fought for their city as soldiers when the need arose. In the western section of the frieze – the starting point for visitors making their way around the temple – several of them are preparing to join their comrades, getting themselves ready for public display. Heads turn, belts are adjusted and two of the youths are bending to lace a sandal (Parthenon frieze,

W12 and 29). The gesture signals to the viewer that the procession is moving off. The young men are poised on the boundary which divides the private individual from the active citizen, one who represents his community both in a religious capacity and on the battlefield.

Departure for the battlefield is similarly sign-posted by sandal-lacing in Homer's *Iliad*. When the Greek leader Agamemnon sets out for another day of fighting outside the walls of Troy, he throws a cloak over his shoulder, grasps a sword and 'binds beautiful sandals beneath his shining feet' (*Iliad* 2.42-6, 10.21-4). The same binding action is performed by Nestor (*Iliad* 10.132), Telemachus (*Odyssey* 2.4) and Menelaus (*Odyssey* 4.309). This verbal formula, announcing the start of military engagement or of decisive action, has a visual equivalent in Athenian vase paintings, where the image of putting one's shoes on begins to appear around 520 BCE.[9] When a young man dresses for battle he raises one of his legs to strap on a greave, in a pose which mirrors the sandal-lacing action of the youths in the Parthenon frieze, while his helmet and shield stand ready for use (interior of an Athenian cup, Berlin, Antikensammlung F2263, *c.* 520 BCE). On another wine cup (London, British Museum E124, *c.* 480 BCE) a youth seated on a chair bends to tie on his sandal and a woman hands him his helmet; his corselet rests on a nearby stool. Here the domestic character of the environment which the young man is about to leave is underlined. In arming scenes like these men are setting out on a path that leads to military service and in some cases to death. A change in footwear is an important element in this transition.

Among women the equivalent of arming is dressing for love or for marriage. The latter was the most important social transition which females in Greece ever underwent – at least in the eyes of Greek men – and it is little wonder that images of the adornment of brides should have included references to shoes. Preparations for a wedding were a particularly popular subject in vase paintings of the second half of the fifth century BCE; and in some we see a woman being fitted with special shoes called *nymphides* – bride's shoes – before she is led in procession from her father's home to that of her new husband. At the climax of her journey she will be transformed from an unmarried virgin into a sexually active wife – a change which is foreshadowed in the figure of Eros, the young god of sex and love. In Figure 15.2 (Eros and bride, Boston Museum of Fine Arts 95.1402) we see him acting as the bride's attendant, kneeling to tie the laces of her new sandals. The idea that a woman's place was in the home admitted another exception: on marriage, it was the female who changed her location, not the male. This element of mobility was fundamental to Greek society. The reproduction of the family unit and the transmission of wealth to the next generation depended on the transfer of women from one household to another. The public display of the bride was a sign that this transfer was taking place; new shoes tell us how important the journey was. Footwear was so closely bound up with female identity that in some contexts it may by itself have served as a sign of marriage: terracotta models of sandaled feet from the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth, dated to *c.* 500 BCE, have been interpreted as offerings to the goddesses 'in return for their help in the journey toward a fruitful marriage'.[10]

The lacing of a bride's sandals receives some spectacular attention in the sculptures which once adorned the east pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia. (In general, the significance of marriage

[9]For a detailed discussion of these scenes, see Yael Young, 'Donning Footwear. The Invention and Diffusion of an Iconographic Motif in Archaic Athens', in *Shoes, Slippers and Sandals*, 105–17.

[10]Sonia Klinger, 'Terracotta Models of Sandaled Feet: Votives from the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth', *Hesperia* 87 (2018): 443. Klinger proposes that the models represent bridal sandals, or *nymphides*.



FIGURE 15.2 Eros tying a bride's sandals. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 95.1402. Photo: Courtesy of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

in Greek society is demonstrated by its presence as a theme on some very high-profile buildings, including the Parthenon in Athens.) In the sculptural group from Olympia, created in the 460s BCE, we are witnessing the prelude to a mythical chariot race which will decide whether the hero Pelops will be allowed to marry Hippodamia, daughter of the local king Oenomaus. If he loses, he will die. The pediment shows the tense line-up before the race begins. Here, the figure of Hippodamia offers two clues as to the eventual outcome of the story. She holds back a corner of her veil, in a gesture which anticipates the one she will make as a bride; and a servant kneels at her feet, almost certainly in the act of tying her mistress' sandals – although the relevant limbs are unfortunately missing (Figure 15.3, first and second figures from the right). Every Greek viewer would have known how the race ended. Oenomaus was killed, and Pelops won his bride, but in the process he incurred a terrible curse. It fell eventually onto some notable descendants – Atreus the king of Mycenae, who tricked his brother Thyestes into eating his own children in a stew; Atreus's son Agamemnon, who was assassinated by his wife when he came home from Troy; and Agamemnon's son Orestes, who murdered his mother to avenge the death of his father. Sandal-lacing can clearly lead to some momentous events, so it is hardly surprising that superstitions collected around it. According to Pythagorean philosophers, when you put your shoes on you should always begin with the right foot (Iamblichus, *Proptrepticus* Symbol 12). In later years this practice was followed religiously by the Roman emperor Augustus (Suetonius, *Life of Augustus* 92.1).



FIGURE 15.3 A servant ties Hippodamia's sandals. Sculptures from the east pediment of the temple of Zeus, Olympia, Archaeological Museum. Photo: Alamy CXRWNW.

Conversely, shoe-handling can indicate a passage from outdoors to indoors. In many countries today, including Greece, it is customary to remove your outdoor shoes before entering a house. There is no surviving evidence to suggest that in ancient Greece shoes were regularly left outside front doors; on the other hand, the fact that the men in *Assemblywomen* put their shoes on before leaving the house suggests that at some point on their return they took them off again. When he comes back from Troy the Greek commander Agamemnon notoriously asks a servant to remove his shoes before he steps onto the brilliant textile which his wife Clytemnestra has strewn across the threshold of the palace (Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 944-5). For him the step is a fatal one: when he enters his home and crosses the boundary separating his public exploits from his private role as husband and father, he is slaughtered by his furious wife.[11] Most homecomings would have been less dramatic than this one, but they too may have entailed the removal of shoes. Special indoor slippers certainly existed. In the furtherance of their sex strike, for example, Lysistrata and her women flaunt themselves in negligees and dainty shoes called *peribarides* to inflame their husbands' passions (Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 42-8). Shoes hanging on walls appear quite frequently in Athenian vase paintings and are generally indicative of indoor space.[12] Boots as well as shoes are also part of the iconography of the symposium, or male drinking-party, and on vases they are often to be seen under the couches where drinkers recline.[13] When Alcibiades makes a drunken

[11]Agamemnon may have religious reasons for removing his shoes, since as far as he is concerned these splendid textiles belong to the gods. For footwear in Aeschylus's *Oresteia* trilogy (of which *Agamemnon* is the first play), see Phillippo, 'Stepping onto the Stage', 143–73.

[12]For a detailed analysis of scenes with hanging shoes, see Sally Waite and Emma Gooch, 'Sandals on the Wall. The Symbolism of Footwear on Athenian Painted Pottery', *Shoes, Slippers and Sandals*, 17–89.

[13]See Toillon, 'At the Symposium', 90–104, for a detailed discussion.

entry into the party which supplies the setting for Plato's *Symposium*, orders are given for his shoes to be removed, not at the front door but when he is ready to join two other guests on a couch (*Symposium* 213B). There were some parties where this was not necessarily a sensible move: a character in Aristophanes's *Knights* mentions the kind of guest who borrows another man's shoes when he needs to dash out of the room to relieve himself (*Knights* 888-9). In vase paintings discarded boots or shoes are also to be found standing next to washbasins in scenes where naked women are bathing (see, for example, Munich 2411, Syracuse 20065).

Whether located on walls, beside basins or under couches, these shoes have obviously been removed by their owners – either because they have entered a house, gymnasium or brothel, or because they have withdrawn into a more private area within the building, such as the *andron* or men's quarters, where symposia were held. The shoes serve as markers of intimate space, and they often signify an uncovering, a loosening, a throwing aside of restraint. Shoes-under-the-couch can be a sign of drunkenness[14] or occasionally of full-scale sexual activity, taking place on top of the couch (see, for example, a cup in Florence, Museo Archeologico 73749). But at the same time these discarded items remind the viewer that the men will be stepping back into the public arena once the party is over. They help to define the nature of the male community assembled here – it is one that has freedom of movement at its heart.

SHOES AND SEX

Shoes are closely associated with eroticism. Lysistrata and her friends use them as part of their sexual equipment. They even wear them while they are having sex or so it appears: when the women strikers swear an oath to refrain from relations with their menfolk until they agree to make peace, they declare, 'I won't allow either lover or husband to approach me in an erect condition … I shall stay at home and go without sex … And I won't raise my slippers to the ceiling' (Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 212-29). The lacing of footwear often features in scenes of dressing or undressing – performances which generally have erotic overtones. For a woman in particular this is an occasion when she is arming herself for action. In the build-up to her wedding a bride attended by Eros ties on her nuptial sandals. And it is the re-staging of her wedding-day which the goddess Hera has in mind when she adorns herself with great magnificence before waylaying her husband Zeus. She bathes and perfumes her body, arranges her hair and slips into a glorious gown, which she pins with a golden brooch. Cluster earrings and a glistening veil complete the ensemble, and 'beneath her shining feet she bound fair sandals' before tripping off to borrow a magic belt from Aphrodite and seducing her spouse (Homer, *Iliad* 14.166–190). Here, sandal-lacing is a prelude to sex: when clothes are put on in an erotic context half the pleasure lies in anticipating that they will soon be taken off again. In *Lysistrata*, when a teasing wife is pretending to get ready for bed, the last thing she shouts to her excited husband before she runs off is, 'I'm just untying my sandals!' (*Lysistrata* 950).[15]

Dressing and undressing are activities which take place at the interface between the private and the social realms. We put clothes on when we're preparing ourselves for the outside world; when we remove them we're generally withdrawing into a more intimate area of our lives. Just how transgressive the act of undressing is seen to be depends very much on the context. In ancient Greece

[14]See Toillon, 'At the Symposium', 96–7.
[15]For the erotics of feet in ancient Greece, see Levine, '*EPATON BAMA*', 55–72.

female mobility in marriage was paralleled by the real-life mobility of prostitutes, who worked in large numbers in many cities, especially the ports. When we, as modern-day viewers, look at erotic scenes in vase paintings we find that the identity of the female participants is often ambiguous. For example, we suspect that the women in the courtship scene by Peithinos (Figure 15.1) are meant to be seen as prostitutes, but it is the nature of their interactions rather than anything specific in their attire which conveys this notion. The problem is even more acute when the woman concerned is naked. The female who is handling her sandal on the neck of the wine jar in Figure 15.4 (Paris, Musée du Louvre G2), for example, could be a wife, a mistress or a prostitute. And the nature of her action is as ambiguous as her status. We do not know who this woman is, and we cannot tell whether she is putting her sandal on or taking it off. Is she getting dressed to go out on the town? Or is she preparing to leap into bed with an unseen lover? Scenes like this may have been left deliberately open-ended: ancient viewers possibly had no more idea than we do what was going on here – they were being given the freedom to construct the scene's meaning in their own way. A woman who could be either a wife or a prostitute, and who may be either dressing or undressing, is truly on a boundary. Poised between the social and the private spheres, she belongs at this moment in time to neither of them. She is an emblem of her own liminality – her existence on the margins.

Aphrodite, on the other hand, is well known to us as a signifier of sexuality: she provides us with one of the most entertaining of the visual images of shoe-handling when in a famous statue



FIGURE 15.4 Woman tying or untying her sandal. Paris, Musée du Louvre G2. Photo: Art Resource (ART150383).

she laughingly raises one of her sandals in the air to fend off an assault from Pan.[16] Viewers can anticipate that if Pan doesn't release his grip on her soon, he is going to be on the receiving end of a shoe-battering. This is a reversal of the standard gender relationships in scenes where shoes are wielded with erotic intent – predictably the sadistic practice of beating one's sexual partner with a slipper or shoe is a male prerogative when it is depicted in Athenian vase paintings of the sixth and fifth centuries BCE (see, for example, Paris, Louvre G13, Orvieto 585, Florence 3921, and Milan A8037).[17] The fact that the Greeks had a word for it – *blautoō*, meaning 'to beat with a slipper' – suggests that it may have been a relatively common activity in brothels or at symposia. The vase paintings were presumably meant to amuse, but to most people today the spectacle of a reluctant prostitute being compelled to engage in fellatio by a customer brandishing a slipper must surely appear deeply unpleasant.

SECULAR AND SACRED

Shoe-handling can also signify a movement between the secular and sacred spheres. Regulations about dress varied from sanctuary to sanctuary. On a site devoted to the worship of Despoina at Lykosoura, for example, people were required to go barefoot.[18] In Athens, a sculpted figure of Nike on the Acropolis – from a parapet which once surrounded the Athena Nike temple – is bending forwards to unfasten her sandal (Figure 15.5; Athens, Acropolis Museum 973, *c*. 410 BCE). Her beautiful pose is probably explained by the proximity of an altar: Nike may be required to remove her footwear before performing a sacrifice. But there seems to have been no general rule about going barefoot in the sanctuaries on the Athenian Acropolis. The *korai*, young women worshippers whose statues have been found there in great numbers, have various types of footwear; one of them even sports a pair of soft red shoes, as well as a semi-transparent dress (Athens, Acropolis Museum, Kore 683).[19] Initiates into mystery cults seem always to have walked barefoot, but at Andania in Messenia people not engaged in the celebration of the mysteries were permitted to wear shoes of two particular types, made either of felt or of 'sacrificial leather' – which almost certainly means made from the skins of sacrificial animals.[20]

There may have been various reasons why shoes were removed in these circumstances. In certain religious contexts they may have been seen as polluting – they may have been thought to violate the boundary between the secular and the sacred by transporting matter from one realm to the other. Binding or unbinding (sandals, ribbons, etc.) also had magical connotations, and the action may in itself have helped to reinforce the power of a ritual.[21] And when worshipping chthonic deities in particular it may have been considered important to keep one's feet directly in contact with the earth. Boundaries of a palpable kind were being crossed in rites of initiation, and a change in

[16]Athens, National Museum NM3335, *c*.100 BCE. For a detailed discussion of Aphrodite and her sandals, see Sadie Pickup, 'A Slip and a Slap. Aphrodite and Her Footwear', in *Shoes, Slippers and Sandals*, 229–46.
[17]See Waite and Gooch, 'Sandals on the Wall', 36, for further examples and discussion.
[18]See Klinger, 'Terracotta Models', 440, n. 47.
[19]Pickup and Waite, 'Introduction', 3–4.
[20]For barefoot initiates into the cult of Demeter, see Callimachus *Hymns* 6.120-22. See also Laura Gawlinski, ed., *The Sacred Law of Andania: A New Text with Commentary* Sozomena, 11 (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2012), 115, n. 57 (for various regulations regarding shoes); 129 (for the mysteries). See also the chapter on inscriptions by Laura Gawlinski in this volume.
[21]Gawlinski, *Andania*, 116.



FIGURE 15.5 Nike unfastening her sandal, from the parapet of the temple of Athena Nike. Fifth century BCE. Athens, Acropolis Museum 973. Photo: Art Resource (AR9154056).

clothing could signify that a new phase of life was being entered. The motif of monosandalism – where the protagonist sporting a single shoe is seen to be simultaneously both shod and unshod – may have originated in a young man's coming-of-age ritual, when he was in a 'betwixt and between' condition.[22] And in Nike's case, there was almost certainly an additional thematic reason for the introduction of the unlacing pose. Nike appears at the end of a journey. At the time she was created the Athenians were involved in a bitter war against Sparta, and the figure may be expressing the fervent wish that Victory would relinquish her shoes forever and never leave their city again.

LIFE AND DEATH

For the Greeks death involved a journey to the Underworld. On grave stelai people are often shown wearing shoes, and in one case we see a woman being fitted with a sandal by her maidservant (Athens, National Museum 718). There may be a reference to her imminent departure in her pose, although it may in addition preserve a memory of her wedding – a sign that the woman buried here was married. Ceramic boots, perfume jars in the shape of sandaled feet and in some cases the remnants of shoes themselves have been found in graves dating to the Mycenean, Geometric and Archaic periods.[23] Some of these articles may be multi-layered in their meanings – the perfume jar, for example, could have been used in a funerary ritual. But overall there is little doubt that these items of footwear relate to the crossing of the ultimate boundary and were designed to help the deceased on his or her journey from the shores of light into the realm of the dead.

CONCLUSION

In ancient Greece shoes had many meanings, but in almost every case we find the concept of movement at their core. In a culture where ritual had a central role in all aspects of life, and fashion had little hold, it is not at all surprising that actions involving shoes, more than the shoes themselves, should have been imbued with great significance. Covering or exposing the feet was often associated with a journey from one spatial or temporal sector to another – with a crossing of boundaries that in some instances was life-changing. Sadly, it was only in the imagination of a comic playwright that putting on a new pair of shoes could be pictured as the prelude to a female takeover of government. But the fact that a well-known writer like Aristophanes selected an item of footwear to dramatize this revolutionary move shows us just how potent the idea of the shoe could be for an ancient Greek.

[22]See Toillon, 'At the Symposium', 95; and Sue Blundell, 'One Shoe On and One Shoe Off. The Motif of Monosandalism in Classical Greece', *Shoes, Slippers and Sandals*, 216–28.
[23]See Waite and Gooch, 'Sandals on the Wall', *Shoes, Slippers and Sandals*, 46–7; Klinger, 'Terracotta Models', 442; and Amy C. Smith, 'The Left Foot Aryballos Wearing a Network Sandal', *Shoes, Slippers, and Sandals*, 195–215.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

Dress and Religious Ritual in Roman Antiquity

KELLY OLSON

In this chapter, I try to elucidate the important connection between ritual and clothing,[1] a connection that further underlines the visual importance of dress in Roman antiquity. I define ritual very generally as a set of actions, performed mainly for their symbolic value, prescribed by the traditions of a community. Here, I seek to discard the conventional discrete categories of Roman male or female religious often used by modern authors to organize the description and elucidation of clothing items (*flamen*, Vestal, etc.), proceeding instead by describing special features of ritual dress or its ornamentation, perhaps ones that have not been covered in much detail before. Like Greece (and unlike the Christian tradition), defined items of religious dress were not common in Roman religion; as in ancient Greece, religious duties did not generally involve the wearing of a special costume or liturgical dress.[2] Nor did participants in Roman state religion have a distinct costume. Instead, there was a wide variety of practices and garments, which were 'appropriate in different ritual situations'.[3]

AN EMBEDDED RELIGION

Laura Gawlinski's important 2017 essay ('Theorizing Religious Dress') examines how dress may visualize the 'otherness' of the religious.[4] Ancient religion was an 'embedded' religion, inasmuch as there was no definitive separation between civic and religious life. None of the men or women who functioned as priests or priestesses 'had been consecrated or called. They were simply invested with these priestly functions by virtue of their social role or because they had been elected'.[5] Nor did

[1]On this subject, see most recently Carly Daniel-Hughes, 'Belief', in *A Cultural History of Dress and Fashion*, vol. I: Antiquity, ed. Mary Harlow (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), 71–85; Lena Larsson Lovén, 'On Priests, Priestesses, and Clothing in Roman Cult Practices', in *Textiles and Cult in the Ancient Mediterranean,* ed. Cecilie Brøns and Marie-Louise Nosch (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2017), 135–41; and the essays collected in *Kleidung und Identitat in religiösen Kontexten der römischen Kaiserzeits*, ed. Sabine Schrenk, Konrad Vössing and Michael Tellenbach (Regensberg: Schnell & Steiner, 2012).
[2]Liza Cleland, Glenys Davies and Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones, *Greek and Roman Dress From A-Z* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), 153.
[3]Cleland et al., *Greek and Roman Dress*, 162.
[4]Laura Gawlinski, 'Theorizing Religious Dress', in *What Shall I Say of Clothes: Theoretical and Methodological Approaches to the Study of Dress in Antiquity*, ed. Megan Cifarelli and Laura Gawlinski (Boston: Archaeological Institute of America, 2017), 161; see also Daniel-Hughes, 'Belief', 75–6.
[5]John Scheid, *An Introduction to Roman Religion* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), 129–30.

priests receive religious instruction or training.[6] The question is therefore what we should expect to constitute 'religious' dress in such a context, as clothing did not visualize the ancient priestly hierarchy[7] nor were priests and priestesses appointed permanently. 'There is little that comes close to being identified as sacerdotal dress',[8] and one would not usually be able to tell merely by looking who held a priesthood and who did not in antiquity (although there were some exceptions to this in ancient Rome). Gawlinski does note examples of ancient Greek reliefs in which items (a knife or keys) indicate a male or female religious, but intriguingly, she says, such dress elements are related to actions: religion is what someone *does* (sacrificing, opening the temple), rather than what someone *is*.[9] And 'the fluidity of authoritative dress is an embodiment of the fluidity of the hierarchy of Greek religion'; there is no emphasis on control or on orthodoxy as there is in other forms of religious dress.[10] All these statements hold as well for (most) holders of Roman religious offices.

THE WARRIOR PRIEST

As Larissa Bonfante notes, 'The religious and ritual costume of Rome preserved much of what had been everyday Etruscan dress in the late sixth and early fifth centuries BC.'[11] Warriors may often have been priests in Etruscan times,[12] and a number of features of Roman priestly dress interestingly 'hark back to military costumes and symbols of the aristocratic warrior class of the early days'.[13] For instance, the curved ceremonial wand, the *lituus*, probably evolved from the shape of the war-trumpet;[14] the pointed headdress of certain Roman and Etruscan priests may harken back to ancient war-helmets.[15] The Roman *salii* sported an 'archaic warrior's uniform and carried shields and spears. Thus equipped, they paraded through the town at the opening (19 March) and the close (19 October) of the war season'.[16] The drape they wore, the *cinctus Gabinus*,[17] was a method

[6]Scheid, *Introduction to Roman Religion*, 131.

[7]Gawlinski, 'Theorizing Religious Dress', 166.

[8]Gawlinski, 'Theorizing Religious Dress', 167.

[9]Gawlinski, 'Theorizing Religious Dress', 167–9. Some ancient historians would argue that there was no concept of 'religion' in the modern sense of the word in antiquity: see Carlin A. Barton and Daniel Boyarin's *Imagine No Religion: How Modern Abstractions Hide Ancient Realities* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2016).

[10]Gawlinski, 'Theorizing Religious Dress', 170; although one notable exception is the dress of the priests of the Eleusinian Mysteries.

[11]Larissa Bonfante, *Etruscan Dress*, 2nd edition (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 93.

[12]Larissa Bonfante, 'Ritual Dress', in *Votives, Places and Rituals in Etruscan Religion*, ed. Margarita Gleba and Hilary Becker (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 185; Patrizia von Eles, *Guerriero e sacerdote. Autorità e comunità nell'età del ferro a Verucchio. La Tomba del Trono.* Quaderni di Archeologia dell'Emilia Romagna 6 (2002).

[13]Bonfante, 'Ritual Dress', 185.

[14]On the *lituus*, see now Roberta L. Stewart, 'The Jug and *Lituus* on Roman Republican Coin Types: Ritual Symbols and Political Power', *Phoenix* 51, no. 2 (1997): 170–89; Victoria Györi, 'The *Lituus* and Augustan Provincial Coinage', *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum* Hungaricae 55, no. 1 (2015): 45–60; Daniele F. Maras, '*Lituus Etruscus*: osservazioni su forma e funzione del bastone ricurvo nell'Italia centrale', *Studi Etruschi* 79 (2016): 37–62.

[15]On this, see Bonfante, 'Ritual Dress', 186, with references; Larissa Bonfante-Warren, 'Roman Costumes: A Glossary and Some Etruscan Derivations', *ANRW* 1, no. 4 (1973): 594 and 611 (the *pilleus*); John Warry, *Warfare in the Classical World* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), 109.

[16]Scheid, *Introduction to Roman Religion*, 139. The *salii* were a sodality of priests associated with Mars.

[17]On the *cinctus Gabinus*, see Liliane Wilson, *The Roman Toga* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1924), 86–8; see Bonfante-Warren, 'Roman Costumes', 596–7, 606–7; Annie Dubourdieu, '*Cinctus Gabinus*', *Latomus* 45 (1986): 3–20; Hans R. Goette, *Studien zu römischen Togadarstellungen* (Mainz am Rhein: P. von Zabern, 1990), 7; Shelley Stone, 'The Toga: From National to Ceremonial Costume', in Sebesta and Bonfante, *World of Roman Costume*, 39 n. 6; Jerzy Linderski, 'The Pontiff and the Tribune: The Death of Tiberius Gracchus', *Athenaeum* 90, no. 2 (2002): 343, n. 16.



FIGURE 16.1 Roman architectural relief showing a *suovetaurilia*, first century CE. Marble, Louvre. Photo: Art Resource (ART191061).

of tying the toga which produced a stable garment, leaving the left arm almost entirely free.[18] Dubourdieu believes it was also a drape for religious rituals involving crossings,[19] but the drape was most often associated with battle:[20] thus the consul wore it when he unbarred the gates of war.[21] In artistic evidence, the *cinctus Gabinus* drape may possibly be seen on the suovetaurilia relief from Rome: the figure standing next to the ox has a prominent knot at the front of his toga (first century CE; Figure 16.1).

WHITE[22]

White seems to have been a standard colour for religious dress, symbolizing and demonstrating a state of ritual purity: white was 'symbolic of the virtues required of priests … [and] candidates for office'.[23] White clothes were worn at most rituals;[24] the *galerus* of the *flamen Dialis* and the Vestals'

[18]Servius writes: *et incincti ritu Gabino, id est togae parte caput velati, parte succincti* (*ad Aen.* 5.755); and see 7.612. Isidore (*Orig.* 19.24.7) provides a somewhat confused description. Wilson believes that the *sinus* was brought up over the head; the folds which normally lay on the left shoulder were drawn under the left arm, around the waist, and then tucked in (Wilson, *Roman Toga*, 86–7; see figs. 47A and 88, n. 38).

[19]'au tracé ou au franchissement des frontiers'; Dubourdieu, '*Cinctus Gabinus*', 16. See Livy, 5.46.2, 10.7.3; Valerius Maximus, 1.1.11; Lucan, 1.596; *CIL* 11.1420.25. On the toga wound around one's head as a 'helmet' (a sign of battle), see Linderski, The Pontiff and the Tribune', 343, n. 17; Ammianus, 18.6.13, 25.6.14.

[20]Festus, 251L; Livy, 8.9.5-9.

[21]Vergil, *Aen*. 7.610-15. Dubourdieu ('*Cinctus Gabinus*', 18) concludes that *Quirinale trabea cinctuque Gabino* (*A.* 7.612) is a hendiadys and that the *trabea* and the Gabian cincture would not be found together. On the *trabea*, see Kelly Olson, *Masculinity and Dress in Roman Antiquity* (London and New York: Routledge, 2017), 115–16, with references.

[22]On whiteness in clothing, see now Mark Bradley, 'It All Comes Out in the Wash: Looking Harder at the Roman *Fullonica*', in *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 15 (2002): 21–44; Alexandra Croom, *Roman Clothing and Fashion* (Stroud, Gloucestershire and Charleston, SC: Tempus, 2002), 28; Cleland et al., *Greek and Roman Dress*, 211; Miko Flohr, *The World of the* Fullo: *Work, Economy, and Society in Roman Italy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 60–2; Olson, *Masculinity and Dress*, 113–14, with references; Daniel-Hughes, 'Belief', 72.

[23]Cleland et al., *Greek and Roman Dress*, 211. See also Batten, 'Dirty Laundry in the Christ Cult', this volume.

[24]Tibullus, 2.1.16; Ovid, *Fast*. 2. 654; Robert Parker, *Miasma: Pollution and Purification in Early Greek Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), 68.

suffibulum were also white;[25] *infulae* were in part white as well (see below). Perhaps white evolved into a ritual colour because of the difficulty and expense of rendering cloth white: white could be achieved by bleaching,[26] applying white to the fabric[27] or paying more for wool which was fine and very white naturally. Sometimes, however, black clothes were required: the wife of the *flamen Dialis* was required to attend the rites of the Argei, in mourning and with uncombed hair.[28]

BLOOD

Purple was considered an apotropaic colour in Roman society, and the purple stripe on the *toga praetexta* or bordered toga was thought to give protection to the wearer.[29] Ps-Quintilian writes of 'the very sacredness of togas bordered with purple, which envelops priests, magistrates, and by which we render the tenderness of childhood sacred and inviolate';[30] Judith Sebesta notes that *praetexere* by extension also meant 'to protect or defend'.[31] Many men in Roman society wore the *toga praetexta*, but as Jerzy Linderski correctly notes, 'it is important to ask when they wore it'.[32] Magistrates of *coloniae*[33] wore the garment and *decemviri* of the early Republic.[34] Roman kings were said to have worn it,[35] emperors as well,[36] and generals celebrating the *ovatio*[37] and the general male populace when celebrating the Ludi.[38] Politicians assumed it,[39] but also male religious: *vicomagistri* while in office[40] and *magistri* of *collegia*. Other wearers of the garment were augurs,[41] the Pontifex

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[25] *albogalerus*; Fest. 9L. On the *suffibulum*, see below.

[26] In which the cloth was laid out in the sun: see Alexandra Croom, *Running the Roman Home* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: The History Press, 2011), 107.

[27] Chalk, kaolin, lime and sulphur were all used: see Croom, *Running the Roman Home* 107–08, with references; and Bradley, 'It All Comes Out in the Wash', 29; Theophrastus, *Lapid.* 62, 64, 67.

[28] Gellius, 10.15.30. Cleland et al., *Greek and Roman Dress*, 162. On mourning dress, see Kelly Olson, '*Insignia lugentium*: Female Mourning Garments in Roman Antiquity', *American Journal of Ancient History* 3–4 (2004–05); Olson, *Masculinity and Dress*, 94–6.

[29] Judith Sebesta, '*Tunica Ralla, Tunica Spissa*: The Colors and Textiles of Roman Costume', in Sebesta and Bonfante, *Word of Roman Costume*, 47. See also Brøns, this volume.

[30] *ipsum illud sacrum praetextarum quo sacerdotes velantur, quo magistratus, quo infirmitatem pueritiae sacram facimus ac venerabilem*; *Decl. Min.* 340.13; and see Pliny, *Nat.* 9.127.

[31] Judith Sebesta, 'The *Toga Praetexta* of Roman Children and Praetextate Garments', in *The Clothed Body in the Ancient World*, ed. Liza Cleland, Mary Harlow and Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2005), 116.

[32] Linderski, 'The Pontiff and the Tribune', 351. On the *toga praetexta*, see now Ursula Rothe, *The Toga and Roman Identity* (London: Bloomsbury, 2020), 59–63, with references.

[33] Livy, 34.7.2.

[34] Sebesta, '*Toga Praetexta*', 119, n. 15.

[35] Pliny, *Nat.* 9.136; Livy, 1.8.3.

[36] See Andreas Alföldi, *Die monarchische Repräsentation im römischen Kaiserreiche*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft (reprinted 1970, 1977, from *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung* 49 [1934], 3–118, 50 [1935], 1–158), 127–43, for the dress of the Roman emperor: tunic and *toga praetexta*, *corona civica*, laurel wreath and other *insignia imperii*.

[37] Vellius Paterculus, 2.40.4.

[38] Cicero, *Phil*. 2.110.

[39] Tribunes and aediles: Pliny, *Nat.* 9.37; praetors: Horace, *S.* 1.5.34-36; Valerius Maximus, 9.12.7; consuls: Livy 8.9.5; *HA* Alexander Severus 40.8; consul designates: *CIL* I [2]. 582; censors, *triumviri*: see Sebesta, '*Toga Praetexta* of Roman Children and Praetextate Garments', 119, n. 15.

[40] See Katja Moede, 'Reliefs, Public and Private', in *A Companion to Roman Religion*, ed. Jörg Rüpke (West Sussex, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 165; Cicero, *Pis.* 8; Livy, 34.7.2.

[41] Cicero, *Sest*. 144.

Maximus[42] and *flamines*.[43] The *Fratres Arvales* wore *togae praetextae* at their sacrifices,[44] as did the *epulones* and the *quindecemviri*. A man who performed a funeral service was in a *toga praetexta*,[45] as were representations of the numinous world[46] and those committing *devotio*.[47]

In addition, *popae* (who dispatched the animals) and *servi publici* assisting at public sacrifices wore around their waists the *limus*, a long rectangular apron-like with a *praetextate* lower border,[48] found in Etruscan art, often on figures from mythology.[49] This tied garment was described by Isidore as 'a garment that reaches from the navel to the feet' (the ones in art are often much shorter; but see Figure 16.2)[50] and that the garment 'has a purple band at its lower edge that is 'aslant,' that is, 'undulating'.[51]

Why exactly purple was considered to be apotropaic is unknown: it was an expensive colour and had connotations of royalty and nobility, but we should note as well that scarlets and purples were not strongly differentiated in antiquity: purple was likely closer to red than to blue. Pliny in fact states the most highly prized sea purple had a colour like that of congealed blood.[52] Perhaps

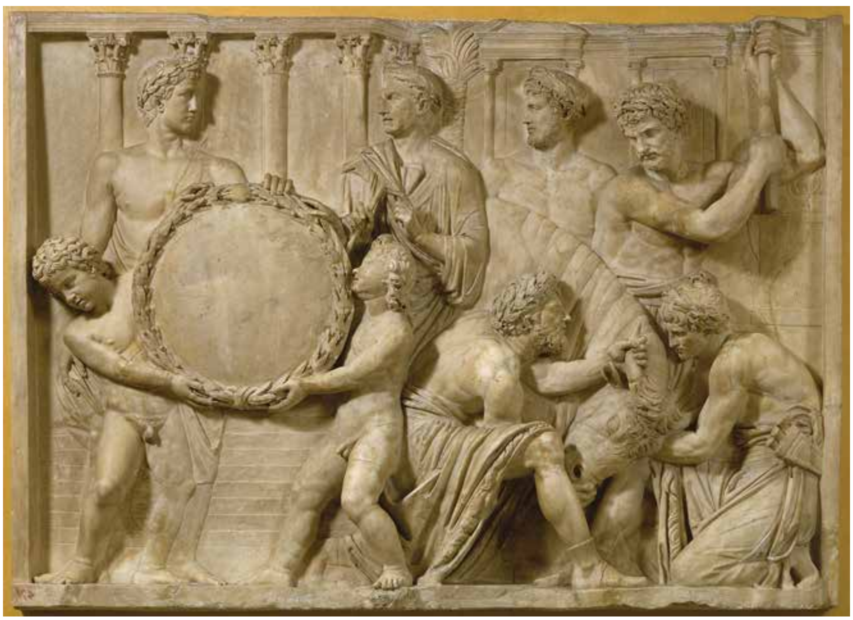


FIGURE 16.2 Sacrificial scene. Roman relief. Photo: Art Resource (ART21103).

[42]Linderski, 'The Pontiff and the Tribune', 351 n.50, with references.
[43]See Jens Vanggaard, *The Flamen: A Study in the History and Sociology of Roman Religion* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 1988), 92.
[44]*CIL* 6.2067a, 6.2068, 6.2075, 6.2078, 6.2080, 6.2086, 6.2099, 6.2104.
[45]Festus, 430L.
[46]Sebesta, '*Toga Praetexta*', 117.
[47]Livy, 8.9.5, 10.7.5.
[48]See Sebesta, '*Toga Praetexta*', 117; Cleland et al., *Greek and Roman Dress*, 113; Servius, *ad Aen.* 12.120, Virgil, *Aen*. 12.120.
[49]See Bonfante-Warren, 'Roman Costumes', 597–8; Bonfante, 'Ritual Dress', 188.
[50]Isidore, 19.22.26.
[51]*Limus est cinctus quem publici habebant servi: et dictus limus quia transversas habebat purpuras, id est limas;* Isidore, 19.22.26. See also 19.33.4.
[52]*sanguinis concreti; Nat*. 9.133-4.

it was the colour's similarity to blood that gave it this special impact.[53] Other than when he was engaged in his religious duties, a priest[54] wore a *toga pura*, the unbordered or plain toga, as ideally did every male citizen in the city of Rome (unless the citizen was also holding some magistracy simultaneously which required the wearing of the *toga praetexta*).

Intriguingly, however, actual bloodstained clothes were not part of a priest's or priestess' normal wear and in fact could be inauspicious. Generally, there was a 'reluctance to wear bloodstained clothing'.[55] Even in the case of *popae* and *victimarii* (above), protective clothing was worn 'to reduce the appearance of excessively stained clothing', and the priest himself 'stood at a distance for the sake of safety, cleanliness and to reduce the possibility of an ill omen'.[56] Being spattered with blood during a ritual was held to be ominous: when Germanicus was spotted with blood at a sacrifice, his grandmother Livia handed him another, finer robe;[57] Caligula's clothing was once spattered with the blood of a sacrificed flamingo.[58] Both men of course came to tragic ends.

NASICA'S TOGA

The story of Nasica provides an interesting perspective on the dress of Roman priests. Immediately preceding the death of Tiberius Gracchus in 133 BCE, the *Pontifex Maximus* P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Serapio[59] met with senators in the temple of Fides haranguing them to join him in moving against Gracchus and his supporters. Appian tells us that he ended by throwing the hem/edge of this toga over his head and persuaded the senators to follow him 'by the badge of his rank'.[60] Plutarch reports similarly that Nasica 'drew the edge of the toga over his head and strode out towards the Capitol'.[61]

Scholars have wondered what Appian's phrase 'the badge of his rank' refers to and why Plutarch stresses the 'edge' of the toga. These phrases have been understood by Linderski as a reference to the *toga praetexta*, or bordered toga, which Nasica certainly wore when engaged in his religious duties. Nasica did not simultaneously hold a magistracy with his role as Pontifex Maximus (which makes

[53]On blood as *purpureus* in Latin literature, see Mark Bradley, *Colour and Meaning in Ancient Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 190–1. On blood in Roman ritual, see Jack Lennon, *Pollution and Religion in Ancient Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 90–135; on red clothes of executioners/torturers in Puteoli in the Augustan era, see Lennon, *Pollution and Religion*, 151, with references.

[54]William Warde-Fowler thought that the reason for the purple or red border was linked to the fact that a priest or magistrate would perform the animal sacrifice himself: see *The Religious Experience of the Roman People from the Earliest Times to the Age of Augustus* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1911), 176–7. Against this interpretation, see Lennon, *Pollution and Religion*, 105.

[55]Lennon, *Pollution and Religion*, 106.

[56]Ibid., 133.

[57]Josephus, *Ant.* 19.87.

[58]Suetonius, *Calig.* 57.4. See also Dio 46.33.2.

[59]p. cos. 138 BCE: *BNP* Cornelius I 84.

[60]εἴτε τῷ παρασήμῳ τοῦ σχήματος; Appian, *Bell. civ.* 1.16.68.

[61]καὶ ταῦτα λέγων ἅμα καὶ τὸ κράσπεδον τοῦ ἱματίου θέμενος ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς; Plutarch, *Tib. Gracc.* 19.4. See also Ps.-Cicero's account of the incident, in which Nasica rushed from the temple 'sweating, his eyes blazing, hair bristling, toga awry: *sudans, oculis ardentibus, erecto capillo, contorta toga; Ad Herr*. 4.68 (for conjectures on the meaning of *toga contorta*, see Linderski, 'The Pontiff and the Tribune', 363). Valerius Maximus states Nasica wound his toga about his left arm before rushing from the temple (3.2.17).

him unusual);[62] thus his normal wear around the city of Rome was the *toga pura*, the unbordered toga. Therefore, Linderski[63] claims that before Nasica 'rushed out' of the temple of Fides he had to first don the *toga praetexta*, a garment which would have to be put on before he could perform a *consecratio* (the slaying of Tiberius Gracchus): by donning the bordered toga and veiling his head, Nasica made it clear to all he was about to perform his priestly functions. This is an ingenious solution to Appian's description, but unfortunately it cannot be correct.

First, for Nasica to have provided himself ahead of time with a *toga praetexta*, which would have to be draped around him likely with the help of slaves, his *toga pura* having been removed first, is rather unlikely. A second problem arises if we follow Linderski's supposition that Nasica came wearing the bordered toga and draped his head with the lower hem of his garment – in other words, so that the purple border was around his head. The problem here is that location of the border on the *toga praetexta* has been the subject of some scholarly difference,[64] but it seems clear from artistic evidence that the border was usually around the *sinus*, that is, at the top of the garment.[65]

Linderski does ingeniously claim Nasica veiled his head because he was about to participate in *consecratio*, a ritual performed *capite velato*.[66] Thus the miscreant 'was abandoned to the gods to be destroyed by their wrath – which guided a human hand'.[67] When Appian states Nasica persuaded the senators to follow him 'by the badge of his rank' he likely means not the *toga praetexta* but his veiled head, the *capite velato*, for the purposes of religious sacrifice.

VEILING[68]

There were particular ritual occasions for veiling at Rome: at the rite for the consecration of property;[69] a declaration of war by the fetial priests;[70] a *devotio*;[71] a wedding (in which usually the bride alone was veiled);[72] and sacrifices (but as Glinister notes, only the sacrificant veiled;

[62]See George J. Szemler, 'Priesthoods and Priestly Careers in Ancient Rome', *ANRW*, 16.3 (1986): 2326, in which he states that members of the priestly colleges 'constituted a special, select group of functionaries whose life-long terms, and specific cult-connected duties, permitted them to maintain a coveted, authoritative position in society .... of the 72 known pontifices between 210 and 44 BC, only 6 did not hold the praetorship and the consulship'. 2327: out of 179 priests (in this period), 144 held higher magistracies. See also George J. Szemler, *The Priests of the Roman Republic: A Study of the Interaction between Priesthoods and Magistracies.* Collections Latomus 127 (1972). Brussels.

[63]Linderski, 'The Pontiff and the Tribune', 351.

[64]For hypotheses, see now Rothe, *Roman Toga*, 60.

[65]See Olson, *Masculinity and Dress*, 45–6.

[66]Cicero, *Dom.* 124.

[67]Linderski, 'The Pontiff and the Tribune', 355.

[68]Much has been written on the subject of veiling at Rome. See Heinrich Freier, Caput Velare, Diss. (Tübingen: Universität Tübingen, 1963); Elaine Fantham, 'Covering the Head at Rome: Ritual and Gender', in *Roman Dress and the Fabrics of Roman Culture*, ed. Jonathan Edmondson and Alison Keith (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 158–71; Fay Glinister, 'Veiled and Unveiled: Uncovering Roman Influence in Hellenistic Italy', in Gleba and Becker, *Votives, Places and Rituals*, 193–215; Valérie Huet, 'Le voile du sacrifiant à Rome sur les reliefs romains: une norme?' in *Vêtements antiques: s'habiller, se déshabiller dans mondes anciens*, ed. Florence Gherchanoc and Valérie Huet (Paris: Editions Errance, 2012), 47–62.

[69]Cicero, *Dom.* 124.

[70]Livy, 1.32.6.

[71]Macrobius, *Sat.* 3.9.9; Liv. 8.9.5.

[72]Paul ex. Festus, 56L.

others would be bareheaded or wreathed).[73] The *capite velato* gesture was ascribed by Roman antiquarians to Aeneas[74] or Numa. Usually a sign of religious piety,[75] 'in practical terms, the veiled head communicated that a sacrifice was underway. It also suppressed unfavorable sights and sounds and allowed to the officiant to focus on the ritual'.[76] There were some gods, however, whose rituals demanded an uncovered head: *aperto capite* (according to the sacred rites of Greece: Saturnus, Hercules, Apollo, Ceres).[77]

'DOUBLE'

'Double' garments also seem to have had a special ritual significance for the Romans. The *laena* was a kind of cloak and was described by Varro as the most ancient male garment.[78] It was large or heavy (or both), fastened by a *fibula* ('repeatedly mentioned in the sources'[79] but not usually visible in art), hung from the shoulders and was circular in shape.[80] It was thick and warm, could be worn



FIGURE 16.3 *Flamines* on the Ara Pacis, Rome. Photo: Art Resource (alb1466730).

[73]Plutarch, *QR* 10; Glinister, 'Veiled and Unveiled',195.

[74]Dionysius Halicarnassus,12.16.22–3; Plutarch, *QR* 10; Virg. *Aen*. 3.405–7; Macrobrius, *Sat*. 3.6.17.

[75]Suetonius, *Vit*. 2.5.

[76]Meghan DiLuzio, *A Place at the Altar: Priestesses in Republican Rome* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), 171; see Plutarch, *QR 10*; Lucretius, *DRN* 5.1198–1200; Virgil, *Aen*. 3.403–7.

[77]See John Scheid, '*Graeco Ritu*: A Typically Roman Way of Honoring the Gods', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 97 (1995): 15–31.

[78]*L*. 5.133; Bonfante-Warren, 'Roman Costumes', 594–5, 608–9.

[79]Bonfante-Warren, 'Roman Costumes', 594. On *fibulae* on the clothing of Etruscan priests, see Bonfante, *Etruscan Dress*, 53–4, 111 n. 19, 129 n. 52; Bonfante, 'Ritual Dress', 186–7.

[80]Liliane Wilson, *The Clothing of the Ancient Romans* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1938), 113. See also Bonfante-Warren, 'Roman Costumes', 608–9. According to Festus, the *laena* was the Greek *chlaina*, a small rectangular scarf worn so that the ends were placed over the shoulders and the rounded section hung over the front in a horseshoe-shape (Festus 104L); Inez Scott Ryberg, *Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art* (Rome: American Academy in Rome, 1955), 44.

on top of the toga or *pallium* and was sometimes brightly coloured.[81] Festus describes it as 'a sort of garment, double in appearance'.[82] On the Ara Pacis, at least two of the *flamines* are wearing a cloak which is thrown over both shoulders (see Figure 16.3). The *laena* was also a secular (i.e. a non-ritual) garment.[83]

Confusingly, the *laena* seems also to have been known as the 'double toga', due to a line in Servius. Varro tells us that 'the *laena* … contains much wool, even like two togas'.[84] Possibly based on Varro,[85] Servius at first states the *laena* is a sort of cloak, worn by *flamines* and augurs, then that 'it is really a double toga, the garment of augurs'; finally that it is a double toga which should be purple.[86] He also states that 'some say it is a circular garment, others a double toga in which the *flamines*, brooch-fastened, sacrificed'[87] so there is some confusion about the *laena*. Scholars have furnished various explanations of what the descriptor 'double' may mean. The *toga duplex*/*laena* may have had a double layer of cloth or may have been draped in such a way that it covered both shoulders.[88] Perhaps *toga duplex* meant a cloak with a lining or a cloth woven so that the two surfaces were different.[89] Perhaps a garment which was *duplex* was 'merely much more ample than the regular size, the "single," that it could be worn folded in two';[90] or that it was made of cloth twice as thick as the single.[91] The *ricinium*, a cloak which women and the Fratres Arvales and their *ministri* wore in ritual contexts, is also described by some ancient sources as 'double'.[92] 'Double' garments may have been important in a Roman ritual context because they provided a double layer of apotropaic wool for the wearer: perhaps wool (like hair and fur) was believed to embody strength because of its ability to grow without the assistance of any external force. It retained this strength even after it had been turned into yarn.[93]

HEADGEAR

Rome was not a hat-wearing society, generally. There were exceptions such as travel hats and sunhats, but most of the time, Rome's population went about bareheaded.[94] Male and female

[81]For example, Juvenal, 3.282-5; Wilson, *Clothing of the Ancient Romans*, 112–17.
[82]*vestimenti genus habitu duplicis*; Festus 104L.
[83]See Bonfante, *Etruscan Dress*, 50, 102; and Olson, *Masculinity and Dress*, 72–3, with references.
[84]*l(a)ena, quod de lana multa, duarum etiam togarum instar*; *L.* 5.133.
[85]See Robert B. Lloyd, 'Republican Authors in Servius and the Scholia Danielis', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 65 (1961): 291–341.
[86]Servius, *ad Aen*. 4.262.
[87]*proprie toga duplex, amictus auguralis. Alii amictum rotundum, alii togam duplicem, in qua flamines sacrificant infibulati*; Servius, *ad Aen.* 4.262.
[88]Wilson, *Clothing of the Ancient Romans*, 113.
[89]Wilson, *Clothing of the Ancient Romans*, 113.
[90]Lionel Casson, 'Greek and Roman Clothing: Some Technical Terms', *Glotta* 61, no. 4 (1983): 195. See, for instance, Tertullian, *Pall.* 5.3; evidence from Diocletian's *Edict*: Casson, 'Greek and Roman Clothing', 195–6.
[91]Casson, 'Greek and Roman Clothing', 195.
[92]On the *ricinium*, see Olson '*Insignia* lugentium', 117–20; and Olson, forthcoming.
[93]Renate Oswald and Mareile Haase, 'Wedding Customs and Rituals', *Brill's New Pauly* 15 (2010); no ancient references given. Wool's importance was reflected in the costume of the *flamen Dialis:* his garments must be made of wool (Servius, *ad Aen.* 4.263). Burriss, *Taboo*, *Magic*, *Spirits*, states that linen was foreign to Roman ritual (53) and that wool had an important significance in many Roman ritual activities (54–5) but offers no reasons as to why this might have been so. Cleland et al. (*Greek and Roman Dress*, 212) merely state that wool seems to have had a 'particular conceptual importance' in Roman religion. See also Anne-Marie Tupet, *La magie dans la poésie latine*, vol. I (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1976), 302–5.
[94]On hats, see Croom, *Roman Clothing and Fashion*, 68–70; Olson, *Masculinity and Dress*, 80.

religious were the exception. Priests wore a *galerus* or *galerum*, a close-fitting helmet-like leather cap, which fastened under the chin, leaving the ears uncovered. The *galerus* was also a secular item of clothing, worn by athletes;[95] what transformed the *galerus* from a secular article of clothing into sacred was the *apex*, a spike of olive wood on top of the cap, wound with a woollen band or fillet (*filum* or *apiculum*, from the wool of a sacrificial victim. See Figure 16.3).[96] Although *apex* strictly speaking only refers to the olive branch, the word is often used to refer to the entire priestly headgear, in texts spanning the entire time period of Latin literature.[97]

There were rules surrounding the use of priestly headgear. Gellius tells us that the *flamen Dialis* may not be in the open air without his *apex*, and 'it has only recently been decided' by the pontiffs he could leave it off in the house.[98] Priests other than the *flamen Dialis* (e.g. the *flamines* Martialis and Quirinalis, the *salii*) appear only to have worn the *apex* while actually engaged in religious rites.[99] In times of great heat, the *flamines* could leave off the cap and bind their heads with a fillet only, although *fiestis diebus* the cap was mandatory.[100] According to Appian, the *flamen* L. Cornelius Merula removed his *galerum* with its *apex* before committing suicide 'in order not to break an important taboo' in the early first century BCE.[101] Q. Sulpicius had his flaminate taken away because his headgear fell off during an important sacrifice.[102]

When they were involved in a public sacrifice either as presider or participant, the Vestals wore a shoulder-veil, the *suffibulum*.[103] This was a short white veil that had a purple border and was fastened under the chin with a clasp (*fibula*; see Figure 16.4).

BINDING[104]

Knots in clothing or in décor signified that spirits could not pass and thus 'knots and knot patterns had powerful … connotations, and were believed to provide protection from harm'.[105] (The ancient Greek *katadeo* means 'to bind', not only physically, as with knots, but also with spells.) Knots often appeared in the décor of entrances to houses (as evil spirits had to enter by a door or window): thus the entrance to a house in Ostia has a Solomon's knot (two closed loops) in the entrance mosaic.[106] In early Christianity, 'simple knots, such as the knot of Hercules and the knot of Solomon were

[95]Juvenal, 8.208; Martial, 14.50.

[96]On this, see Katharine Esdaile, 'The *Apex* or *Tutulus* in Roman Art', *Journal of Roman Studies* 1 (1911): 212–26; Vanggaard, *The* Flamen, 40–5; Cleland et al., *Greek and Roman Dress*, 7.

[97]Vanggaard, *The* Flamen, 41; thus Ovid, *Fast*. 3.397; Lucian, 1.604; Valerius Maximus, 1.1.5; Isidore 19.30.5. Virgil implies the *apex* was the headdress of the early kings (*Aen*. 2.682-83; see also Horace, *Carm*. 1.34.41; Cicero, *Leg*. 1.1.4; Pliny, *Nat*. 22.96).

[98]Gellius, 10.15.17-18; see also Appian, *Bell. civ.* 1.65, Plutarch, *QR* 40; Paul ex. Festus, 77L.

[99]Appian, *Bell. civ.* 1.65; Servius, 8.552.

[100]Servius 8.664, Isidore 7.12.18-19; see also Paul ex Festus, 77L.

[101]*Bell. civ.* 1.74. Merula was *cos. suff*. in 87 BCE; *BNP* Cornelius I 61.

[102]Valerius Maximus, 1.1.5, 223 BCE. See Robert E. A. Palmer, 'The Deconstruction of Mommsen on Festus 462/464L, or the Hazards of Restoration', in Imperium Sine Fine: *T. Robert S. Broughton and the Roman Republic*, ed. Jerzy Linderski (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1996), 85–6.

[103]On the *suffibulum*, see Festus, 474L; DiLuzio, *A Place at the Altar*, 171–2.

[104]On binding, see Eli Burriss, *Taboo, Magic, Spirits: A Study of Primitive Elements in Roman Religion* (New York: Macmillan, 1931), 55–6.

[105]Faith Pennick Morgan, *Dress and Personal Appearance in Late Antiquity: The Clothing of the Middle and Lower Classes* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 39.

[106]Insula del Soffitto Dipinto: see Ellen Swift, *Style and Function in Roman Decoration: Living with Objects and Interiors* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 41n. 69.



FIGURE 16.4 Bust of a Vestal virgin, Museo Nazionale, Rome. Photo: Art Resource (AR9160660).

both believed to have apotropaic powers, and can be found on everyday items as well as amulets';[107] even something as simple as a twisted piece of cloth or cord was often tied onto a person or their clothing for its apotropaic quality.[108] Knot and interlace patterns played the same role on late antique garments.

Similarly, ancient Roman religious clothing also showed a concern with girding or binding. *Fibulae* were worn on the *laena* and *suffibulum* by *flamines* and Vestals (above), and *infulae* were worn by priests[109] and suppliants.[110] Isidore tells us that 'an *infula* is a small white band for a priest's

[107]Faith Pennick Morgan, *Dress and Personal Appearance*, 39; and see Eunice Dauterman Maguire, Henry P. Maguire and Maggie J. Duncan-Flowers, *Art and Holy Powers in the Early Christian House* (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 5.
[108]Faith Pennick Morgan, *Dress and Personal Appearance*, 35; see also Gideon Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).
[109]Livy, 2.39.12 ; Fest.100L; Virgil, *Aen*. 2.430, 10.538.
[110]See Fantham, 'Covering the Head', 164; Livy, 25.25.6, 37.28.1.

head, shaped like a diadem. Fillets hang down on either side of it and fasten the *infula*, whence also fillets (*vittae*) are named, because they fasten (*vincere*)'.[111] Most *infulae* seem to have been wide and twisted, made out of white and scarlet unspun wool (rovings), held together at intervals with knots or beads.[112]

The hairstyle of Vestal virgins, which also included binding, has given rise to some scholarly controversy.[113] Usually taken by scholars to mean 'the six-tressed hairstyle' (*seni crines* or *sex crines*),[114] neither the fragmentary literary sources[115] nor ancient visual evidence,[116] which tends to depict Vestals as veiled and their heads covered by *infulae*, has provided enough detail as to what exactly the hairstyle looked like.[117] Surviving Vestal portraits show surprising variation of hairstyle, but most seem to have involved braids.[118] Janet Stephens has brilliantly recreated the Vestal hairstyle as having six braids (with a seventh smaller one), the front hair twisted around a *vitta* to create the prominent roll around the Vestal's forehead (see Figure 16.4).[119] On top of her hairstyle the Vestal wore an *infula* (which conveyed her priestly status) and *vittae*, which hung down from the *infula* on either side of the head.[120]

Elsewhere, a ritual concern with binding could take the form of a *prohibition* on knots in priestly dress, as knots prevented the passage of spirits from one place to another.[121] Gellius thus tells us that the *flamen Dialis* must have no knot in his headgear or his girdle or any other part of his clothing. See also Ovid's description of a *paterfamilias* completing the rites of the Lemuria, in which 'no knots constrict his feet'.

CONCLUSIONS

As Rome had an 'embedded' religion, in general there was no special religious dress for (most) priests and priestesses. There were, however, a few special features of ritual dress: warrior

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[111]Isidore, 19.30.4. On *infulae*, see Fantham, 'Covering the Head', 163; Maureen Flory, 'The Symbolism of Laurel in Cameo Portraits of Livia', *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 40 (1995): 49–52.

[112]Cleland et al., *Greek and Roman Dress*, 96, Greek: *agrênon*; Paul ex. Festus, 100L. Isidore, 19.30.4.

[113]A significant amount has been written on Vestal costume. See, e.g., Mary Beard, 'The Sexual Status of Vestal Virgins', *Journal of Roman Studies* 70 (1980): 12–27; Mary Beard, 'Re-Reading (Vestal) Virginity', in *Women in Antiquity: New Assessments*, ed. Richard Hawley and Barbara Levick (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 166–77; Andrew Gallia, 'The Vestal Habit', *Classical Philology* 109 (2014): 222–40; DiLuzio, *A Place at the Altar*, 154–84. The hairstyle of the *flaminicae* (the *tutulus*) also included binding: see Fest. 484-6L.

[114]On the *seni crines* hairstyle, see Bonfante, 'Ritual Dress', 189; Karen Hersch, *The Roman Wedding: Ritual and Meaning in Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 73–80; Diluzio, *A Place at the Altar*, 155–65, with references.

[115]Festus, 454L.

[116]For visual evidence of Vestal costume, see DiLuzio, *A Place at the Altar*, 157–81.

[117]For the interesting but mistaken notion that Vestals may have cropped their hair, see DiLuzio, *A Place at the Altar*, 159–60, with notes.

[118]See DiLuzio, *A Place at the Altar*, 162–5.

[119]https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eA9JYWh1r7U&t=5s (accessed 24 October 2020).

[120]DiLuzio, *A Place at the Altar*, 165. See also Virgil, *Aen.* 7.418-19.

[121]Lennon, *Pollution and Religion*, 164–5 (this in a discussion of the rites of the Argei). Gellius, 10.15.9-10; Ovid, *Fast.* 5.431-44.

characteristics (such as the *cinctus Gabinus* drape and the *lituus*), the wearing of white, the practice of veiling (as with Nasica's toga), a concern with girding and knots, the apotropaism of wool and purple (perhaps as a stand-in for blood) and the quality of 'double' (in the *laena* and the *ricinium*). Some of the older priesthoods were subject to prescriptions involving dress, and their members did dress in distinctive clothing (the *luperci*, the *flamines*, the *flamen* and *flaminica Dialis*, the Vestals). But most male and female religious were marked out with special garb only when involved in their religious duties.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

Andromeda Unbound: Possession, Perception and Adornment in the House of the Dioscuri

NEVILLE MCFERRIN

INTRODUCTION

Dress constitutes.[1] Serving both to underscore social identities and to generate them, dress is a means of self-generation as much as it is a tool of self-presentation. In such a formulation, hair coverings and tunics, perfumes and bracelets coalesce into a mutually reinforcing system, one that is experienced simultaneously by the wearer and those people with whom that wearer interacts. The audience for adornment is as variable as the medium itself, engaging the eyes of viewers and the wearer's skin at the same moment. Even as the sheen of metal and of stone draws the eye of the viewer, their weight and rigidity serve as a haptic interface for the wearer.[2] Such zones of multi-sensory interaction accentuate the tensions between the public and private valences of dress, highlighting its ability to signal an individual's presence to others even as it underscores agency for the individual, simultaneously demarcating the boundaries of the body and offering the opportunity to engage with the environment beyond it.

By focusing upon the embodied potentials of dress, it is possible to consider an individual's relationship to the suite of social constructions that jewellery, hairstyles, cosmetics, comportment and clothing help them to negotiate. For social actors who move through their worlds without full recourse to its resources, who are prevented by law and by custom from engaging with other actors as equals, dress offers the opportunity to aspire towards inclusion. Its visibility and manipulability insert its wearers into spaces that might otherwise exclude them. This connective potential resonates from experienced reality into depiction. In the complex communicative environment of

[1]While earlier volumes preferred the term 'costume', this contribution takes the definition of dress proposed by M. E. Roach-Higgins and J. Eicher, 'Dress and Identity', *Clothing and Textile Research Journal* 10 (1992): 1–8, as a starting point. See also Mirelle Lee, *Body, Dress, and Identity in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 20–1; Megan Cifarelli and Laura Gawlinski, 'Introduction', in *What Shall I Say of Clothes? Theoretical and Methodological Approaches to the Study of Dress*, ed. M. Cifarelli and L. Gawlinski (Boston: Archaeological Institute of America, 2017), x; Megan Cifarelli, 'Introduction', in *Fashioned Selves: Dress and Identity in Antiquity*, ed. M. Cifarelli (London: Oxbow, 2019), 3.

[2]Neville McFerrin, 'The Tangible Self: Embodiment, Agency, and the Functions of Adornment in Achaemenid Persia', in *Fashioned Selves*, 240.

the Pompeian house, visitors are immersed into a multi-valenced interactive space, one in which depicted and living bodies are juxtaposed with dress, both depicted and worn, eliding the boundaries between them. This is especially evident when considering jewellery depicted in figural Pompeian paintings. While wearers might be constrained by finances or social norms that restrict the types of adornment they might adopt, painters do not have to operate under such constraints. Pompeian painters could have elected to depict jewels and styles more colourful and more elaborate than those they encountered; depictions of sea monsters and *putti*, of women transforming into trees and of men standing aside beheaded minotaurs attest to the fact that these artists need not paint from experience. Yet, the majority of depicted adornments in the paintings of Pompeii correspond to extant examples excavated in the region of the Bay of Naples.[3] As dressed figures, particularly dressed women, moved through *atria* and *exedrae*, they gazed upon figures whose dress may have looked very much like their own, perhaps inviting them to consider connections between their own realities and those depicted around them. Adornment enabled painted walls and adorned bodies to act as a reciprocal system, one that permitted visitors to these spaces to envision themselves in alternate guises, underscoring the ability of adornments to emphasize agency. If agency is the ability to highlight one of a number of intersectional identities, then adornments communicate such activations.[4]

In the House of the Dioscuri (VI.9.6-7), depictions of Medea and Andromeda highlight the constitutive potentials of adornments, underscoring the utility of dress as a tool for asserting both personal agency and desired perception. By juxtaposing multiple sense modalities with questions of social presentation and embodied experience, this contribution argues that much as the senses function as mutually informing systems, so too do the materials of adornment enable a complex negotiation of surface and boundary that enables the construction and maintenance of individual identity. By placing Andromeda and Medea into spatial interplay, the House of the Dioscuri prompts us to consider the seemingly contradictory modes of dress that these depicted individuals employ, thus mediating a discussion of dress that understands jewellery as a tool for interaction, rather than as only an object of display.

RECONSIDERING ADORNMENTS: AGENCY AND ALTERNATIVE VALUATIONS

To embark upon such an investigative endeavour necessitates a re-evaluation not only of subject materials but of the questions posed to them. On the topic of dress, much attention has been given to questions of *what* – of the association of image to term, on the articulation of folds and on the sourcing of materials. This contribution asks not *what* but *how*. By focusing on the function of adornments, and through asserting that such functions transcend ornamentation, the alternative potentials of adornment become clear. Rather than conceptualizing the body of the wearer as a site of interpretation, wearing becomes a form of interpretation, with adornments becoming an expression of agency, as much as they are a marker of relative position, possession and objectification.

[3]Neville McFerrin, 'The Art of Power: Ambiguity, Adornment, and the Performance of Social Position in the Pompeian House' (Ph.D. Diss., Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2015), 88–9.
[4]On dress and agency, see also Graybill, this volume.

The question is one of value. While the materials of adornment might serve as a source of capital, prized for healing potential, scarcity or manipulability, for wearers, such considerations might be coupled with a wider suite of potential positive valuations. Much as the capacity of images to convey multiple, sometimes dichotomous, ideas simultaneously is key to their efficacy as a communicative device, constructions of value derive their utility from the multiplicity of connotations contained within the thing that is valued. So while we may talk of intrinsic value, this notion itself undermines the processes that value conceptually seeks to underscore. For, at its core, the concept of value is tied to that of identity formation.

Shared values promote group cohesion and personal inclusions, while the ownership or performance of something that a group deems valuable promotes personal prestige. In order for such processes to work, an entity's value is necessarily mutable, capable of being accepted by one group even as it is rejected by another. As Nancy Munn argues, value is 'an ongoing dialectic of possibilities and counter possibilities – explicit assertions of positive and negative potentials'.[5] It is through these positive and negative potentials, extant in both objects and conceptualizations deemed valuable, that communities and individuals constitute themselves. Thus, the concept of value is place-specific, dependent upon the group that seeks to be delineated; it is temporally, spatially and socially dependent. How and why something is considered valuable is variable.

While the properties of metals and stones are intrinsic, their values are not. Beyond questions of material, the social valuation of adornments, particularly of jewellery, is tied to functionality or a lack of it. For while other forms of dress may have clear practical utilities, the function of jewellery is to articulate.

Thus, while a *palla* serves to both conceal and protect the body, masking, and at times revealing, the form beneath, shielding the body from the natural elements, it also marks the wearer as a particular sort of woman. The presence of a *palla* suggests appropriate matronly modesty, even as its colour and type of fabric might indicate a normatively problematic interest in *luxuria*. Indeed, even the act of wearing might serve as a form of communication, for the folds of the fabric, encircling the figure without pin or attachment, indicate the wearer's lack of concern with physical labour.[6] Yet, even as *pallae* communicate multiple messages, their meanings transcending functionality, an outer wrap does serve a firm practical function. While a *palla* might be termed an adornment, its materials and its utility separate it from jewellery.

Such associations between utility and terminology underscore a lexical bias, one that is rooted in questions of gendered distinction. Ceremonial swords might well be termed jewellery. Crafted from costly metals, embellished with engravings and attachments, positioned carefully on the body and highlighting its form, swords function in a manner not unlike a bracelet, intersecting with and encircling the wearer, their movement reinforcing their presence as they tap against leg or arm, while demarcating the boundary between the wearer and his or her environment. Yet it is the additional functionality of a sword, its ability to serve as a weapon, that is the general focus, even for ceremonial swords, which may have blunted edges, or for swords worn in situations in which physical conflict is unlikely. If a swords and is not jewellery, it is because their affiliation with action, and with male subject actors, overwhelms their other communicative potentials in the

[5]Nancy Munn, *The Fame of Gawa: A Symbolic Study of Value Transformation in a Massim (Papua New Guinea) Society* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1986), 3.
[6]Olson, *Dress and the Roman Woman* (London: Routledge, 2012), 33–5.

minds of those who categorize them. It is as if, because they have a clear function beyond that of communication, their multi-valenced potentials are truncated.

While much might be gained by considering the implications of terming swords as jewellery, and in acknowledging the capacity of jewellery to function as a weapon, the terminological separation between mediators such as bracelets and *pallae* or swords underscores ongoing tensions within the concept of categorization itself. Adornments convey simultaneous, even dichotomous, messages to a viewer, messages that complicate straightforward binary conceptualizations. Even as adornments can serve to generate and underscore social cohesion, as tools of personal distinction, they simultaneously serve to emphasize individual differentiation.[7] Such tensions are especially evident when considering the intersections between adornments and gendered identities.

VIEWING ADORNMENTS: FRISSON, FRICTION AND THE MALE GAZE

In the Roman textual sphere, frictions between viewers and wearers of adornment are an implicit component of discussions of dress accessories. For Livy, adornments are part of a suite of dress-related concepts associated with a term as likely to be used to describe soldiers as matrons. In his description of the proposed repeal of the *Lex Oppia*, sumptuary legislation passed at the height of the Punic Wars in 215 BCE, Livy describes elegance, adornment and refined personal appearance as *insignia* of women.[8] Such a term suggests that self-presentation is a woman's badge of rank, entangling the visualization of her social identity with potentially vexed concepts of over-articulated display and negative valences of adornment. For, while a man's *insignia* are associated with merit and success, predicated upon civic action, a woman's may shade into notions of *luxuria*, engendering softness that is antithetical to Roman conceptualizations of effective male citizenship.[9] As Christiane Kunst argues, 'Jewellery reflected the wealth and importance of her husband and family on the one hand, and kept women in a physically inferior sphere at the same time.'[10] In the mind of the Roman writer, women consume the resources produced by men, and in so doing, become resources themselves.

Such a perception of a woman's body as a site of display for men's wealth is predicated upon the privileging of sight. Adornment draws the eye and the attention of those who view it, leading some to understand it as a primarily externally focused medium. As Alba Cappellieri and Marco Romanelli have argued: 'Jewellery is not something to be worn in the home, it does not have to do with the private world, it is exquisitely public, bound up with the outward representation of the self, with its social masks.'[11] Such approaches understand adornment from the perspective of

[7]For a discussion of jewellery and identity, see Ward, this volume.

[8]Livy 34.7.8. For a general discussion of the legislation, see Phyllis Culham, 'The Lex Oppia', *Latomus*, T. 41 (1982): 786–93; for a discussion of the connections between the *lex Oppia* and connections between wealth, power and women's dress, see Olson, *Dress and the Roman Woman*, 101–4. For a discussion of the political implications of the *lex Oppia* and its connection to women's political power, see A. McClintock, 'The *lex Voconia* and Cornelia's Jewels', *Revue Internationale des Droits de l'Antiquité* 60 (2013): 185–6.

[9]Maria Wyke, 'Woman in the Mirror: The Rhetoric of Adornment in the Roman World', in *Women in Ancient Societies: An Illusion of the Night*, ed. Léonie Archer, Susan Fishler and Maria Wyke (New York: Routledge, 1994), 144–5.

[10]Christiane Kunst, 'Ornamenta Uxoria: Badges of Rank or Jewellery of Roman Wives?', *The Medieval History Journal* 8 (2005): 139–40.

[11]Alba Cappellieri and Marco Romanelli, *Il design della gioia: il gioiello fra progetto e ornamento* (Milan: Charta, 2004), 12.

the viewer, overlooking the range of sense modalities engaged for the wearer. While jewellery may be 'exquisitely public', it is, by virtue of its close physical association with bodies, inextricably personal.

DEPICTED WOMEN IN THE HOUSE OF THE DIOSCURI: CONSTITUTIVE ADORNMENTS AND CONSTRUCTED BOUNDARIES

To consider the personal resonances of adornment, and in doing so, to move beyond the dichotomous interpretations that have dominated the discourse on the topic, we turn now to the House of the Dioscuri and to a set of women who traverse the boundaries imposed upon them. Excavated between January 1828 and May 1829, the House of the Dioscuri (VI.9.6-7), situated on the Via di Mercurio, evolved from its inception as an axial structure, focused upon an *atrium*, *tablinum* and peristyle, into a larger residence, of a similar scale to the nearby House of the Vettii, when, in the mid-first century CE, the owners incorporated this earlier structure with a house to the south. It was with this annexation that a large peristyle, focused upon a deep pool with a central fountain, was joined to the structure[12] (Figure 17.1). It is to two rectilinear piers, situated on the eastern side of this peristyle, and to the paintings that they once featured, that we now turn our attention (Figure 17.2).

The first, originally situated on the southeast pier, now housed at the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, depicts Andromeda, at the moment of her release from her bonds[13] (Figure 17.3). The

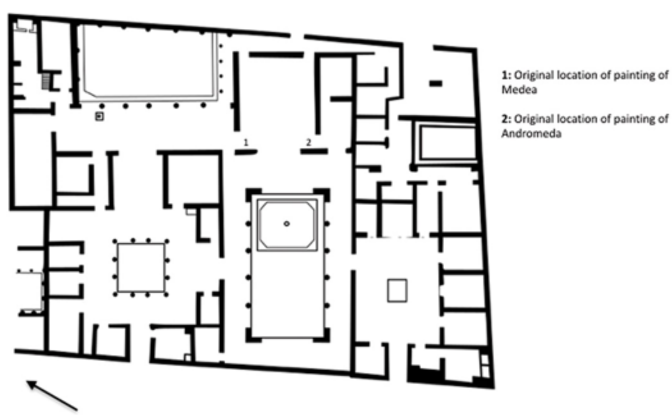


FIGURE 17.1 Plan of the House of the Dioscuri, after Guglilmo Bechi. © Neville McFerrin.

[12]Bettina Bergmann, 'A Tale of Two Sites: Ludwig I's Pompejanum and the House of the Dioscuri in Pompeii', in *Returns to Pompeii: Interior Space and Decoration Documented and Revived, 18th–20th Century*, ed. Shelley Hales and Anne-Marie Leander Touati (Stockholm: Svenska Instituet, 2016), 183–4, 191–3; William Gell, *Pompeiana: The Topography, Edifices and Ornaments of Pompeii, The Result of Excavations since 1819, Volume II* (London: Jennings and Chaplin, 1832), 20–1.
[13]Guglielmo Bechi, 'Relazione degli Scavi di Pompei da Aprile 1828 fino a Maggio 1829', *Real Museo Borbonico di Napoli* 5 (1835): 20.



FIGURE 17.2 View of the peristyle of the House of the Dioscuri from the north oecus, William Gell, Pompeiana 2, 1832, pl. LXV. Photo: Universitätasbibliothek Heidelberg.



FIGURE 17.3 Perseus and Andromeda, House of the Dioscuri (V1.9.6-7), Pompeii, *c*. 62–79 CE, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, 8998. Photo: Art Resource (ART63488).

composition highlights Andromeda's liminality through both her depicted dress and the interactions between sense modalities. Andromeda stands on a stone, one foot extended over its edge, her right hand lifting her delicately rendered saffron tunic with its pale border, while her left arm remains chained to the rock at her back. Perseus presses his hand to her immobile arm, his ruddy skin a sharp contrast to her pale form. The hero's musculature is highlighted by his nude form and his stance, as he rests one foot atop a rock. While his right hand presses against Andromeda's arm, his left grasps his sword, with Medusa's head hanging alongside it. Perseus gazes beyond Andromeda, to the sea monster leaping, jaws open, from the sea at the far left of the composition. His hand is his only clear sensorial contact with the woman who gazes beyond him, at a point beyond the frame. It is this press of skin against skin that is the focal point of the composition. With her shackled arm and outstretched foot, Andromeda stands, suspended between captivity and freedom, with Perseus's hand reinforcing her inability to move, serving as an additional boundary for her to overcome.

The story was well known in the first century CE, with general features clear to an erudite audience.[14] In the hands of Ovid, a near contemporary to the depictions in the House of the Dioscuri, the tensions between immobility and action, physical boundaries and appropriate femininity underscored in this depiction are again made clear. Perseus's first words to Andromeda draw a direct comparison between her bonds and the preferred state that he projects upon her. In Ovid's words, 'You do not deserve *these* chains, but those that join passionate lovers to each other.'[15] This system of paired bonds is doubled in the depiction of Andromeda in the House of the Dioscuri, for, together with the weathered bronze shackle that pins her arm to the rock, she wears a set of gold bracelets, one visible directly above the restraint on her left arm, generating a firm visual parallel between the two.

Such visual and textual correlations suggest that, for Andromeda, marriage is equated with constrained mobility. Indeed, links between her acceptability as a bride and her immobility are highlighted throughout the Ovidian passage. While her beauty draws the hero to her, she attempts to hide her face when he addresses her, lowering her eyes and refusing to address him directly.[16] Her probity and her modesty mark her as a proper woman; she sustains such probity through the maintenance of boundaries. Her acceptability is articulated, not through her personal appearance but through her inability to effectively act on her environment. While she is apparently beautiful, this is demonstrated not through depiction but through Perseus's perception of her and his reactions to her. In Andromeda, beauty and immobility become synonymous.[17]

Perseus's interactions with Andromeda are driven by sight, and it is through sight that she is rendered as other, for othering is integral to the process of viewing. When engaging with an idea visually, the viewer is encouraged to think of himself or herself as distinct from a process. While ancient authors often phrase viewing as a connective process, one in which sight enables mental connection, allowing viewers to mentally project themselves into the narrative they view,[18] it is only through physical distance, through a lack of embodiment, that we are capable of looking at something. Sight is dependent upon separation. While reciprocal viewership, gazing at someone

[14]Nathaniel B. Jones, 'Starting from Places: Continuous Narration and Discontinuous Perspectives in Roman Art', *Art Bulletin* 100, no. 1 (March 2018): 16.
[15]Ovid, *Met*. 4.678-79.
[16]Ovid, *Met*. 4.681-83.
[17]Patricia B. Salzman-Mitchell, *A Web of Fantasies: Gaze, Image, and Gender in Ovid's Metamorphoses* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2005), 78.
[18]Jas Elsner, *Roman Eyes: Visuality and Subjectivity in Art and Text* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 7.

while they gaze back, may bridge such rifts, the potential for reciprocality, which might acknowledge Andromeda as an agent of perception in her own right, is explicitly undermined within Ovid's text. For, as Patricia Salzman-Mitchell notes, 'Perseus views Andromeda, but the passage insisted on her "not seeing"'.[19] Tears obscure her vision, taking the place of her hands, which otherwise would have covered her face, generating distance between herself and Perseus's direct questions regarding her name and origins.[20] Her lack of engagement further underscores her desirability as a bride.[21]

Yet, while Ovid's Andromeda might initially appear to be an ideal marriageable maiden, the complexity of her depicted counterpart is more readily apparent. Just as her physical position is liminal, caught between bondage and freedom, so too is her dress. For together with undermining ease of motion, which might serve equally to indicate a woman's appropriate containment and her status, an outer covering, such as a *palla* or mantle, also obscures the form, creating a visual boundary between viewers and the body of a woman. Yet, in the case of Andromeda, no such outer covering is apparent. Indeed, while her left side is obscured by her tunic and still bound by the shackle that chains her to the rock, her right side, already freed, is depicted in a state of partial undress, her visual availability highlighting her vulnerable position. The fabric of her tunic has slipped, revealing the skin of her shoulder and chest.

Such undress is potentially problematic. While Perseus is rendered more acceptable in his semi-nude state, his firm musculature visible proof against the softness engendered by the trappings of *luxuria*, Andromeda, when unbound from the rock, loses the mediators that mark her respectability. With her freedom comes the potential for transgression, and it is in this capacity for transgression that we may begin to reassess Andromeda's relationship to her own adornments. To reframe the implications of Andromeda's modes of dress, it is useful first to return to her spatial positioning within the House of the Dioscuri. For, on the northeast pier, the partner to that once decorated with the painting of Andromeda and Perseus was a paired painting, depicting Medea contemplating the murder of her two children (Figure 17.4).

The paintings are, in many ways, a study of opposites. While Andromeda's physical liminality is reflected in her environment, her body bracketed by the contrasting exterior elements of rock and sea, Medea's internal liminality is underscored by her position with an exterior courtyard. She stands on the right edge of the composition, her foot, like Andromeda's, extending from the surface on which she stands. Her left hand clutches a sword, while her well-muscled right arm stretches across her frame, so that she may rest her hand on its pommel. Her head extends above the low wall of the courtyard and is framed by the columnar structure in the background. Her wide eyes gaze out of the frame as her two sons play knucklebones alongside her, each nude but for a drape of deep red bordered in pale blue, their garments referencing those of Jason. Behind them, in the open door of the courtyard, an aged tutor looks on.

The correspondence of colour in the depictions of Medea's sons and Perseus emphasizes interrelations between the two paintings that are further underscored by their spatial relationship. For those looking into the peristyle from the large west-facing *exedra*, a once marble-clad room that has a direct view onto the peristyle and pool, and was likely used for dinner parties, these two images would have been viewed simultaneously, inviting comparison between the two.[22] While

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[19]Salzman-Mitchell, *A Web of Fantasies*, 78.
[20]Ovid.*Met.* 4.680-84.
[21]Salzman-Mitchell, *Web of Fantasies*, 79.
[22]Lawrence Richardson, *Pompeii: The Casa dei Dioscuri and Its Painters*, Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome 23 (Rome: American Academy, 1955), 63, 65; Gell, *Pompeiana*, 22; Bechi, 'Relazione degli Scavi', 21.



FIGURE 17.4 Medea contemplating her children, House of the Dioscuri (VI.9.6-7), Pompeii, *c.* 62–79 CE, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, 8977Photo: Art Resource (ART119653).

the juxtaposition of these two women might be understood as a straightforward opposition, with Andromeda's normative modesty contrasting with Medea's similarly typical capacity for mimetic trickery, their modes of dress suggest that the two images might be understood more as entangled than as opposed.[23]

While Andromeda's appearance verges on transgressive, Medea is depicted in the trappings of an upstanding Roman matron. Her hair is carefully arranged, her jewellery reserved. She wears a sheer undertunic, covered by what is likely a *stola*, as evidenced in particular by the straps at the shoulders, this long tunic serving as a public indicator of the married woman's respectability.[24] Her *palla* draped over her shoulders and tied at her waist further conceals her form. The central

[23]For discussions of the oppositional dynamics of Andromeda and Medea, see David Balch, 'Values of Roman Women Including Priests Visually Represented in Pompeii and Herculaneum', in *Finding a Woman's Place: Essays in Honor of Carolyn Osiek, R.S.C.J.*, ed. David Balch and Jason Lamoreaux (Eugene: Pickwick, 2011), 26; Lucia Romizzi, 'La Casa dei Dioscuri di Pompei (VI 9,6.7): Una Nuova Lettura', *Contributi di Archeologia Vesuviana* 2 (2006): 77–160.
[24]Olson, *Dress and the Roman Woman*, 27.

position of her sons within the scene further underscores her effectiveness as a wife. Much as Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi presented her sons as her *ornamenta*, the prominence of Medea's children highlights her attention to familial duty.[25] Yet, if this image references Euripides's version of her story, Medea will shortly undermine the stability of her husband's household and his legacy by doing away with his heirs, and his capacity to generate future heirs, by killing both his sons and his intended bride. As a consequence for breaking faith with her, she effectively erases his future. As she takes action, she steps away from normative respectability.

The thread of promises broken further binds these two images, drawing another set of connections to the fore. For although Perseus is promised Andromeda as a bride in exchange for saving her, a notion that is underscored in the House of the Dioscuri with her saffron tunic,[26] she had already been engaged to another, as becomes apparent on their wedding day. In the melee that breaks out between her new husband and her betrothed, Perseus emerges victorious, harnessing the petrifying gaze of Medusa to vanquish his rivals.[27] The two depicted scenes present suspended action – the only type of action possible in depiction – with two potential heroes poised to take action with deadly consequences.[28] For, in the House of the Dioscuri, not only women wear descriptive dress. Much as Medea is depicted as an ideal Roman matron, Perseus adheres to the norms of the depicted hero. He is clean-shaven, with ruddy skin and well-defined musculature that attests to his vigour. In addition to the swath of crimson and blue fabric discussed above, he wears only his winged sandals, here subsumed into his feet, and his dagger, held firm in his left hand.

This dagger is nearly identical to that held, also in the left hand, by Medea, with a rounded pommel and sheath, rectilinear guard and pale bronze sheen. The implication is clear. Much as a repetition of colour helped to equate Perseus with Medea's sons, the reduplication of the sword casts Perseus and Medea as visual doubles. Whether they are cast understood as heroes or villains in their respective narratives, they are presented in tandem. Medea, in this visual equation, takes on the mantle of a hero, together with the hero's primary marker. Above all else, heroes bring pain.

Medea's dress thus equates her with Perseus, even as it differentiates her from Andromeda, generating a study in contradictions that itself parallels the multi-valenced communicative potentials of adornments. While Medea may take on the guise of a respectable Roman matron, this does not necessarily indicate that she is one. Andromeda may be a modest matron woman, but this does not necessarily indicate that she dresses as one. While such disjunctions might be explained away rather simply, to do so would be to undermine the ultimate efficacy of the medium of adornment. For, while the deceptive capacity of dress makes it suspect for Roman writers, it is through its ability to convey multiple divergent messages that it becomes an effective vehicle for personal agency.[29]

A final Ovidian juxtaposition underscores this point, further highlighting the complex interconnections between appearance and the potential for personal prestige. While Ovid's Andromeda is explicitly demure, she is implicitly dangerous, and this danger is rooted in the variable potentiality of her personal appearance. Ovid describes her as preternaturally still; only the

[25]On Cornelia, see Kunst, 'Ornamenta Uxoria', 137; Valerius Maximus, *Factorum ac Dictorum Memorabilium*, 4.4.1.

[26]On the uses of saffron for Roman bridal dress, see Olson, *Dress and the Roman Woman*, 22.

[27]Ovid, *Met*. 4.703-5, 5.1-249.

[28]With figures poised on the brink of action, these depictions recall Bettina Bergmann's discussion of Medea in the House of Jason. See Bettina Bergman, 'The Pregnant Moment: Tragic Wives in the Roman Interior', in *Sexuality in Roman Art*, ed. Natalie B. Kampen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 199–218.

[29]On Roman vocabulary equating ideas of adornment with falsification, see Olson, *Dress and the Roman Woman*, 81–2.

movement of her hair and the tears that fall from her eyes suggest that she is anything other than a statue.[30] The idea of humans rendered into stone is central to the Perseus and Medusa cycle.[31] As the Gorgon's gaze transmutes flesh into rock, she erases their agency. They cease to have the ability to influence their environment; their many identities are erased as assuredly as Medea erases her husband's legacy. They become objects, and as such can be looked upon safely, without fear of trickery or repercussion, both of which might well be associated with gazing upon a living human. Indeed, Perseus defeats Medusa by effectively transfiguring her from woman to image. For, he looks only at her reflection as he slays her, and her likeness has no power.

As Andromeda stands, immobilized by bonds and as still as a statue, her power initially seems to be contained. But Perseus is taken by surprise, and as he looks at her form, he is transfixed – stupefied, to use Ovid's term – to the extent that he himself becomes frozen, forgetting, almost to keep himself aloft.[32] Thus, through her beauty, Andromeda acts as a sort of Medusa, turning Perseus from an effective hero into a man frozen. Her body holds his gaze, even as her eyes reject engagement. Reciprocal engagement is here generated not through simultaneous sensorial interplays but through the mediation of the body. If Andromeda is a statue, then perhaps she has carved herself.

This is the paradox of dressing. For, as the body is mediated and as the form is constructed for external interpretations, the subject intentionally crafts himself or herself as an object in a process that is underscored by the nature of viewing and viewership. Yet, even as sight generates the other through the act of objectification, adornments produce the opportunity to exert agency, to deliberately emphasize one of a set of intersectional identities by choice, as it is most useful to the subject. Adornments allow the wearer to direct the eye of the viewer, casting the wearer in the role of an artist, deliberately altering perceptions through the manipulation of material, while simultaneously reinforcing the body's perceptive capacities in a manner that defies attempts to render bodies as stone – as fully other. Indeed, in this delicate equation, perception is key. Adornments offer the opportunity not only to play upon the viewer's expectations but also to reinforce a wearer's physical and mental boundaries through multi-sensorial engagements.

Thus bracelets, such as those worn by Andromeda, serve not only as bonds but as boundaries, boundaries that, by virtue of both their circularity and the rigidity of their materials, are less negotiable than the ephemeral constructs with which they intersect. While such bracelets, like chains, might recall both servitude and social prestige, when worn, their weight provides a persistent reminder of the space of the body for the wearer.[33] As they press against the skin, they can refine the habitual actions of the body they help to fashion. For free persons, the ability to choose which adornments to wear is itself a sign of agency, of an individual's capacity to craft and maintain the edges of their bodily space. As much as the sheen of adornments can hold the gaze, the weight of adornments substantiates the body.

Such multi-sensorial potentials are made apparent through the depiction of another type of adornment associated with Andromeda in the House of the Dioscuri. For together with her bracelets, Andromeda also wears a pair of earrings. While their small size in the depiction makes

[30]Ovid, *Met*. 4.672-75.
[31]Salzman-Mitchell, *Web of Fantasies*, 78–9, 82–4.
[32]Ov. *Met*. 4.675-77.
[33]For more on the haptics of adornment, see McFerrin, 'The Tangible Self', 240–1; for comments on adornments as markers of servitude and status, see Alba Cappellieri, *Catene: Gioielli fra Storia, Funzione e Ornamento* (Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2018), 7.

these adornments more difficult to analyse, several clearly articulated components are visible. Two rounded attachments link the central gold pendant to the attachment that joins the earring to the ear. Beneath the central pendant dangles a smaller component, possibly an elongation of the form above, possibly a separate bead. Such earrings are attested in the material record of the period, such as in a gold and pearl example now housed in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figure 17.5). The multiple component pieces suggest that the earring could function similarly to the more famous *crotalia*. Composed of a set of pearls, suspended from a gold bar, the name of this type of earring refers to the noise that the pearls make when they knock against each other. Described by Pliny the Elder as a woman's lictors, such jewellery – jewellery with movable parts – can draw attention through sound.[34] While they are not likely to be extremely loud, the sound of multiple jangling



FIGURE 17.5 Gold earring with pearl pendant, first century BCE to second century CE, Metropolitan Museum of Art 74.51.3793 Photo: Metropolitan Museum of Art Open Access for Scholarly Content (OASC).

[34]Pliny, *Nat.* 9.61.

earrings, bangles and embellishments could speak for the wearer, interjecting into spaces in which she herself is silent. Reciprocity is once again key. While Ovid's Andromeda is made other by stillness, by her lack of interactivity with her environment, the adornments worn by her depicted counterpart offers another avenue for assertion.

Sight both depends upon and generates distance, while touch and sound are made more potent by proximity. This was no less true for living visitors to the House of the Dioscuri than for their depicted counterparts. While a visitor to the house was aware of the correspondence between her dress and the dress of women depicted in the space, she could not see the connections between her form and those alongside her until her form was projected outwards, shadowed on walls or reflected in the water of the peristyle basin. It is through such an outward projection that subject and object are elided. Such slippage between subject and object is intertwined into the narratives that the piers of the peristyle display. As Perseus deploys the head of Medusa, he separates those turned to stone from the possibility of reciprocal perception. While the processes of perceiving a statue and another human are essentially the same, and while our sensorial experiences of walls and humans are in many ways similar, reciprocal perception is possible only with other cognizant entities.

Andromeda highlights such reciprocality through her body and, in the House of the Dioscuri, through her adornments. Indeed, her equation with Perseus may be stronger than previously articulated, if we return once more to her earrings. The composition of her earrings mirrors the shape of Andromeda herself. The two rounded attachments at the top of the earring double the knot of hair atop Andromeda's head, the round central pendant references the shape of her face and the dangling lower bead mimics the long line of her neck. These earrings may do more than reference a head; they may take the shape of a head. Such earrings were not unknown in South Italy, as an example from Taranto can illustrate (Figure 17.6). Such these earrings offer commentary upon the nature of adornment itself.



FIGURE 17.6 Spiral earring with head pendants, Taranto, 350–320 BCE, British Museum 1872, 0604.487 Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum.

When Perseus takes up the head of Medusa, it is an explicit weapon. The juxtaposition of Medusa's head with the potential shapes of Andromeda's jewellery, and with Medea's weapon, all invite us to think about modes of imposing one's will onto one's environment. Medea, rendered powerless by convention, takes up a sword. Perseus slays a Gorgon and adopts her power. Andromeda adorns herself; her adornments allow her to interact with her world. Indeed, it is perhaps no accident that Andromeda's hairstyle references the two attachments of her earrings. She is her own weapon, and her abilities are reinforced, rather than undermined, by the jewellery that adorns her.

This jewellery reinforces Andromeda's presence to both others and herself. It is in the engagement of multiple senses, in moving beyond sight, that we can begin to consider how Andromeda participates in reciprocal interactions and how the women who inhabit the space of the house alongside her might have understood the relationships between their adornments and their bodies. For this portion of the house is a multi-sensory interactive space, inviting visitors to think about interfaces between their experience of the space of the house and the environments depicted within the images around them. The splash of water in the large basin and fountain situated just beyond the decorative pilasters on which Andromeda and Medea are situated would have enlivened the world of the depiction, doubling the sounds of the water lapping against the rock where Andromeda was kept captive. The space, with its interest in this multi-sensory engagement, invites us to conflate the physical with the depicted.

Just as Andromeda's adornments allow her to interject herself into her environment, providing a means of interaction that might otherwise be denied to her, the sound of moving parts and the weight of metal, stone and glass, with their rigid forms, enable individuals to continually assert presence within their environments and within their bodies. We constitute ourselves – to the outside world and on our own behalf – through our adornments.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

On the Ambivalent Signification of Roman Crowns

ANDREW GALLIA

For the outsider seeking to understand the customs of another culture, moments of refusal provide an opportunity to gain insight into the meanings that participants assigned to certain behaviours. Because the normative logic of 'common sense' tends to operate without explanation when actions are familiar, routine actions are often among the most elusive objects of scholarly analysis.[1] When the unspoken assumptions that underlie such conventions are challenged, however, these justifications are more likely to be forced out into the open, sometimes revealing critical fault lines and even contradictions within a community's understanding of its own traditions.

In this chapter, I consider two such moments of refusal, in which some form of crown or wreath was rejected by its intended wearer. My goal is to better understand the significance that Romans attached to the custom of adorning their heads in this manner. The first instance, still familiar to audiences of Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, is the dictator's refusal of the diadem presented to him at the Lupercalia in the month before his assassination. The other case involves an anonymous Christian soldier, whose refusal to place a laurel wreath on his own head during the celebration of an imperial donative provided the impetus for Tertullian's treatise *On the Crown* (*De corona*). Taken together, these episodes offer an expansive, though not exhaustive, framework for thinking about the ways in which certain styles of headgear were used to articulate aspects of personal status in Roman culture.

CAESAR'S CROWNS

Julius Caesar's rejection of some form of crown at the Lupercalia festival on February 15, 44 BCE, is perhaps the most familiar, and consequently the most disputed, act of refusal in Roman history.[2] The offer and rejection of this crown are recorded by multiple ancient authorities, all of whom regarded this as an essential moment in the sequence of events leading up to Caesar's assassination

[1]Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 78–95; Jürgen Habermas, *The Theory of Communicative Action, Volume One: Reason and the Rationalization of Society*, trans. Thomas McCarthy (Boston: Beacon Press, 1984), 102–41.

[2]Noteworthy recent discussions include J. A. North, 'Caesar at the Lupercalia', *JRS* 98 (2008): 144–60, T. Peter Wiseman, *Remembering the Roman People* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 170–5, Trevor S. Luke, *Ushering in a New Republic: Theologies of Arrival at Rome in the First Century BCE* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2014), 118–39, T. V. Buttrey, 'Caesar at Play: Some Preparations for the Parthian Campaign, 44 BCE', *JAH* 3 (2015): 240–1. Stefan Weinstock, *Divus Julius* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), 331–40, is still essential reading.

the following month.[3] If we set aside minor differences of detail and interpretation, these accounts can be made to coalesce into a more or less consistent narrative. It seems that Caesar had installed himself in a prominent position in the Forum Romanum to watch the procession of semi-naked *luperci*, the religious revellers whose antics comprised the central focus of the festival. Among these *luperci* was Caesar's fellow consul Mark Antony, who at some point attempted to place a diadem on Caesar's head. Caesar refused, despite repeated attempts, and ultimately sent the crown to be dedicated in the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus instead.

The issue on which our sources diverge most significantly concerns the role of the crowd in what transpired, which has bearing on how Caesar's motivations are interpreted. In the course of his diatribe against Antony in the Second *Philippic*, Cicero claims that the appearance of the diadem sent a groan through the 'entire forum'. He contrasts the crowd's responses to Antony, who was 'imparting the diadem with the lamentation of the people', and Caesar, who 'rejected it with their applause'.[4] Although Cicero dances around the question of Caesar's foreknowledge of Antony's designs, he suggests that the whole scene had been planned as a royal coronation, but then Caesar was compelled to change course in response to the public outcry this gesture provoked. Nicolaus of Damascus, on the other hand, says that it was the crowd of onlookers who initially called for the diadem to be placed upon Caesar's head, and that after he rejected it, 'those in the very back applauded, while those nearby shouted for him to take it and not cast aside a gift from the people'.[5] By assigning the primary impetus for Antony's actions to the people, this account suggests a more principled act of renunciation on Caesar's part.

Without reopening the question of Caesar's true motives, it is clear how much depended upon the symbolic power of the ornament that Antony was attempting to bestow upon his colleague. The diadem (*diadema*, from the Greek verb διαδέω, 'tie around') was a simple strip of cloth wrapped over the hairline and knotted at the back of the head, which had come to be a widely recognized marker of kingship in the wake of the conquests of Alexander the Great.[6] The convention of Hellenistic monarchs wearing the diadem is illustrated endlessly in the royal portraiture of this period, exemplified for our purposes by a tetradrachm of Antiochus III (Figure 18.1). Although not native to the Roman iconographic tradition, the diadem shows up in coin portraits of the legendary kings Numa and Ancus beginning in 88 BCE, which suggests that Roman viewers were generally familiar with this form of crown as a shorthand for royal authority by that time.[7] The importance of the headband's connection with royalty is underscored by Caesar's statement, recorded by Cassius Dio, that 'Jupiter is the only king of the Romans', which accompanied his order to send the rejected diadem to be dedicated in that god's temple on the Capitolium.[8] To accept the diadem would have been a clear sign that Caesar wanted to be king.

[3]Cicero, *Phil*. 2.85-86; Livy, *Per*. 116; Velleius Paterculus, 2.56.4; Nicolaus of Damascus, 71–3; Suetonius, *Iul*. 79.2; Plutarch, *Caes*. 61, *Ant*. 12; Cassius Dio, 44.11; Appian, *B. Civ*. 2.109; [Aur. Vict.], *De vir. ill*. 85.1.

[4]Cicero, *Phil*. 2.85: *tu diadema imponebas cum plangore populi, ille cum plausu reiciebat*. Cf. Plutarch, *Caes*. 61.4.

[5]Nicolaus of Damascus, 72: βοῶντος δὲ τοῦ δημοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν τίθεσθαι … καὶ οἱ μὲν τελευταῖοι ἐκρότησαν ἐπὶ τούτῳ, οἱ δὲ πλησίον ἐβόων δέχεσθαι καὶ μὴ διωθεῖσθαι τὴν τοῦ δημοῦ χάριν.

[6]Hans-Werner Ritter, *Diadem und Konigsherrschaft: Untersuchungen zu Zeremonien und Rechtsgrundlagen des Herrschaftsantritts bei den Persern, bei Alexander dem Großen und im Hellenismus* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1965).

[7]*RRC* 346/1, also 424/1, 446/1 and *RIC* I^2 71–2, 390–9. See also Andreas Alföldi, *Caesar in 44 v. Chr. Band I: Studien zu Caesars Monarchie und ihren Wurzeln* (Bonn: Rudolf Habelt GMBH, 1985), 127–31. Although Pliny the Elder refers to the statues of the kings on the Capitol as early evidence for the wearing of rings by Numa and Servius Tullius (*NH* 33.9, 24), none of the literary accounts of these monuments mentions a diadem or crowns of any sort.

[8]Cassius Dio, 44.11.3: 'Ζεὺς μόνος τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς εἴη'.



FIGURE 18.1 Seleucid tetradrachm with obverse portrait of King Antiochus III wearing a diadem. British Museum (HPB, p150.1.C). Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum.

The special significance of the diadem as distinct from other types of crowns is highlighted by the fact that Caesar was already wearing a wreath-crown (Latin *corona*, Greek *stephanos*) when this new symbol of authority was offered to him. As Cicero describes the scene, Caesar was sitting on the rostra 'clad in a purple toga, on a golden chair, crowned' when Antony approached him.[9] The historian Cassius Dio specifies that this crown was made of gold. He also describes Caesar's garments as 'kingly', while Plutarch says that he was done up in 'triumphal adornment'.[10] This divergence in terminology probably stems from the belief among some ancient writers that the costume of an embroidered purple cloak, gold crown and ivory sceptre worn by Roman generals in the triumphal procession had its origins in the attire of the Etruscan kings.[11] Although this claim has figured prominently in more recent debates about Caesar's monarchical ambitions, we should not lose sight of the fact that it was the diadem itself that prompted an uproar, and not the gold crown or purple cloak, which Caesar already had on when he arrived at the Lupercalia. Although the so-called triumphal ornaments (*ornamenta triumphalia*) were sometimes granted as gifts to friendly foreign kings, the Roman people were long accustomed to seeing the magistrates of their own Republic wearing these items and thus did not necessarily associate this ensemble exclusively (or even primarily) with monarchy.[12]

Although the golden crown that Caesar was wearing at the Lupercalia is best understood as part of the overall gestalt of this triumphal costume, its significance is also intertwined with the much

[9]Cicero, *Phil*. 2.85: *sedebat in rostris collega tuus amictus toga purpurea, in sella aurea, coronatus*.

[10]Cassius Dio, 44.11.2: τῇ τε ἐσθῆτι τῇ βασιλικῇ κεκοσμημένος. Plutarch, *Caes*. 61.3: θριαμβικῷ κόσμῳ κεκοσμημένος.

[11]Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *AR* 3.61.3, 3.62.2; cf. 2.34.2-3. See K. Kraft, 'Der goldene Krans Caesars und der Kampf um die Entlarvung des "Tyrannen"', *JNG* 3/4 (1955): 7–97, Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, 68–74, 270–6; see also Mary Beard, *The Roman Triumph* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), 225–33.

[12]Cf. Livy, 30.15.11, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *AR* 5.35.1. The fact that triumphal insignia continued to be awarded to generals from outside the imperial family following the institution of the Principate (Aline Boyce, 'The Origin of the Ornamenta Triumphalia', *CP* 37 [1942]: 130–41) undercuts the position of those who regard Caesar's adoption of this costume as a royal affectation.

more widespread custom of using crowns as emblems of honour in the ancient Mediterranean.[13] Both leafy and precious metal crowns were regularly bestowed upon individuals in recognition of meritorious service by the city-states of the Greek world. Such awards were so common, in fact, that the verb for the act of crowning, στεφανόω, could be used to describe the granting of honours more generally, even when the prize was something other than a crown, such as a statue.[14] This elision of meanings between crowning and honouring also worked its way into the language of the visual arts, as scenes portraying the bestowal of a crown (typically by a god or goddess on behalf of the community) became common in the figural reliefs that decorated the upper frame of the stelai on which honorific decrees were inscribed in Athens. These scenes do not necessarily depend upon a reference to the awarding of a crown in the accompanying inscription. They reflect instead the logic of a metaphorical commonplace, in which the awarding of honours was so closely linked with the act of crowning as to be conceptually interchangeable with it.[15]

The parallels for these scenes that one finds in Roman art (e.g. Figure 18.2) often involve the placing of a crown by a winged Victory, owing to the fact that the most important context in which honorific crowns were bestowed in Roman culture centred on military success.[16] Already in the second century BCE, Polybius commends the Roman practice of having generals present crowns and other prizes for valour, describing this as a noble way to encourage new recruits to face the dangers of battle.[17] As with priestly crowns and those associated with particular religious observances, the use of different materials provided the primary means by which these military crowns were associated with particular achievements or acts of bravery. Although the basis for such conventions attracted a considerable amount of antiquarian scholarly interest, attempts to explain the rationale for using particular types of foliage did not tend to get very far. The lack of clarity can be seen, for example, in Plutarch's account of the various theories circulating around the use of oak:

> 'Why do they give an oak crown to one who has saved the life of a citizen in war?' Is it because oak is easily found everywhere on campaign? Or is it because this crown is sacred to Zeus and Hera, whom they consider the guardians of the city? Or is it an ancient custom of the Arcadians, who have some

[13] On the importance of gestalt in the interpretation of dress, see Joanne B. Eicher and Mary Ellen Roach-Higgins, 'Definition and Classification of Dress: Implications of Analysis of Gender-Roles', in *Dress and Gender: Making and Meaning in Cultural Contexts*, ed. Ruth Barnes and Joanne B. Eicher (New York: Berg, 1992), 12–13, Grant McCracken, 'Clothing as Language: An Object Lesson in the Study of the Expressive Properties of Material Culture', in *Material Anthropology: Contemporary Approaches to Material Culture*, ed. Barrie Reynolds and Margaret A. Stott (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1987), 114–15.

[14] For example, *IG* 9.1^2 4.1244 (= 9.1 539): εἰκόνι καὶ πίστει καὶ φιλίᾳ στεφανοῖ ('Leukas … crowns him with a statue, loyalty, and friendship'). Jon Ma, *Statues and Cities: Honorific Portraits and Civic Identity in the Hellenistic World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 32–8. See also Alan S. Henry, *Honours and Privileges in Athenian Decrees: The Principal Formulae of Athenian Honorary Decrees* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1983), 22–44, Blech, *Studien zum Kranz bei den Griechen* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1982), 153–62.

[15] For example, *SEG* 12.87. Marion Meyer, *Die Griechischen Urkundenreliefs* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1989), 132–40, Carol L. Lawton, *Attic Document Reliefs: Art and Politics in Ancient Athens* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 30–1.

[16] Valerie A. Maxfield, *The Military Decorations of the Roman Army* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), Paul Steiner, 'Die Dona Militaria', *Bonner Jahrbücher* 114 (1906): 1–98. Victory: *RRC* 44/1 and *passim* ('Victoriatus' coinages), 421/1; also Diana E. E. Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 187, cf. 71, 153; Birgit Bergmann, *Der Kranz des Kaisers: Genese und bedeutung einer römischen Insignie* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), 322, cf. 327–33.

[17] Polybius, 6.39, cf. Onasander 34.3.



FIGURE 18.2 Marble relief from the Sebasteion of Aphrodisias depicting Agrippina the Younger, in the guise of Concordia, crowning Nero with a laurel wreath. Aphrodisias Museum. Artist: Ethan Henkel.

> kind of kinship with oak? For they are believed to have been the first men born from the earth, just as the oak was the first plant.[18]

The only thing certain, in principal at least, was that this oak crown (known as the *corona civica*) was reserved for Roman soldiers who had saved the life of another citizen in battle.

When one looks more closely into the history of these crowns, however, it becomes clear that even such straightforward definitions were subject to interpretation and therefore more fluid than they might first appear. Long before Polybius wrote in praise of the use of crowns as a means of fostering military valour, Cato the Elder had lambasted the commander Fulvius Nobilior for granting these awards indiscriminately in order to curry favour with his troops.[19] Rather than a tidy set of regulations, the chapter on military crowns in Aulus Gellius's *Attic Nights* presents the reader with a litany of disputes and contestations through which the criteria for awarding these honours were scrutinized and/or expanded through political maneuvering.[20] When M. Crassus resented being limited to an ovation (a kind of second-tier triumph) for his victory over Spartacus, for example, he refused to wear the myrtle *corona ovalis* traditionally associated with this ceremony

[18]Plutarch, *Mor*. 286a (*RQ* 92): 'Διὰ τί τῷ σώσαντι πολίτην ἐν πολέμῳ δρύινον διδόασι στέφανον'; Πότερον ὅτι πανταχοῦ καὶ ῥᾳδίως ἔστιν εὐπορῆσαι δρυὸς ἐπὶ στρατείας; Ἢ ὅτι Διὸς καὶ Ἥρας ἱερὸς ὁ στέφανός ἐστιν, οὓς πολιούχους νομίζουσιν; Ἢ παλαιὸν ἀπ᾽ Ἀρκάδων τὸ ἔθος, οἷς ἔστι τις συγγένεια πρὸς τὴν δρῦν; πρῶτοι γὰρ ἀνθρώπων γεγονέναι δοκοῦσιν ἐκ γῆς, ὥσπερ ἡ δρῦς τῶν φυτῶν. Cf. Pliny, *Nat*. 16.11-14; Gellius, *N.A.* 5.6.11-14. Ancient uncertainty about the meaning of particular plants has not dissuaded modern researchers from pursuing their own theories: Germaine Guillaume-Coirier, 'Les couronnes militaires végétales à Rome. Vestiges indoeuropéens et croyances archaïques', *RHR* 210 (1993): 387–411.

[19]Cato, *ORF* 151 (ap. Gellius, *N.A.* 5.6.25).

[20]Gellius, *N.A.* 5.6.

and instead obtained a special senatorial decree allowing him to wear the laurel crown of the triumph instead.[21] A special senatorial decree was also proposed to the effect that Cicero should be awarded the oak *corona civica* for his role in suppressing the Catilinarian conspiracy, even though he had not taken part in any actual combat.[22]

A similar proposal was among the long list of honours enacted to honour Julius Caesar following his victory over Sextus Pompey in 46 BCE, which included statues of Caesar wearing both the oak *corona civica* and the grass *corona obsidionalis* (traditionally awarded for rescuing a camp or city under siege) in addition to the privilege of attending religious ceremonies (such as the Lupercalia) and games in triumphal dress.[23] The last of these awards, which had previously been granted to Pompey the Great, is significant in that it did not involve altering the requirements necessary for obtaining the award in question.[24] Caesar had already celebrated a quadruple triumph over Gaul, Egypt, Pontus and Africa and thus had already 'earned' the privilege of wearing the triumphal costume.[25] What this decree did instead was to expand the time frame in which these military decorations could be worn by permitting Caesar to continue to wear these insignia in certain contexts after his triumph was over. A separate award entitled him to wear a laurel wreath at all times.[26]

Because of the special honour conferred by the wearing of crowns, this activity was a jealously guarded privilege within Roman society. Pliny the Elder could point to specific cases in which men were imprisoned for the unlicensed wearing of crowns in public.[27] In general, crowns could be worn by appropriate persons on certain occasions but not outside of those specified contexts. The triumph was such an occasion.[28] As part of the ritual procession that followed the successful conclusion of a military campaign, every soldier would be crowned in laurel, and those who had received additional awards could wear those decorations during the parade as well.[29] In addition to his special tunic, purple toga and ivory staff, the commander would also be marked out by a crown of gold, sometimes referred to as an Etruscan crown (*corona Etrusca*), which was held over his head by a slave who stood behind him on his chariot.[30] The slave's role is sometimes attributed to the weight of the crown, but it more probably reflects the importance of the act of crowning itself, which through the slave's gesture would have been made to last throughout the procession, making

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[21]Gellius, *N.A.* 5.6.23, cf. Pliny, *Nat.* 15.126, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *A.R.* 5.46.3. Jean-Luc Bastien, *Le Triomphe Romain et son utilisation politique à Rome aux trois derniers siècles de la république*, CEFR 392 (Rome: École Française de Rome, 2007), 270.

[22]Gellius, *N.A.* 5.6.15, cf. Cicero, *Pis.* 6. Bergmann, *Der Kranz des Kaisers*,192–4.

[23]Appian, *B.C.* 2.106, Cassius Dio, 44.4.5. Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, 148–52, 163–7, Bergmann, *Der Kranz des Kaisers,* 189–91, 197. The grass crown had previously been granted by public decree to Fabius Maximus (Gellius, *N.A.* 5.6.10) and Sulla (Pliny, *Nat.* 22.12).

[24]Vellius Paterculus, 2.40.4, Cassius Dio, 37.21.4. Beard, *The Roman Triumph*, 30–1.

[25]Suetonius, *Jul.* 37, Plutarch, *Caes.* 55. Carsten Hjort Lange, 'Triumph and Civil War in the Late Republic', *PBSR* 81 (2013): 75–7.

[26]Suetonius, *Jul.* 45.2, Cassius Dio, 43.43.1.

[27]Pliny, *Nat.* 21.8, Germaine Guillaume-Coirier, 'En prison pour une couronne de fleurs (Pline l'Ancien, *NH* XXI, 8-9)', *Latomus* 69 (2010): 778–91.

[28]See, in general, H. S. Versnel, *Triumphus: An Inquiry into the Origin, Development and Meaning of the Roman Triumph* (Leiden: Brill, 1970), Bastien, *Le Triomphe Romain*, Beard, *The Roman Triumph*, Ida Östenberg, *Staging the World: Spoils, Captives, and Representations in the Roman Triumphal Procession* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

[29]Appian, *Pun.* 6.6, Polybius, 6.39.9. Bastien, *Le Triomphe Romain*, 257–8. The wearing of laurel crowns by soldiers at the celebration of an imperial donative (Tertullian, *Cor.* 1.1, below) is presumably an extrapolation from triumphal practice.

[30]Pliny, *Nat.* 33.11, cf. Tertullian, *Cor.* 13.1. Ann Kuttner, *Dynasty and Empire in the Age of Augustus: The Case of the Boscoreale Cups* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 145.

it possible for every spectator to witness the general's moment of glory.[31] Once the ceremony was over, however, all of the crowns and awards were put away, hung up in a conspicuous place in the houses of their recipients, whereupon they ceased to function as articles of dress and became instead monuments, or 'symbols and testimonies of each man's virtue', as Polybius describes them.[32]

CAESAR AND THE DIADEM

For the purpose of most discussions, the implications of the diadem, as distinct from the wreath-like *corona* Caesar was already wearing as part of his triumphal insignia, are straightforward enough. In the context of a volume devoted to dress, however, there is a further complication that calls out for closer attention. While every ancient discussion of these events mentions the diadem or at least its regal implications, uncertainty remains concerning the manner in which this marker of regal status was offered to Caesar. Cicero and most of the other sources give the impression that Antony presented the diadem on its own.[33] However, Nicolaus of Damascus (who also attributes the initial presentation of the diadem to an otherwise unattested 'Licinius') describes a 'laurel crown, on which a diadem was clearly visible all around'.[34] Plutarch also says that Antony offered Caesar 'a diadem woven around a crown of laurel'.[35] This description is echoed in Suetonius's and Appian's accounts of a separate attempt to implicate Caesar with kingship, in which a 'laurel crown bound up with white bands' was placed on one of the statues of the dictator.[36] In this latter case, Nicolaus is among the ranks of those who only mention a diadem, explaining 'the Romans regarded this with great suspicion, supposing it (sc. the diadem) to be an indicator of slavery'.[37]

It was not unheard of for the royal diadem to be combined with other forms of headgear in other contexts. According to Xenophon, the Achaemenid kings of Persia wore a diadem wrapped around the Median tiara.[38] Alexander regularly wore the diadem wrapped around his *kausia*, a floppy

[31]Cf. Richard Brilliant, *Gesture and Rank in Roman Art: The Use of Gestures to Denote Status in Roman Sculpture and Coinage* (New Haven: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1963), 73, on the depiction of this 'incoronate gesture' in the visual arts.

[32]Polybius, 6.39.10: σημεῖα ποιούμενοι καὶ μαρτύρια τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἀρετῆς. T. Peter Wiseman, '*Conspicui postes tectaque digna deo*: The Public Image of Aristocratic and Imperial Houses in the Late Republic and Early Empire', in *L'Urbs: éspace urbain et histoire (Ier siècle av. J.-C. – IIIe siècle ap J.-C.)* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1987), 393–413.

[33]Cicero, *Phil*. 2.85, Livy, *Per*. 116, Suetonius, *Iul*. 79.2, Cassius Dio, 44.11.2. Velleius Paterculus refers ambiguously to 'royal insignia' (2.56.4: *insigne regium*).

[34]Nicolaus of Damascus, 71: … δάφνινον στέφανον, ἐντὸς δὲ διάδημα περιφαινόμενον. On the figure of Licinius, Mark Toher, *Nicolaus of Damascus: The Life of Augustus and the Autobiography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 306–7, suggests he may have been the conspirator L. Cornelius Cinna instead.

[35]Plutarch, *Caes*. 61.3: διάδημα στεφάνῳ δάφνης περιπεπλεγμένον. This complication appears to have made an impression on Shakespeare, who has Casca prevaricate, 'yet 'twas not a crown / neither, 'twas one of these coronets' (*Julius Caesar* I.2.236-7). The Elizabethans, of course, had their own notions about what constituted a royal crown.

[36]Suetonius, *Jul*. 79.1: *coronam lauream cadida fascia praeligatam*; Appian, *B. Civ*. 2.108: ἐστεφάνωσε δάφναις, ἀναπεπλεγμένης ταινίας λευκῆς.

[37]Nicolaus of Damascus, 69: ὑπόπτως δὲ πάνυ πρός αὐτό ἔχουσι Ῥωμαῖοι δουλείας οἰόμενοι εἶναι σύμβολον; cf. Plutarch, *Caes*. 61.4, Cassius Dio, 44.9.2, also Plutarch, *Ti. Gracch*. 19.2.

[38]Xenophon, *Cyr*. 8.3.13, cf. Suetonius, *Nero* 13.2. Hans-Werner Ritter, *Diadem und Königsherrschaft* 31–55, Josef Wiesehöfer, 'Das Diadem bei den Achaimeniden: die schriftliche Überlieferung', in *Das Diadem der hellenistischen Herrscher*, ed. A. Lichtenberger, K. Martin, H.-H. Nieswandt and D. Salzmann (Bonn: Habelt-Verlag, 2012), 55–62. The role of diadems in the royal insignia of the Achaemenids was in fact more complex than this. See Alföldi, *Caesar in 44 v. Chr. Band I*, 108–11, Wouter Henkelman, 'The Royal Achaemenid Crown', *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 28 (1995–6): 275–93, Andrew W. Collins, 'The Royal Costume and Insignia of Alexander the Great', *AJP* 133 (2012): 383–5.

Macedonian-style hat.[39] There is even a precedent for the conjunction of the diadem with a laurel wreath in portraits of the Pergamene king Philetairos on Attalid coins (although the strip of cloth is sometimes identified by scholars as an honorific *tainia*, see below).[40] The possible use of laurel at the Lupercalia would presumably have been a local or personalized adaptation, however, insofar as the laurel wreath had already been adopted by Caesar as a regular feature of his attire. Its inclusion does not seem to have done anything to diminish the regal associations of the diadem itself, however. In light of the profound political implications of this particular form of adornment, those writers who neglect to mention the presence of a laurel wreath (if indeed there was one) at the Lupercalia can be forgiven for focusing exclusively on the aspect of the crown that implied a monarchical role for Caesar.

The implications of the distinctive format of a diadem-wrapped laurel crown are nevertheless worth pursuing. For one thing, the inclusion of laurel would render Caesar's decision to repurpose this crown as a dedication to Jupiter Optimus Maximus somewhat more comprehensible, because the wreath-like *corona* was already a traditional offering to this deity. Jupiter is regularly depicted with a wreath of laurel on Roman coins, and his statue on the Capitolium was evidently adorned with some form of *corona* as well.[41] Dedications of crowns, when offered by Rome's allies or recently conquered subjects, were generally made of gold (and therefore functioned as a form of tribute), although Gellius claims that these crowns were also originally fashioned out of laurel.[42] Pliny the Elder confirms that laurel was the traditional offering presented to Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the occasion of Roman military victories.[43] While I know of no other case in which a diadem on its own was said to have been dedicated on the Capitolium, in combination with a laurel crown, this would become a more conventional offering for 'Rome's only king'.[44]

It is also possible that these accounts of a composite wreath-diadem have some bearing on the style of crown subsequently adopted by Caesar's heirs, the Roman emperors. Silver coins minted in the East sometime around 39 BCE depict Mark Antony with a Dionysian crown of ivy, with strips of fabric hanging down at the back in a manner reminiscent of the ties of the Hellenistic royal diadem.[45] Following the battle of Actium, Antony's portrait was replaced by that of Octavian, who wears a laurel

[39]Ephippus, *FGrH* 126 F 5 (ap. Ath., 12.537e-f); Pausanias ap. Eustath. 1399; Arrian, *Anab*. 7.22.2; cf. Plutarch, *Ant*. 54.5. The combination of *kausia* with diadem also appears on the coinage of certain Bactro-Indian kings: *BMC India* 12 nn. 1-6; see Bonnie M. Kingsley, 'The Cap that Survived Alexander', *AJA* 85 (1981): 39–46.

[40]Ulla Westermark, *Das Bildnis des Philetairos von Pergamon* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1960), 21–2, 55, *BMC Mysia* 116–18, nn. 35–46, 48–53. I am grateful to Eric Kondratieff for bringing these coins to my attention.

[41]*RRC* 44/1, 89/1-98/1, 348/1, 398/1, etc. Plautus, *Tri*. 83–85, *Men*. 941.

[42]Gellius, *NA* 5.6.5-7, cf. Servius, *Aen*. 8.721, Livy, 2.22.6, 3.57.7, etc. See in general T. Klauser, 'Aurum Coronarium', *MDAIR* 59 (1944): 129–53. Bergmann (*Der Kranz des Kaisers*, 41–7) argues that the practice of awarding crowns of gold was introduced from the Greek world as a consequence of Roman conquests in the East: see, for example, Polybius, 20.12.1, with F. W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius*, vol. III (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), 86 *ad loc*.

[43]Pliny, *Nat*. 15.134. This dedication was typically in the form of a branch, rather than a crown, however: Bergmann, *Der Kranz des Kaisers*, 51, *pace* Georg Wissowa, *Religion and Kultus der Römer*, 2nd edition (Munich: Beck, 1912), 127, Versnel, *Triumphus,* 70.

[44]A limiting case might be provided by Plutarch, *Luc*. 28.5-6, in which the diadem of Tigranes, which had been entrusted to a slave who was captured following the battle of Tigranocerta, is said to have become part of the spoils (αἰχμάλωτον) of that campaign and thus potentially part of some triumphal dedication. Cf. North ('Caesar at the Lupercalia', 158), who interprets the diadem of the Lupercalia not in terms of kingship but rather as a marker of Caesar's divinity.

[45]*RPC* I 2201. Further evidence for Antony's use of the diadem in the East is discussed by David Biedermann, 'Trug Marc Aton ein Diadem?' in *Das Diadem der hellenistischen Herrscher*, 425–48. Assuming that a diadem is depicted on these coins, the Dionysian associations of ivy (on which, Dietrich Mannsperger, 'Apollon *gegen* Dionysos: Numismatische Beiträge zu Octavians Rolle als Vindex Libertatis', *Gymnasium* 80 [1973]: 385, Blech, *Studien zum Kranz*, 185–209) might point to the tradition whereby the diadem originated with this god: Pliny, *Nat*. 7.191, see below.



FIGURE 18.3 Cistophorus with obverse portrait of Octavian wearing laurel crown with fillets hanging down behind his neck (*RPC* I 2203). Photo: Art Resource (ART307010).

wreath instead but with the same fillets dangling behind his neck (Figure 18.3).[46] Thereafter, leafy wreaths of laurel or oak with ribbons tied at the back become the characteristic form of crown worn in depictions of the Roman emperors (Figure 18.4). This style of crown, sometimes greatly elaborated, had its roots in traditional military honours as already discussed but attained a special status as a form of monarchical insignia, providing a unique emblem of imperial authority until supplemented by the widespread adoption of radiate, or 'solar', crowns by emperors in the third century CE.[47]

Whether the descriptions of the invidious symbol of monarchy in accounts of Caesar's final months as a diadem-entwined laurel wreath reflect an authentic forerunner of this style of imperial crown or a retrojection of later developments in the fashion of Roman monarchs cannot be established with certainty. More importantly, in the absence of clear testimony such as Cicero provides for the Lupercalia, we cannot be certain that the strips of cloth incorporated into the structure of the emperors' wreaths were themselves a form of royal diadem at all. Multiple alternative explanations for these ribbons are available for our consideration. In a section of his encyclopedic *Natural History* devoted to a class of flowers dubbed *coronamenta*, Pliny the Elder discusses crowns wherein the leaves were fashioned out of silver and gold, to which ribbons or bands (*lemnisci*) were introduced, 'the addition of which contributed to the honour of the crowns themselves'.[48]

[46]*RPC* I 2203 (= *RIC* I^2 Augustus 476), datable to 28 BCE. See C. H. V. Sutherland, *The Cistophoroi of Augustus* (London: Royal Numismatic Society, 1970), 12–14, 40. On the connection between these issues and their implications for an opposition between Dionysus and Apollo, see Mannsperger, 'Apollon'.

[47]Paul Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, trans. Alan Shapiro (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990), 93, compares Augustus's use of the oak *corona civica*, which Augustus received in 27 BCE, to the royal diadem: 'By the addition of gems and fillets the simple wreath was turned into a kind of crown.' See also Andreas Alföldi, *Die monarchische Repräsentation im römischen Kaiserreiche* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1977), 137–40. Bergmann (*Der Kranz des Kaisers*, 154–8, 361–86) demonstrates that the bands (which she identifies as *tainia*, see below) were initially absent from representations of this crown.

[48]Pliny, *Nat*. 21.6: *accesseruntque et lemnisci, quos adici ipsarum coronarum honor erat*. Interestingly, no *lemnisci* are visible in the portraits of Caesar wearing what Kraft ('Der goldene') argues is the golden crown (*corona Etrusca*), *RRC* 480/2-16. This may lend credence to the arguments of Bergmann (*Der Kranz des Kaisers*, 119–34) that the crown represented is in fact a grass crown (*corona obsidionalis*).



FIGURE 18.4 Colossal portrait of the emperor Claudius wearing an oak crown (*corona civica*) with fillets hanging down in back and draped along his shoulders, from Cerveteri. Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Profano, inv. 9950. Photo: D-DAI-ROM-0337_A12.

Pliny goes on to mention the Etruscans, who he says attached *lemnisci* exclusively to crowns of gold, but it is clear that ribbons and crowns could be combined in other contexts as well. For example, Livy's account of the joyous reaction to Flamininus's announcement of the liberation of Greece at the Isthmian games in 196 BCE involves the audience rushing forward to bestow *coronae* and *lemnisci* upon the Roman general.[49] Livy's phrasing adheres closely to the Greek of Polybius, who also describes the crowd as pelting Flamininus with *stephanoi* and *lemniskoi*. Comparison with Appian's account of the same events confirms that these ribbons might also be described as *tainiai*, the headbands bestowed upon athletic victors in conjunction with the leafy wreaths that made up the principal prizes of the major Panhellenic festivals.[50] Scholarly uncertainty about whether the bands intertwined with the laurel wreath in Philaeterios's coin portraits represent a diadem or a

[49]Livy, 33.33.2: *turba … coronas lemniscosque iacientium*.
[50]Polybius, 18.46.12: οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ στεφάνους ἐπιρριπτοῦντες καὶ λημνίσκους; cf. Appian, *Mac*. 9.4: στεφάνους τε καὶ ταινίας ἐπέβαλλον τῷ στρατηγῷ. Cf. Thucydides, 4.121.1, 5.50.4; Dio Chrysostom., 9.14. In a passing comment of the varieties of Roman *coronae*, Servius defines 'contest' crowns in terms of their conjunction with ribbons (*Aen*. 6.772: *agonales, id est lemniscatae*).

tainia has already been noted, and this is in fact the term that Appian used when describing the fillet-wrapped laurel crown that had appeared on Caesar's statue.[51]

Certainly the diadem was not the only form of headband known to inhabitants of the ancient Mediterranean. In addition to athletic *tainiai* and *lemnisci*, there was also the *mitra*, a headband associated with Bacchic revelry that was believed, like ivy wreaths and some other floral garlands, to help stave off the headaches associated with heavy drinking. This was similar enough in form to the diadem that Dionysus was also credited by some authorities as the inventor of both forms of adornment.[52] Add to these the Greek *strophion*, a twisted band of cloth worn by certain priests, which on etymological grounds was sometimes conflated with the Latin *stroppum*, a simplified form of floral wreath.[53]

Unlike with *coronae*, in which the use of leafy materials provided at least some semblance of a framework for drawing distinctions between different types of wreaths, it is extraordinarily difficult to correlate the terminological distinctions between these various ribbons and bands with the distinctive physical form of these adornments.[54] Servius's account of the headgear worn for certain Roman religious ceremonies is revealingly unhelpful in this regard:

> *infula*: a band in the style of a diadem, from which *vittae* [another form of headband] hang down on either side, which is generally wide and generally of woven strands of white and crimson.[55]

Reference to the width of the band and use of distinctive colours may seem promising, but the repeated appearance of the qualifying adverb 'generally' (*plerumque*) does not inspire a high degree of confidence in the usefulness of this information for establishing the difference between the various adornments under discussion.[56] More confounding still is Servius's easy equation of the

[51]Appian, *B. Civ*. 2.108: ἐστεφάνωσε δάφναις, ἀναπεπλεγμένης ταινίας λευκῆς. Note also Alföldi's arguments (*Caesar in 44 v. Chr. Band I*, 112–27), rejected by Hans-Werner Ritter, ('Die Bedeutung des Diadems', Historia 36 (1987): 290–301, but see now Stephan Lehmann, 'Sieger-Binden im agonistischen und monarchischen Kontext', in *Das Diadem der hellenistischen Herrscher*, ed. A. Lichtenberger, K. Martin, H.-H Nieswandt and D. Salzmann [Bonn: Habelt-Verlag, [2012], 181–208), that the diadem was adapted from the athletic *tainia*. Bergmann (*Der Kranz des Kaisers*, 154–8, 283, 305, 309) identifies the bands attached to the back of Augustus's oak *corona civica* as *tainia* without explanation.

[52]Diodorus Siculus, 4.4.4, Pliny, *Nat.* 7.191, emphasized by E. A. Fredricksmeyer, 'The Origin of Alexander's Royal Insignia', *TAPA* 127 (1997): 102–7. Ritter ('Die Bedeutung', 298) points out that the *mitra* was worn around the forehead, whereas the diadem sat above the hairline. See now Kai Michael Meyer, 'Die Binde des Dionysos als Vorbild für das Königsdiadem?', in *Das Diadem der hellenistischen Herrscher*, 209–31, also Collins, 'The Royal Costume', 381–2.

[53]*SIG* 869.21, Festus 410 L, cf. Pliny, *Nat.* 21.3.

[54]This is not to say that typological distinctions cannot be observed in the iconographic record, only that these distinctions do not necessarily correspond to clearly delineated terminological divisions. For the former, see Antje Krug, *Binden in der griechischen Kunst: Untersuchungen zur Typologie (6-1.Jahr. v. Chr.)* (PhD Diss., University of Mainz: Hösel, 1968), Dieter Salzmann, 'Anmerkungen zur Typologie des hellenistischen Königsdiadems und zu anderen herrscherlichen Kopfbinden', in *Das Diadem der hellenistischen Herrscher*, 337–83.

[55]Servius, *Aen*. 10.538: *infula: fascia in modum diadematis, a quo vittae ab utraque parte dependent, quae plerumque lata (lana?) est, plerumque tortilis de albo et cocco*. Cf. Festus 100 L. See Elaine Fantham, 'Covering the Head at Rome: Ritual and Gender', in *Roman Dress and the Fabrics of Roman Culture*, ed. Jonathan Edmondson and Alison Keith (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 163–6, and Olson, 'Dress and Religion in Roman Antiquity', this volume.

[56]Our evidence for the colour of the royal diadem is mixed: Alföldi, *Caesar in 44 v. Chr. Band I*, 111. Curtius Rufus, who claims that Alexander adopted the diadem from Persian custom, describes it as 'purple, set off by white' (6.6.4: *purpureum diadema distinctum albo*), but elsewhere describes Darius as wearing a crown adorned 'with a blue band, set off by white' (3.3.19: *caerulia fascia albo distincta*). Pausanias (ap. Eustath 1399) said that the diadem of the Macedonian kings was white, however. The diadem-wrapped crown on Caesar's statue involved simply a 'white band' (Suetonius, *Iul*. 79.1: *candida fascia*; App., *BC* 2.108: ταινίας λευκῆς; cf. Valerius Maximus, 6.2.7).

infula with the diadem. These two types of headband clearly had different uses and meanings, but the degree of formal overlap seems to have done little to mitigate the potential for confusion.

I have thus far steered clear of the *vittae*, *redimicula* and the countless other forms of ribbons and scarves that Roman women used to keep their hair in place in various contexts.[57] However, an image of a woman may serve to illustrate, in its own distinctive way, the nature of the difficulties we face (Figure 18.5). On some of the silver denarii struck to pay Antony's legions, Cleopatra's portrait appears with her hair neatly tied back in a bun at the nape of her neck, with a ribbon encircling her head behind the hairline.[58] The hairstyle and adornment are virtually indistinguishable from depictions of other female figures on Roman coinage of the late Republic, such that it might be easy to overlook the significance of the headband in this context.[59] It is almost certainly a regal diadem, however, as the coin's legend identifies her as 'Cleopatra, Queen of Kings and of the Sons of Kings' (CLEOPATRAE REGINAE REGVM FILIORVM REGVM).[60]

Despite the apparent similarities in the iconography of portraits of Roman emperors and those of diademed monarchs, we cannot say with confidence that the ribbons hanging down from the



FIGURE 18.5 Roman denarius with reverse image of Cleopatra wearing regal diadem (*RRC* 543/1) Photo: Art Resource (ART209512).

[57]See, for example, Cato, *FRH* F 109; Varro, *L*. 5.130., Kelly Olson, '*Matrona* and Whore: The Clothing of Women in Roman Antiquity', *Fashion Theory* 6, no. 4 (2002): 392, *Dress and the Roman Woman: Self-Presentation and Society* (London: Routledge, 2008), 36–9, 53–4. On the gendered significance of covering the hair in Roman culture, see Fantham, 'Covering the Head at Rome', 158–71, Andrew B. Gallia, 'The Vestal Habit', *CP* 109 (2014): 223–5.

[58]*RRC* 543/1. Cf. *RPC* I 4094-4096, 4741-2, 4771. I thank Kelly Olson for encouraging me to address this use of the diadem.

[59]Cf. *RRC* 481/1, 458/1 (Venus), 499/1 (Libertas), 440/1 (Fortuna). Cleopatra's hairstyle is comparable to that of Octavia, although the latter lacks a visible headband: *RRC* 527/1, *RPC* I 4088-90, 1453-1455, 1462-1464.

[60]Hana Al Shafei, 'The Crowns of Cleopatra VII: An Iconographical and Analytical Study', *Scientific Culture* 2, no. 2 (2016): 36–7.

back of an emperor's crown were a vestige of the royal diadem. They may instead have been honorific *lemnisci* or perhaps some novel instantiation of the *vittae* that hung down from priestly *infulae* in other contexts. The difficulty of establishing clearly defined physical criteria with which to identify the nature of these ribbons suggests that this might not be the proper way to frame the issue in the first place. Perhaps instead, the cultural meaning assigned to these various forms of headgear depended as much on the social position of the person wearing them as it did on the physical characteristics of the adornment itself.

An anecdote recorded by Valerius Maximus drives home the point:

> When he (sc. Pompey the Great) had his leg bandaged with a white strip of cloth, Favonius said to him, 'it does not matter, on what part of the body the diadem may be', thus rebuking his royal powers with a joke about a mere rag. But by keeping an unaltered and impartial expression, he (Pompey) was careful not to appear either to accept this implication willingly by smiling, or, with a gloomy look, to express anger at it.[61]

The contrast with Caesar, who was forced to acknowledge the royal and therefore invidious implications of the diadem when it was offered to him at the Lupercalia, is stark. By remaining impassive, Pompey preserved a measure of ambiguity not only as to the meaning of the strip of cloth tied around his leg but also about the nature of his position within Rome's political order. To put this another way, the material format of the diadem mattered less than the (imputed) intentions of the wearer. The fact that we cannot find a definitive explanation for the strips of cloth that were intertwined with the crowns of Augustus and his heirs is therefore unsurprising, given that the position of the *princeps* was itself carefully fashioned to combine a manifest reality of monarchical powers with the pretence of a 'restored' Republic.[62]

CHRISTIANS AND CROWNS

The other act of refusal for us to consider took place in a military camp at some point in the early years of the third century CE, most likely in 211 or perhaps 208.[63] In contrast to the abundance of historical documentation available for Caesar's refusal of the diadem, our knowledge of this episode rests entirely upon the testimony of Tertullian's contemporaneous account, which can be quoted in full:

> It recently happened that the largess of our most outstanding emperors was being distributed in the camp. Laurel-decked soldiers were in attendance. Taking part there was one more steadfast as a soldier of god than those other brothers, who presume that they can serve two masters. He was the only one with a bare head, the unused crown in his hand. Having been revealed through this conduct as a Christian, he stood out like a beacon. Then some pointed. Those at a distance mocked him; those at closer range snarled at him. The grumbling was unrelenting. He was handed over to the tribune, who was already advancing from the front of the line. The tribune immediately inquired, 'why are

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[61]Valerius Maximus, 6.2.7: *Cui candida fascia crus alligatum habenti Favonius 'non refert' inquit 'qua in parte sit corporis diadema', exigui panni cavillatione regias ei vires exprobrans. at is neutra <m> in parte <m> mutato vultu utrumque cavit, ne aut hilari fronte libenter agnoscere potentiam aut <tristi iram> profiteri videretur*.

[62]Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, '*Civilis Princeps*: Between Citizen and King', *JRS* 72 (1982): 32–48; Andrew B. Gallia, *Remembering the Roman Republic: Culture, Politics, and History under the Principate* (Cambridge: Cambridge, 2012), 29–32.

[63]Timothy David Barnes, *Tertullian: A Historical and Literary Study*, rev. ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 37.

you so different in your appearance?' The soldier said that it was not permissible for him to be like the others. Asked for his reasons, he replied, 'I am a Christian.'[64]

As with Caesar's actions at the Lupercalia, the meaning of the Christian soldier's refusal to don his laurel wreath is registered, and given meaning, by an assembled crowd of onlookers. His defiance of the normative dress code on this occasion generates an uproar among the other soldiers. When taken before the prefect of the camp, the soldier went on to strip off all of his military garb, depositing his heavy cloak, uncomfortable scouting boots and sword along with the crown he was holding on the ground. For this act of insubordination, he was led off to prison, where, according to Tertullian, he awaited the 'largess of Christ', being 'kept warm with the hope of his own bloodshed, shod by the promise of the Gospel, girded with God's sharper word, and armed entirely by the apostle, that he might be crowned more favourably with the white laurel of a martyr'.[65]

Although Tertullian's description of the negative reactions of the other soldiers reveals a great deal about expectations of conformity within the ranks of the Roman military, it was the response of other Christians that constitutes his primary concern in this work.[66] The speaker sets out to defend this soldier's act of sartorial self-assertion against those who would accuse him of causing trouble unnecessarily, deliberately courting martyrdom and placing his fellow Christians in danger.[67] As a meditation on norms of bodily adornment and how these can be used to articulate a distinctive identity for Christians in a Roman world, *On the Crown* stands alongside a number of other works by Tertullian, namely *On the Pallium* (*de Pallio*), *On the Apparel of Women* (*de Cultu Feminarum* 1 and 2) and *On the Veiling of Virgins* (*de Virginibus Velandis*), in which similar concerns are repeatedly foregrounded.[68]

The arguments of the *De corona* are too varied to examine in their totality here, but the central premise is that the wearing of a crown is fundamentally an idolatrous act and therefore represents a form of conduct from which Christians must refrain. To support this claim, Tertullian adduces the evidence of pagan literature (*litterae saeculares*) itself, including a monograph on the origins, purposes and varieties of crowns by Claudius Saturninus, which he uses to demonstrate that 'the custom of the crowned head was established by, and then provided as an honour for, those whom the pagan world believes to be gods'.[69] In this regard, Tertullian aligns himself with the views of

[64]Tertullian, *Cor.* 1.1-2: *Proxime factum est: liberalitas praestantissimorum imperatorum expungebatur in castris, milites laureati adibant. Adhibetur quidam illic magis dei miles ceteris constantior fratribus, qui se duobus dominis seruire posse praesumpserant, solus libero capite, coronamento in manu otioso. Vulgato iam et ista disciplina Christiano, relucebat. Denique singuli designare, eludere eminus, infrendere comminus. Continuo murmur: tribuno defertur et persona. Iam ex ordine accesserat. Statim tribunus: 'Cur,' inquit, 'tam diuersus habitus?' Negauit ille sibi cum ceteris licere. Causas expostulatus, 'Christianus sum' respondit.*

[65]ibid., 1.3: *et nunc, rufatus sanguinis sui spe, calciatus de euangelii paratura, succinctus *acutiore uerbo dei, ac totus de apostolo armatus, ut de martyrii candida laurea melius coronatus, donatiuum Christi in carcere expectat.*

[66]On uniform dress and conformity, see Nathan Joseph, *Uniforms and Nonuniforms: Communication through Clothing* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), 66–83.

[67]The framing of the issues in these terms leads many scholars to regard the *De corona* as an early expression of Tertullian's association with the uncompromising 'new prophecy' of Montanism. See, for example, Barnes, *Tertullian*, 132–5, Christine Trevett, *Montanism: Gender, Authority, and the New Prophecy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 72.

[68]Carly Daniel-Hughes, *The Salvation of the Flesh in Tertullian of Carthage: Dressing for the Resurrection* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); T. Corey Brennan, 'Tertullian's De Pallio and Roman Dress in North Africa', in *Roman Dress and the Fabrics of Roman Culture*, 257–70.

[69]Tertullian, *Cor.* 7.7: *coronati capitis institutionem ab eis prolatam et in eorum deinceps honorem dispensatam, quos saeculum deos credidit.*

Pliny the Elder, another reader of Saturninus's work, who described the expansion of human uses of crowns as flowing from an original association with the divine.[70]

The invocation of a specialist treatise calls attention to the complex system of signification made possible by the varieties of plant material from which a crown might be fashioned, as particular trees had traditional associations with individual gods: laurel with Apollo, myrtle with Venus, olive with Minerva and so on. The use of different types of foliage for the wreaths awarded in the contests at the major Panhellenic festivals would have tended to reinforce the importance of these connections.[71] For Tertullian, the range of these botanical affiliations underscored the ubiquity of pagan superstition in determining the ends to which soldiers might be crowned with various branches.[72]

On the other hand, the very existence of an antiquarian literature on this topic indicates that the nature of these connections was not always straightforward or even readily apparent to the participants. As has already been noted, investigations into the basis of these associations often engendered more confusion than clarity. Within Roman cult practice, the symbolic register of crowns seems to have varied not only according to the divinity involved but with the ritual context as well. This is reflected in the records of the priesthood of the Arval Brethren, who in the course of a single festival performed a sacrifice wearing *coronae spiceae* (crowns made up of ears of grain) before changing into *coronae pactiles rosaciae* (crowns of plaited roses) to watch chariot races, at which the victors were awarded *coronae argenteae* (silver crowns).[73] While the force of tradition determined what crowns were worn by whom at which events, the logic of these rules did not necessarily derive from a unified or coherent system of meaning. Antiquarian researchers were forced to speculate, for example, as to why Apollo's laurel was worn in the triumph, a festival that honoured Jupiter, whose tree was the oak.[74]

As the number of occasions for wearing crowns increased, Tertullian's insistence that this practice constituted a form of idolatry begins to lose some of its force. The soldier who refused to wear the laurel when mustering to receive an imperial donative was obviously not acting as a priest, after all. To the casual observer, whatever connection this element of his costume had to any overtly religious features of the ceremony may have appeared attenuated at best. Tertullian acknowledges this objection, listing an array of other contexts in which crowns were regularly worn, from awards for magistrates to civic festivals to weddings to games. He discounts each of these contexts in turn by insisting that none of them have anything to do with the proper conduct of a Christian life.[75]

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[70]Pliny, *Nat.*, 16.9-10.

[71]Laurel crowns were awarded at Delphi (Paus. 10.7.8), while at Poseidon's games in Isthmia there were crowns of pine and celery (Paus. 2.1.3, Oscar Broneer, 'The Isthmia Victory Crown', *AJA* 66 [1962]: 259–63). Different varieties of Olive were apparently used for the wreaths at Olympia (Paus. 5.7.6-7) and the Panathenaia (Suid., π 151, s.v. 'Panathenaia'). See generally Ludwig Deubner, 'Die Bedeutung des Kranzes im klassischen Altertum', *ARW* 30 (1933): 72–3, Blech, *Studien zum Kranz*, 127–38, also Jutta Rumscheid, *Kranz und Krone: Zu Insignien, Siegespreisen und Ehrenzeichen der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Tübingen: Ernst Wasmuch Verlag, 2000), 79–89, Soteria Yiannaki, 'The Comparative Spirit in Flora', *Gerión* 26 (2008): 267–80.

[72]Tertullian, *Cor.* 12.1-2.

[73]*ILS* 5037 (= *CIL* 6.2065); see John Scheid, *Romulus et ses frères. Le collège des frères arvales, modèle du culte public dans la Rome des empereurs* (Rome: École français de Rome, 1990), 572–3.

[74]Pliny, *Nat.*15.134-5, lists a number of possible explanations, including Masurius's suggestion that the burning of laurel served to cleanse the stain of human slaughter, before settling on the observation that laurel is the only tree never struck by lightning.

[75]Tertullian, *Cor.* 13.1-7, at 7: *uniuersas, ut arbitror, causas enumerauimus, nec ulla nobiscum est: omnes alienae, profanae, illicitae, semel iam in sacramenti testatione eieratae*.

The refusal to wear crowns was thus part of a larger theological debate about the extent to which the Christian community should seek to set itself apart from the conventions of the secular world.[76]

Tertullian goes on to link his rejection of the crown to the biblical injunction against putting on a veil to sacrifice in 1 Corinthians 11:4, which has also been interpreted as a deliberate renunciation of prevailing Roman practices.[77] This comparison introduces a gendered element into the discussion, as Paul's guidelines for men and women diverged on this point, with women instructed to retain the veil as a symbol of the male 'authority' placed over their heads.[78] Tertullian would elaborate on the importance of the veil as an expression of female chastity in his treatise *On the Veiling of Virgins*, but in the context of the *De corona*, the contrast with women's use of the veil serves to highlight the essential meaning of the crown as a form of exaltation. Whereas a covered head conveys modesty (*humilitas*, *verecundia*), the wearing of a crown calls attention to one's head by decorating it. Such conduct, for men as well as women, is inconsistent with Christian precepts of humility and therefore shameful.[79]

Nevertheless, Christians could not entirely escape the symbolic resonances of the crown as manifested in the world around them. Its importance as a marker of prestige inevitably comes into play by way of the Passion narrative and the crown of thorns with which the soldiers mocked Christ as 'king of the Jews' before his crucifixion.[80] Tertullian first invokes this crown sardonically, responding to an imagined interlocutor who points to crowned images of the saviour as contradicting his claims about the lack of biblical authority for crowning as a Christian practice: 'and so may you be crowned; that is allowed'.[81] Just as the use of thorns transformed the saviour's crown into an instrument of abuse, so too did Christians continue to redefine the meaning of the crown for their own purposes.

Tertullian goes on to develop an exegesis that stresses the material from which this crown was fashioned, which he interprets in light of Genesis 3:18, where thorns are a consequence of original sin and so become a symbol of the salvation achieved through Christ's suffering. He admonishes his fellow Christians, 'You should not be crowned with flowers, if you are not capable of being crowned with thorns.'[82] The crown of thorns can thus be reclaimed via the paradoxes of Christian soteriology as an exceptional symbol of honour. It is this understanding of the crown of thorns that seems to be reflected in a remarkable early depiction of this scene from the Passion on a fourth-century sarcophagus, in which the posture of the figures calls to mind other, pre-Christian depictions of crowning (Figure 18.6, cf. Figure 18.2).[83]

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[76]Cf. Mary Ellen Roach-Higgins and Joanne Eicher, 'Dress and Identity', *Clothing and Textiles Research Journal* 10, no. 4 (1992): 6.

[77]Tertullian, *Cor.* 14.1: *siquidem caput viri Christus. est tam liberum quam et Christus, ne velamento quidem obnoxium, nedum obligamento*; cf. Plutarch, *Mor.* 266 c-e (*Quaest. Rom.* 10); Richard Oster, 'When Men Wore Veils to Worship: The Historical Context of 1 Corinthians 11:4', *NTS* 34 (1988): 481–505.

[78]1 Cor. 1.10: ὀφείλει ἡ γυνὴ ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς. Mary Rose D'Angelo, 'Veils, Virgins, and the Tongues of Men and Angels: Women's Heads in Early Christianity', in *Off with Her Head! The Denial of Women's Identity in Myth, Religion, and Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 131–64; Daniel-Hughes, *The Salvation of the Flesh*, 94–7.

[79]Cf. Tertullian, *Cult. Fem.* 2.3.2: *porro exaltatio non congruit professoribus humilitatis ex praeceptis Dei.*

[80]Mark 15.17-18, par. Mt. 27.28-9. See Joel Marcus, 'Crucifixion as Parodic Exultation', *JBL* 125 (2006): 73–4.

[81]Tertullian, *Cor.* 9.2: *'sic et tu coronare: licitum est.'*

[82]Tertullian, *Cor.* 14.4: *aut nec floribus coroneris, si spinis non potes.*

[83]Guntram Koch, *Frühchristliche Sarkophage* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2000): 284, Jas Elsner, 'Image and Rhetoric in Early Christian Sarcophagi: Reflections on Jesus' Trial', in *Life, Death, and Representation: Some New Work on Roman Sarcophagi* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), 378–80.

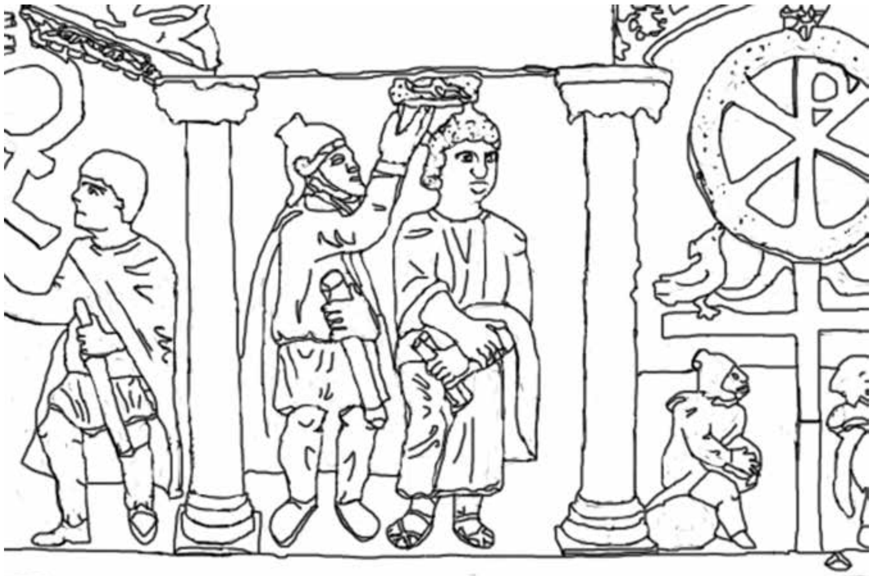


FIGURE 18.6 Fourth-century columnar sarcophagus with scenes of the Passion, detail: Christ receives the crown of thorns. Vatican, Museo Pio Christiano. Artist: Ethan Henkel.

Although early Christians could assert their independence from secular conventions by refusing to wear the crowns associated with Roman celebrations, they could not entirely escape the symbolic resonance of this practice. Its enduring hold on their thought is demonstrated even more forcefully in the other scriptural context in which they would have encountered a reference to this form of adornment, the promise in the book of Revelation of a 'crown of life' for those who remain faithful unto death.[84] Tertullian treats this crown as a metaphorical construct, which employs the trappings of this world to convey the promise of what lies beyond for those who can prove their worthiness by rejecting those trappings in life.[85] As we have already seen, he also described the reward that the Christian soldier hoped to attain by rejecting his military crown as the 'white laurel of a martyr'. His interpretation of the crown of life as a symbol or emblem of salvation that stands apart from the actual practice of crowning is thus in keeping with the overall rhetorical posture of this work. Through such manoeuvres, Christians might continue to embrace the honorific implications of the crown even as they rejected its secular associations.

[84]Rev. 2.10, cf. Jas. 1.12.
[85]Tertullian, *Cor*. 15.1.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

Clothes Make the Jew: Was There Distinctive Jewish Dress in the Greco-Roman Period?

JOSHUA SCHWARTZ

INTRODUCTION

Shakespeare teaches us that 'apparel oft proclaims the man' (Hamlet, 1.3.72). Dress conveys information. Clothing carries cultural meaning and can reflect social, ethnic and religious norms. Apparel sheds light on personality, tastes, ideals, status and even morals. In the Greco-Roman world, men and women, young and old, had numerous dress options. In general, though, in Greco-Roman society, one dressed like a Greek or a Roman and would have been recognized as either.[1]

What about Jewish society? Could one dress as a Jew? Was there distinctive dress for Jewish men and women in Greco-Roman society and would this dress have been distinctive enough to mark them off as Jews? Would a non-Jew recognize a Jew by his or her dress? Would a Jew recognize another Jew? Did Jewish men and women consider certain garments or styles as being Jewish even if technically they were not? Was there a difference between 'Jewish garments' and 'Jewish style', if either or both existed? Were there garments that Jews would not wear and would this mark them as Jews?

The limited framework of the study prevents dealing at length with all of these questions. Moreover, any discussion on 'Jewish clothing' necessitates the use of numerous different types of sources, such as rabbinic literature, Greco-Roman literature, archaeology, and each of these has its own methodological problems.[2] Also, in discussing distinctive or unusual, it is necessary to make reference to normative clothing. Each object of normative apparel is worthy of detailed study, but

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[1]See Lucille A. Roussin, 'Costume in Roman Palestine: Archaeological Remains and the Evidence from the Mishnah', in *The World of Roman Costume*, ed. Judith L. Sebesta and Larissa Bonfante (Milwaukee: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1998), 182–90. See also Alicia J. Batten, Carly Daniel-Hughes and Kristi Upson-Saia, 'Introduction: "What Shall We Wear"?', in *Dressing Judeans and Christians in Antiquity*, ed. Kristi Upson-Saia, Carly Daniel-Hughes and Alicia J. Batten (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 1–18.

[2]For a brief discussion of some of these problems, see Joshua Schwartz, 'The Material Realities of Jewish Life in the Land of Israel, c. 235–638', in *The Cambridge History of Judaism, Volume IV: The Late Roman-Rabbinic Period*, ed. Steven T. Katz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 431–3. For a detailed summary of the types of rabbinic literature used in the study of material culture of ancient society, see, for example, Joshua Schwartz, 'Ball Playing in Ancient Jewish Society: The Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Periods', *Ludica* 3 (1997): 16–17, n. 1. For the purpose of this study, I use the texts, standard printed and manuscript versions, conveniently collected in the Bar-Ilan Responsa Project (https://www.responsa.co.il/default.aspx) available in many academic libraries. All translations are mine.

this cannot be done in a framework that seeks to examine Jewish clothing within the broad context of the Greco-Roman world.

JEWISH STYLE OR JEWISH DRESS CODE?

Could one recognize a Jew by his or her clothing? It depends on who was doing the wearing and who was doing the looking and where looking and wearing took place. A Jew might be more sensitive than a non-Jew to subtle nuances of 'Jewish dress' worn by a Jew who thought that he or she was 'passing'. There were also undoubtedly differences between the Land of Israel and the Jewish and non-Jewish Diaspora. In Jewish surroundings, Jews might have been more comfortable dressing and looking Jewish than in non-Jewish surroundings.[3]

A number of scholars have addressed some of these questions. The most prominent representative of the 'non-distinctive Jewish dresser' school is Shaye Cohen. In general, in his view, Jews did not wear distinctive clothing, whether distinctly Jewish or non-Jewish. Jews did not stand out in their dress.[4] True, there might be exceptions such as the Jewish *ephebes* in Hellenistic Jerusalem who wore the *petasos*, the markedly Greek wide-brimmed headgear appropriate for the gymnasium and not ordinarily worn by Jews,[5] or Jewish women in the eastern Roman empire wearing veils, which might have been considered by many distinctive Jewish dress for women.[6] The non-distinctive clothes to which Cohen refers are non-distinctive Greco-Roman-style clothes worn by the majority of Jews in the Greco-Roman world. Cohen, of course, does not ignore the fact that there were two distinctively Jewish items of clothing, *tzitzit* (fringes) and *tefillin* (phylacteries), which might have identified those who wore them as Jewish. As we shall see, though, Cohen and others of the 'non-distinctive Jewish dresser' school claim that the sources are silent as to the extent to which Jews wore these items publicly, meaning that they were not worn by many in public.[7] I shall discuss these two items below and try to determine to what extent they were worn publicly and served as ethnic or religious markers.

Non-distinctive clothing, however, might turn out to be distinctively Jewish, at least in the case of a Jewish woman. However, as Gail Labovitz points out in this volume, identifying a unique feature of Jewish women's dress, at least in the rabbinic period, is very difficult. Naftali Cohn sees the Jewish woman dressing in keeping with the laws of adornment of the rabbis, stressing modesty,

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[3]It is important to avoid anachronisms regarding Jewish 'passing' in modern times vis-à-vis ancient times. Interaction is also not the same as passing or blending in. See, for example, Leonard V. Rutgers, 'Archaeological Evidence for Interaction of Jews and Non-Jews in Late Antiquity', *American Journal of Archaeology* 96, no. 1 (January 1992): 101–18.

[4]See Shaye J. D. Cohen, '"Those Who Say They Are Jews and Are Not": How Do You Know a Jew in Antiquity When You See One?', in *The Diaspora in Antiquity*, ed. Shaye J. D. Cohen and Ernest S. Frerichs (Brown Judaic Studies 288; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), 1–45. A revised version appeared in idem, *The Beginnings of Jewishness: Boundaries, Varieties, Uncertainties* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 1999), 25–68 and esp. 30–4. See also Katie Turner, '"The Shoe Is the Sign!" Costuming Brian and Dressing the First Century', in *Jesus and Brian: Exploring the Historical Jesus and His Times via Monty Python's Life of Brian*, ed. Joan E. Taylor (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2015), 221–37.

[5]2 Maccabees 4:12.

[6]Cohen, *Beginnings*, 31–2, n. 19. There were exceptions to the rule. See Kelly Olson, *Dress and the Roman Woman: Self-presentation and Society* (London and New York: Routledge: Taylor Francis Group, 2008), 33–4, on the woman's *palla* as a veil and as a mark of honour, dignity and sexual modesty.

[7]Ibid., 32–3.

as displaying her unique Judaean identity.[8] Such a woman would see herself as dressing Jewish, even though her garments were exactly the same as those of a non-Jewish woman. Would she be identified as a Jew by Jews or non-Jews looking at her? To the extent that modesty or modest dress was considered a Jewish marker, and it was, she would be so identified. However, modest dress was certainly not limited to Jewish women and the Roman matron was also expected to dress modestly.[9] Thus, the answer to the question might depend on the venue of the Jewish women. Was she in Jewish, non-Jewish or mixed surroundings? This Jewish woman might be described as the non-distinctive distinctive Jewish dresser. She abided by a Jewish code of dress.

Distinctive could be just as difficult to discern as non-distinctive. Romans, for instance, would usually fasten the *fibula*, the brooch that was used to pin an outer garment, over the right shoulder. This left the right arm free while the garment was draped over the left shoulder.[10] The Jews, however, probably used the *fibula* to fasten the *tallit*, their outer garment, over the left shoulder, leaving the left arm free, perhaps to allow the wearing of phylacteries or *tefillin*, which most Jewish men placed on their left arm.[11] However, a rabbinic tradition in *y. Demai* 4:6, 24b, tells of taking the *fibula* (lit. *filbah*) from the left shoulder, the normative for Jewish users of the brooch, as just pointed out, and moving it to the right, as a sign that a person had been invited to dinner and should not receive another invitation.[12] Would a left-shoulder *fibula* wearer be recognized a Jew or just as an eccentric *fibula* wearer still adhering to Greco-Roman fashion norms? Setting and surrounding would probably be of importance in determining the answer. The same is true for the Jewish switch back to the right shoulder. Would the Jew doing so be now blended into Roman society or would the internal Jewish message of the switch be recognized? Once again it probably depended on the setting. The significance of the switch would be recognizable only in a Jewish setting. In a non-Jewish setting switching the *fibula* back to the right shoulder helped one blend in. Of course there was also the possibility that the invitation generated switching was just a midrashic literary invention.

SAGES AND RABBIS

We just saw that it was not always easy to discern distinctive Jewish modes of dress. Was this true of rabbis and sages? A number of rabbinic traditions hint that rabbis wore distinctive clothing that marked them as rabbis.[13] Thus, while most Jewish males, including sages, wore the *tallit* or mantle

[8]Naftali S. Cohn, 'What to Wear: Women's Adornment and Judean Identity in the Third Century Mishnah', in Upson-Saia et al., *Dressing Judeans and Christians*, 23.

[9]Olson, *Dress and the Roman Woman*, 25–42. Most women in the Greco-Roman world, except perhaps for prostitutes, would dress modestly, although the definition of modest might change from culture to culture.

[10]On outer garments, see Mary G. Houston, *Ancient Greek, Roman and Byzantine Costume and Decoration* (London: A & C. Black, 1947), 97–9. Not all of these would have been worn by Jews. The *paludamentum* was a military coat and worn by distinguished personalities. The *abolla and lucerna* also had military usage.

[11]On the *tallit* or mantle, possibly identical with the *pallium*, see Samuel Krauss, *Talmudische Archäologie* (Leipzig: G. Fock, 1910 [Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1966]), I, 604–5, n. 541. See also Dafna Shlezinger-Katsman, 'Clothing', in *The Oxford Handbook of Jewish Daily Life in Roman Palestine*, ed. Catherine Hezser (Oxford/New York: OUP, 2010), 368–71.

[12]Cf. *Lam. Rab.* 4:2. See Daniel Sperber, *Material Culture in Eretz-Israel during the Talmudic Period* (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi and Bar-Ilan Press, 1993), 126–7 (Hebrew).

[13]Cohen, *The Beginnings*, 30, n. 17. Cohen cites *Gen. Rab*. 82:8 (p. 984, ed. Theodor-Albeck) which tells of two rabbinic disciples changing their clothes during a time of persecution so as not to look like rabbis. See also *Sif. Deut*. 343 (p. 400, ed. Finkelstein) (and parallels) which states that a scholar is recognized by his gait, discourse and attire. *Mekhilta de-Rashbi Ex.* 19:18 adds that this refers to the market.

as an outer garment in public, some scholars claimed that they had special gowns.[14] The sources in question, however, can also be read as implying that the sages always wore a *tallit* or outer garment at formal occasions, but the garment was generic.[15] Babylonian tradition, however, does mention a '*tallit* of a student of a sage', perhaps reflecting a special garment, but the tradition also indicates that non-sages might have also worn it causing confusion.[16] Babylonian tradition also assumed that an important marker of rabbinic apparel in general was that it was meticulous and spotless.[17] Possibly then the sages of Babylonia might have made an effort to distinguish themselves from the general Jewish population through some aspects of their clothing.

What about their beard or hairstyle? While this is technically not apparel, in the ancient world it often went together with clothing in the case of a philosopher or sage. During the Roman Empire, the beard became a symbol of the philosopher's moral integrity and all philosophers wore beards but of different styles, full, half, short, carefully tended or unkempt. By the third century CE, one's philosophical school could be recognized by beard and hair.[18] Was the same true for rabbis? Shaving with a razor was forbidden for all Jewish males, so it stands to reason that all males would have beards. We also know that many trimmed their beards and kept them neat, but this relates to the general population.[19] What about rabbis? In a fairly early tradition, one second-century CE Palestinian rabbi turns to another and asks him why his beard is long (and unkempt?). He answers that his facial-hair style is in response to those who would 'destroy' (shave) their beards.[20] The impression from the source is that a long unkempt beard was unusual for a sage or perhaps for anybody? It is not clear against what he is protesting.

TZITZIT

We mentioned above that there were two distinctive Jewish objects of apparel. The first was the *tzitzit* or fringes attached to the edges or corners of a mantle worn by a male (Num. 15:37-38, Deut. 22:12). The lection in Numbers requires a blue (*tekhelet*) fringe.[21] It is fairly safe to say that a

[14]See Catherine Hezser, *The Social Structure of the Rabbinic Movement in Roman Palestine* (TSAJ 66; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 127.

[15]*Lev. Rab.* 2:4; b. *B. Meṣ`ia* 85a on a figurative 'golden cloak' given to a student upon ordination, *Gen Rab.* 70:5 (p. 802), Hezser, *The Social Structure*, 127–9. Cf. Mk 12:38 on scribes dressing in *stolais* (στολαῖς). These were apparently robes worn by persons of rank and distinction. The *stola* was usually used as an outer garment worn by a modest Roman matron (Olson, *Dress*, 27–33). It is unlikely that Mark here is describing a specific garment of the scribes and perhaps he is referring to the generic *tallit*.

[16]On the *tallit* worn by both sages and non-sages, see *B. B. Bat. 98a*. Hezser, *The Social Structure*, 129.

[17]See Daniel Sperber, *A Commentary on Derech Ereẓ Zuta*: *Chapters Five to Eight* (Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1990), 35.

[18]Paul Zanker, *The Mask of Socrates: The Image of the Intellectual in Antiquity*, trans. Alan Shapiro (Berkeley/Los Angeles/ Oxford: University of California Press, 1995), 110.

[19]On all matters of beards, trimming and shaving, as well the decree against shaving with a razor, see Joshua Schwartz, 'Haircut and Barber in Ancient Jewish Society', *Jerusalem and Eretz Israel* 10–11 (2018): 7–40 and esp. 16–22 (= 'The Neatness Imperative').

[20]*Sif. Deut.* 34 (p. 62, ed. Finkelstein, New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1969[2] [Berlin: Jüdischer Kulturbund in Deutschland E.V., 1939]).

[21]On identifying *tekhelet*, see the summary of Levi Kitrossky, 'Do We Know Tekhelet?' (http://www.tekhelet.com/pdf/1003.pdf). A summary of the earlier research material is found in Jacob Milgrom, 'Of Hems and Tassels', *BARev* 9 (May–June 1983) (http://cojs.org/of_hems_and_tassels-_jacob_milgrom-_bar_9-03-_may-jun_1983/). See now Martin Lockshin, 'What Do Tzitzit Represent?', TheTorah.com (https://thetorah.com/what-do-tzitzit-represent/).

Jewish male with *tzitzit* would be recognized as Jewish. How common, though, was the wearing of *tzitzit*? Was practice the same in both Palestine and Babylonia and the rest of the Jewish Diaspora? Were there differences among different social and religious strata? If few Jews wore fringes in public then this would not have much effect on the 'non-distinctive Jewish dresser school'. However, if *tzitzit* were popular, then even if all the common clothing was worn in the accepted and normative manner, the Jewish male would still be recognized as Jewish through the wearing of *tzitzit*.

Were *tzitzit* worn in the Second Temple period? The Letter of Aristeas (157–158) mentions *tzitzit*, while neither Josephus nor Philo do. That of course does not prove anything as they do not mention all laws, whether in the Bible or in actual practice.[22] Did the Qumran sectarians or Essenes of the Second Temple period wear *tzitzit*? The few clothing remains from the Qumran community provide no answers. Literary sources on the Essenes, assuming that they are identical with the Qumran sectarians, offer some clues.[23]

The Essenes wore undyed white linen garments. Fringes were usually of wool and adding wool fringes would violate the biblical prohibition of *sha`atnez*, combining wool and linen in a garment (Deut. 22:11) (further discussion on *sha`atnez* below). Would this prevent an Essene from wearing fringes? It is possible that the Essenes felt that the wearing of fringes was so important that it superseded the biblical prohibition. Or, it is possible that the Essenes wore linen fringes attached to their linen mantles. In both cases, it is possible that the Essenes/Qumran attached *tzitzit* to their mantles. However, as the Essene/Qumran community would not be very visible outside of their local venue, while they might be recognized as Jews by one another, this would have little bearing on Jewish dressing in public in general. If sectarians wore fringes in public does this mean non-sectarians also did so, making it common across the board in Jewish society? It is hard to reach a conclusion just from this.

New Testament tradition provides additional evidence. The Synoptic Gospels have Jesus wearing a fringed mantle while healing, once in the case of a woman suffering from prolonged vaginal bleeding (Mt. 9.20-21; Lk. 8.44) and a second time in the Galilee when the sick were brought to Jesus and they begged to touch his *tzitzit* to be healed (Mt. 14.35-36; Mk 6.56).[24] Matthew 23:5 states that Jesus criticized the Pharisees for wearing long *tzitzit*. He does not, however, criticize them for wearing *tzitzit* in general, since after all so did he, and one would assume that the Matthean Jewish community also did so. The criticism is just against an ostentatious wearing of long fringes. How long were standard fringes in relation to long ones? A rabbinic source states that fringes were 'four fingers in length' (*Sif. Deut.* 234) roughly 8 to 9.6 cm which would be in keeping with the length of ancient fringes found in the Cave of Letters in Naḥal Ḥever, more or less contemporary to the period under discussion. The fringes of the Pharisees were then probably longer than that.[25] These sources seem to indicate that the public wearing of fringes was rather widespread.

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[22]See, for example, Eyal Regev and David Nakman, 'Josephus and the Halakhah of the Pharisees, the Sadducees and Qumran', *Zion* 67 (2002): 401–33 (Hebrew).

[23]See Jodi Magness, *Stone and Dung, Oil and Spit: Jewish Daily Life in the Time of Jesus* (Grand Rapids, MI/Cambridge, UK: William B. Eerdman's, 2011), 112–17.

[24]Magness, *Stone and Dung*, 117–20, and particularly on the use of *kraspedon* as *tzitzit* and not just edge or hem. I have been unable to find Jewish references to *tzitzit* and healing, and the few references that seem to imply this are Judaeo-Christian and based on the above passages. For the rabbinic view on the attributes of *tzitzit*, bordering on the magical, see below.

[25]See Eric Ottenheijm, 'Matthew and Yavne: Religious Authority in the Making?' in *Jews and Christians in the First and Second Centuries: The Interbellum 70–132 CE*, ed. Joshua Schwartz and Peter J. Tomson (CRINT 15; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2018), 386–8. See, however, Magness, *Stone and Dung*, 112–13. These fringes were not actually attached to the mantles but were unspun wool, identified by some as unfinished *tzitzit*.

We have yet to address the main issue here: why wear *tzizit*? Without them one was just another Greco-Roman non-distinctive dresser. True, it was a biblical commandment, but there were numerous ways to get around it. One could avoid wearing a mantle altogether or one could wear an outer garment without four corners, which obviates the obligation. There had to be corners. Wear *tzitzit* and one could no longer 'pass' or blend into general society. Was the biblical commandment enough of an impetus?

To answer that question it is necessary to understand what wearing *tzizit* in public meant. Rabbinic Judaism attaches great significance to this biblical commandment. The biblical lection in Numbers 15 became part of the daily liturgy recited twice a day. Wearing them was considered by one tradition the equivalent of observing all commandments.[26] Just looking at them would have a positive effect on religious observance.[27] It was as if one were greeting the face of God[28] and gazing upon them saved a person from sin.[29]

Did the rabbis invent all this to ensure that the unusual biblical precept would be observed? Jacob Milgrom, followed by other scholars, studied the significance of the hem in the ancient Near East. The *tzitzit* were an extension of that hem. The hem, and subsequently the *tzitzit*, marked one off as a member of the nobility. The *tekhelet* or blue mentioned above was the sign of royalty. The wearing of *tzitzit* added social-religious significance to the commoner. By observing God's commandments, and wearing *tzitzit*, one could undergo a social and religious transformation.

As mentioned above in relation to Qumran, the wearing of *tzitzit* could conflict with the biblical prohibition of *sha`atnez* (Deut. 22:11). The rabbis, however, exempted *tzitzit* from the *sha`atnez* restrictions.[30] Milgrom and others argue that the original *sha`atnez* prohibition was actually rooted in the fact that priestly apparel made use of wool and linen.[31] *Sha`atnez* was reserved for priests. By wearing *tzitzit*, the commoner was transformed into a priest.[32] All of this would suggest that the wearing of *tzitzit* was common and if this was the case regarding common people, it was likely that sages and rabbis would be especially particular in their observance.[33] While the traditions above relate to Palestine, it is likely that Jews in Babylonia also wore them.[34]

Tzizit then were an ethnic and religious marker with added social and religious significance and benefits, marking one off clearly as a Jew.[35] Non-Jews, moreover, were forbidden to wear them, not so much to prevent them from acquiring those benefits, but because a non-Jew attempting to 'pass' as a Jew might be dangerous and cause harm.[36] If there were Jewish communities in which the wearing of *tzitzit* was not common, these were probably in the Diaspora. It is likely that for Jews

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[26]*Sif. Zuta* 15.
[27]*B. Menaḥ*. 43b.
[28]*Sif. Num*. 115.
[29]*B. Menaḥ*. 44a. See Lockshin, 'What Do Tzitzit Represent?'.
[30]*B. Menaḥ*. 39b. The verse following the *sha`atnez* prohibition was followed by the verse commanding fringes (Deut. 22:11-12).
[31]See the descriptions in Exod. 28.
[32]See Israel Knohl, 'The Concept of *Kedusha* (Sanctity) in the Priestly Torah and the Holiness School', The Torah.com (https://thetorah.com/the-concept-of-kedusha-sanctity/).
[33]Hezser, *The Social Structure*, 130.
[34]*B. Ta`an*. 22a.
[35]See b. *Menaḥ*. 44a (and parallels).
[36]B. *Menaḥ*. 43a.

there, it was more important to not stand out and they probably succeeded in this as reflected by the fact that non-Jewish sources do not mention Jews wearing them.

TEFILLIN

The second distinctive item of Jewish 'clothing' mentioned above was the *tefillin* or phylacteries, small leather cases containing parchment with biblical lections and attached to one's arm and head with leather straps (Exod. 13:1-10; 13:11-16; Deut. 6:4-9; 11:13-21). They were usually worn by an adult male but sometimes also by women and children. The 'wearing' of these is different than the wearing of *tzitzit*. The fringes, as we remember, were attached to a four-cornered outer garment which might be worn by both Jews and non-Jews. The fringes made the garment Jewish. The phylacteries were not attached to a garment but worn (technically laid or placed) independently on arm and head without recourse to a garment.[37]

Like *tzitzit*, *tefillin* were worn in observance of a biblical commandment. We limit our discussion here to *tefillin* as clothing of sorts, since wearing them in public was a clear Jewish marker.[38] The questions are also the same as those asked regarding fringes. Did Jews wear them often in public? And if so, was this a general phenomenon or just limited to certain groups? Was the situation the same in the Land of Israel and in the Diaspora?

There is a relatively large amount of archaeological evidence regarding the wearing of *tefillin* in the Second Temple period, some from as early as the second century BCE. These include the boxes, the *battim* (lit: housings) and parchment slips. While these *tefillin* are from Qumran, there is little that marks them off as sectarian. Unfortunately, as they are from a sectarian context they cannot provide an indication as to how common the public wearing of *tefillin* was.[39] Matthew (23:5), in attacking what he saw as the hypocrisy of the Pharisees, mentioned their long fringes, as we saw above, as well as their broad phylacteries or *tefillin*. Were large or broad phylacteries worn by all or just by (certain) Pharisees? The phylacteries discovered in the Judaean Desert were tiny, certainly not broad, so perhaps only Pharisees (or rabbis later on?) wore such broad phylacteries?[40] Josephus incorporated *tefillin* into a list of biblical laws, unlike *tzitzit* which he neglected. Some have claimed that this reflects a universal practice of *tefillin* and not just one restricted to Pharisees or rabbis.[41]

The archaeological evidence for *tefillin* after the Second Temple period up until the third century CE is much more limited, and what there is also comes from the Judaean Desert and as before, adds little to what is known about the prevalence of wearing *tefillin*.[42] As far as the rabbis were concerned, though, the wearing of *tefillin* was common among all Jewish males: 'And R.Meir also used to say: There is no person in Israel whom the commandments do not surround: *tefillin* on his

[37]See Yehudah B. Cohn, *Tangled Up in Text: Tefillin and the Ancient World* (Brown Judaic Studies 351; Providence: Brown Judaic Studies, 2008). On women and children, 113–21.

[38]As they were considered by some to have apotropaic functions, there is also the chance that they might have also been worn occasionally by non-Jews. Jerome, for instance, makes reference to their questionable use by non-Jews, to his chagrin. See Cohn, *Tangled*, 9, 124. The rabbis forbade one from selling them to non-Jews (*t. `Abod. Zar.* 2:4). Even if non-Jews wore them from time to time, it was doubtful that they wore them in public.

[39]Cohen, *Tangled*, 55–79.

[40]*Ant.* 4.212-213. Cohn, ibid., 123.

[41]Ibid., 108–9.

[42]Ibid., 103–5.

head, *tefillin* on his arm, and a *mezuzah* on the entrance (to his home), circumcision on his flesh, four fringes on his *tallit*. (All these) surround him.'[43] Except for circumcision, all of these religious markers are visible. They mark out home (for the *mezuzah*), body and (Jewish) dress. Deuteronomy 11:21 specifically connects the observance of the commandment of *tefillin* to remaining in the promised land.

How visible were the *tefillin*? The Judaean Desert *tefillin* are tiny and might not have even been seen on one's head and could be covered by a *tallit* or mantle used at times to cover one's head outdoors. Those on the arm could also be covered by the *tallit*. Rabbinic tradition prohibits wearing them in an ostentatious manner or making the boxes from gold.[44] One gets the impression that those who could wore these and other Jewish markers, but just as the sign of circumcision was hidden, these other markers could be worn but also somewhat hidden. It should also be pointed out that wearing *tefillin* for long periods is not comfortable, more on account of the leather straps than on account of the boxes, and wearing them makes most physical work activity difficult if not impossible.

Were *tefillin* worn in the Diaspora? We saw in the case of fringes that it was likely that they were not widely worn in public to allow Jews to fit in. The rabbis specifically decreed, however, that *tefillin* be worn also in the Diaspora, not differentiating between public and private wearing.[45] The Nash Papyrus, now dated to the second century BCE, containing the Decalogue and an insertion might be a *tefillin* slip and thus provide some indication that *tefillin* were worn in Egypt at this time.[46] In the Letter of Aristeas (159), right after the reference to *tzitzit* there might also be a reference to *tefillin*, more proof perhaps for Egypt, and Philo seemingly also refers to them.[47] Unfortunately, none of these references relate to them even remotely as clothing or describes how they were worn and whether they were part of distinctive Jewish apparel.

Later tradition regarding the Diaspora is also not very helpful. Justin Martyr in his *Dialogue with Trypho* seems to be aware of Jews in Asia Minor in the second century CE wearing them, but as Justin came from Samaria in Palestine and as his opponent in dialogue, Trypho, is depicted as being a Judaean, one cannot be sure whether Justin has real knowledge or is just projecting his memories on Asia Minor.[48] The Babylonian Talmud has Jews east of Palestine wearing *tefillin*, but it is hard to know how historically reliable these traditions are.[49] If worn in public, they might have been concealed as described above.

SHA`ATNEZ

Sha`atnez, the biblical prohibition of combining wool and linen in a garment (Deut. 22:11), was mentioned above in relation to *tzitzit* and to the fact that woolen fringes attached to a linen garment were exempted from this prohibition. We also saw that this exemption was possibly related to the fact that *sha`atnez* was reserved for priests and that the wearing of *sha`atnez* imparted priestly elements to the commoner. For everyone else though, *sha`atnez* was prohibited.

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[43] *y. Ber.* 9:5, 14d.
[44] *M. Meg.* 4:8.
[45] *Sif. Deut.* 44.
[46] Cohen, *Tangled*, 67–8.
[47] *Spec.* 4.138-139.
[48] Cohn, *Tangled*, 121–2.
[49] Ibid., 123.

Was this prohibition observed and if not, was the wearing of *sha`atnez* discernible and if so, what did that mean to one who recognized it and one would have needed an extremely sharp eye to do so. The biblical prohibition was only against wearing a garment of wool and linen and there were ways around it such as mixing in camel's hair into the weave of the fabric.[50] Would anyone notice the difference? Silk was not subject to *sha`atnez*, but certain types of silk looked like garments made of wool and linen and were, therefore, forbidden. Some thick coarse outer garments or cloaks, some imported and some domestic, and certain types of shoes had to be checked before they could be worn because flax or linen might have been woven into their fabric.[51] All of these laws, though, seem to show that Jews were wearing the same clothes as everybody else and that even if the clothes were problematic in terms of *sha`atnez*, this was not easily discernible without a thorough examination.

If it was hard to discern *sha`atnez*, then why bother with it? The impression from rabbinic tradition is that most Jews made an effort to observe this commandment. Those who did not were considered evil, similar to the uncircumcised or to those who tattooed their bodies, serious transgressions.[52] Observing it was not easy. Rabbinic literature shows that many garments sold in the marketplace were contaminated with *sha`atnez*, especially if woven by non-Jews or imported from abroad. However, the rabbis also provide instructions as to how to remove the offending threads or fibres when that was possible.[53]

The archaeological finds from the Land of Israel also indicate that the laws of *sha`atnez* were observed. While many garments throughout the Roman world were woven from linen and wool as a matter of course, those clothes found in Israel rarely contain *sha`atnez*. In Masada there is even evidence of *sha`atnez* fibres being removed from a garment.[54] Thus, not many Jews would wear *sha`atnez* on purpose, but if worn, the discerning eye might notice. Jew or non-Jew? More likely the one wearing it was a non-Jew and if a Jew, an unsuspecting one.

BLACK CLOTHING

As most of the clothing worn by Jews was the same as that worn by non-Jews, colour was likely not a significant factor in potentially distinguishing between Jewish and non-Jewish apparel. Was there Jewish coloured clothing? The Cave of Letters in the Judaean Desert yielded the remains of a woman's black scarf, and in Masada a tattered piece of black fabric was found which might have been part of a black tunic. It is possible that these garments were worn by mourners. Thus, in the third-century CE Dura-Europos mural, a grieving widow is depicted wearing a black mantle which also covers her head.[55] Jewish Hellenistic and rabbinic literature depict both men and women mourners wearing black.[56]

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[50]*M. Kil. 9:1, 7*.

[51]Ibid. Some sages exempted these garments from examination as the material woven in was probably hemp and not flax or linen.

[52]On *sha`atnez*, see *Lev. Rab. 19:6*, 434; 23:2, 528. On the prohibition against tattooing, see Lev. 19:28.

[53]See the sources and detailed discussion in Shmuel and Ze'ev Safrai, *Mishnat Eretz Israel: Tractate Kilayim* (Zeraim 4) (Jerusalem: Lifshitz College, 2012), 17–19 (Hebrew).

[54]Safrai, *Kilayim*, 19.

[55]See Shlezinger-Katsman, 'Clothing', 377. See also Taylor, this volume.

[56]For example, *Jos. Asen.* 14:12. The angel tells Aseneth to take off her 'black tunic of mourning' and to 'dress in a new linen robe'. See also *Pes. Rab.* 26; Sem. /*Evel Rab*. 4:3, et al.

Was this unusual? Did this mark them as Jews? In the Roman world both men and women mourners wore black, whether the *toga pulla* for men or the *lugubria* for women and other black garments.[57] If everyone was wearing black then the Jews wearing black would not stand out. For Jewish women, though, the issue is irrelevant. Jewish women mourners often had their hair uncovered, loose and even dishevelled.[58] As such they would not leave their homes. They would not be seen, wearing clothes of any colour. Jewish men might not wear the 'official' mourning garments of black that a Roman might, but it is also doubtful that all Roman men wore the 'official' garments. Jewish men, like women, also spend a good part of their mourning period at home and thus their clothing would not be seen in public. There was then little unusual in these Jewish black garments of mourning.

There were a number of black clothing motifs in rabbinic literature. Black was worn by disqualified priests,[59] by those standing trial,[60] and symbolized sins and sinners in general.[61]

CONCLUSION

Was there distinctive Jewish dress in the Greco-Roman period? That all depends on how one defines 'distinctive'. Jewish men and women dressed from head to toe in garments that were common and accepted in the Greco-Roman world. As such one might claim that they were 'non-distinctive Jewish dressers'. However, there were often markers such as *tzitzit* or *tefillin* which many Jewish men might have worn in public, marking them as Jews. This would certainly be the case in Jewish areas in Palestine or Babylonia, while in the rest of the Diaspora they might have sought to avoid standing out.

What about Jewish women who for the most part did not wear these Jewish markers. Would they be recognizable as Jewish women by their dress? Their modest dress, in keeping with Greco-Roman custom, might not have marked them off as Jewish women, but I should like to suggest that Naftali Cohn is correct. By following rabbinic dicta regarding modest dress, Jewish women dressed Jewish, recognized one another as Jewish and were often recognized as Jewish by non-Jews. It mattered not at all that they were dressed in Greco-Roman garments.

[57]See, for example, William Smith, *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities* (London: John Murray, 1875), s.v. Toga (http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/secondary/SMIGRA*/Toga.html). On the *lugubria* and female mourning garments, see Olson, *Dress and the Roman Woman*, 42.
[58]*Pesiq. Rab. 26*.
[59]*M. Mid.* 5:4.
[60]*Y. Roš Haš.* 1:3, 57b.
[61]*B. Mo`ed Qaṭ.*17a.

CHAPTER TWENTY

What Did Mary Magdalene Look Like?: Images from the West, the East, Dura and Judaea

JOAN E. TAYLOR

In the 2018 film *Mary Magdalene* (dir. Garth Davis), Mary appears as a simple fisherwoman of Magdala, clothed in quasi-Palestinian attire, though it is beige rather than black. She looks like the other women around her, indistinguishable but for her earnest faith in Jesus. Had we not known that the film was about Mary, and that she was being played by Rooney Mara, we would not instantly spot her. Usually, in Western art and film, Mary Magdalene is the most recognizable and distinctive of all Jesus's women disciples.[1] As we all know, she is quite youthful and beautiful. Her hair is exposed, and often long and flowing. She wears clothing that shows off her shapely figure. In the art of the East, however, she is harder to spot, since she looks like other women, heavily veiled.

In this chapter, we will review what Mary has looked like in artistic representations West and East, with specific interest in dress, and then go back further to the way she is presented in the earliest image we have of her in Dura-Europos, from the third century. We will think about how dressing Mary becomes a means of showing essential aspects of how her character is constructed, at different times, sometimes by combining different biblical stories and sometimes by imaginative invention. If we disassemble these to look for the core historical elements in order to reveal what she looked like in reality, we have precious little, and yet the clothing of first-century Jewish women, surviving in caves next to the Dead Sea, presents us with a picture that asks us to re-imagine Mary in a more authentic way.

MARY IN THE WEST

The image of Mary Magdalene in many ways is a kind of cipher of difference for the Church West and East, representative of how little the two sides communicated, with ramifications about how the discipleship of women was understood. How Mary is visualized by artists, or more specifically how Mary is dressed by them, has characterized Mary and – as a corollary – taught the faithful about the paths of Christian womanhood. In the fifth century the Church became more and more

[1]As explored in depth in Susan Haskins, *Mary Magdalene: Myth and Metaphor* (New York: HarperCollins, 1993), and see also Michelle Erhardt and Amy Morris, eds., *Mary Magdalene, Iconographic Studies from the Middle Ages to the Baroque* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2012).

divided along theological, linguistic and geographical grounds, and Mary changed with it. In 451 the Council of Chalcedon decided in favour of two natures in one person in Christ and ripped off the arm of the Monophysite (one nature) Armenian, Coptic and Ethiopic churches as well as the larger part of the Syrian Church. But Rome was already very different to Constantinople or Antioch. When in 1054 the Great Schism tore apart the Church, it had already been stretched culturally in different directions, with the Western (Catholic, Roman, Latin) Church on the one hand and the Eastern (Orthodox, Greek) Church on the other.

In terms of the West, Mary Magdalene as a culturally accepted 'character' of Christian tradition is actually a patch-worked composite of biblical and later stories. We see this in the features of her representation in an altarpiece panel in the National Gallery, painted by Carlo Crivelli, dated around the year 1491(Figure 20.1).[2] One of the most striking aspects of this representation is her clothing.[3] In this, she is shown as a noblewoman, as she was widely known from 'The Life of Mary Magdalen' in Jacob de Voragine's thirteenth-century compendium, the *Golden Legend*.

What long hair she has, all the better to wipe Jesus's feet with, given the fusion of Mary with the unnamed sinner of Luke 7. This association was powerfully made by Pope Gregory I in a sermon delivered in the year 592 (Homily XXXIII).[4] What a lovely perfume jar she has; all the better to spill it on Jesus's head, given she is also Mary of Bethany, sister of Lazarus and Martha (Jn 11.1-45; 12.1-8), the woman with the alabaster jar of pure nard (Mk 14.3-4). What a sad face she has, all the more appropriate to the task of weeping at the tomb (Jn 20.11-15), a woman 'full of grief'.[5]

In Crivelli's painting we get a hint at something not entirely pious about her too. While haloed, and apparently at that moment before she will use the jar to anoint Jesus, her expression (looking down and askance out of the corner of her eye) and her stance (hitching up of her red-and-green garment edged with gold, to expose her delicate bare foot) suggest that she is still quite conscious of her own body and its stunning attractiveness. One can see in her wolf eyes that she might well have recently had seven demons, understood at this time to be moral evils (Mk 16.9; Lk. 8.2).[6] Robin

[2]Saint Mary Magdalene, *c*. 1491–4, 37.5 x 18.5 cm, NG 907.2, National Gallery, London. This duplicates an original painting done for the church of Santa Maria Magdalena, on the hill of Serriote, Carpegna, dated 1478–80, now in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. The panel painting is all the more remarkable when compared to the original painting Crivelli made of the saint where she appears more elegant and well-to-do. In the National Gallery panel, she is not so sumptuous, and the architecture is less grand; indeed it is cracking. For discussion, see Ronald Lightbown, *Carlo Crivelli* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 463–4, 470–3.

[3]Reviewing an exhibition in which this panel was shown, *La Maddalena: Tra peccato e penitenza*, presented at the Museo Antico Tesoro della Santa Casa di Loreto, Susan Haskins comments: '[the] Scholl-sandalled Magdalen by the Venetian Carlo Crivelli …[is] magnificent in sumptuous scarlet, gold-trimmed silk, lined in green (symbolic of hope and spiritual renewal), which is parted to reveal a gold bodice and gown, embroidered with pomegranates (symbolic of spiritual fertility). Her pale blue silk sleeve is embroidered in gold thread and pearls with a phoenix – emblem of the Resurrection, and possibly of her own spiritual resurrection. She looks oddly and archly at the viewer', *Times Literary Supplement*, 19 December 2016. Online: https://www.the-tls.co.uk/articles/public/apostle-to-the-apostles/.

[4]This association was formally revoked by the Pope in 1969; see Katherine Ludwig Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalen: Preaching and Popular Devotion in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 33 and 168–84. See also Peter Loewen and Robin Waugh, eds., *Mary Magdalene in Medieval Culture: Conflicted Roles* (London: Routledge, 2014). For the long, blonde hair, see Haskins, *Myth and Metaphor*, 247.

[5]See Lightbown, *Carlo Crivelli*, 470.

[6]As Jack Lundbom notes: 'It is thought the demons were those of unchastity, for which reason a tradition has grown up around Mary that she was a harlot. That may or may not have been true. There is no evidence that she was a harlot, and some have suggested it is the city from which she came that compromised her character. But she did have seven demons, which would seem to indicate evil aplenty within her'; Jack R. Lundbom, 'Between Text and Sermon: Mary Magdalene and Song of Songs 3:1-4', *Int* 49 (1995): 172–5.



FIGURE 20.1 Saint Mary Magdalene, probably about 1491–4. 37.5 x 18.5 cm, NG 907.2 Photo: © The National Gallery, London.

Griffith-Jones rightly comments regarding the sinner who washes Jesus's feet with her tear-soaked hair in Luke 7, 'never has sexual degradation been admitted and regretted with a more potent sexual charge'.[7] Once the sinner was identified with Mary, this charge then attached itself to her.

This presentation of Mary Magdalene's body and clothing can be used even today to make her instantly recognizable to viewers of most modern motion pictures. In Martin Scorsese's film *The Last Temptation of Christ* (1988), she is severed from her fusion with Mary of Bethany and is clearly not a noblewoman, but very much attached to the identity of the sinner of Luke 7 and the woman taken in adultery of John 8, and we know exactly who she is the moment she appears on screen, even when the 'story' of the film – based on the book by Nikos Katzanzakis – has departed quite substantially from the Gospels. Played by Barbara Hershey, she may not be blonde, but her hair is kinky, full and long. She is bejewelled, her robes plunging, exposing skin.

At the foot of the cross, in Western art and film, Mary is recognizable as being clearly *not* the mother of Christ, the Blessed Virgin. We see the contrast expertly portrayed in the Crucifixion by Anthony van Dyck (*c.* 1619), now in the Louvre.[8] On the left there is the Blessed Virgin, her hands placed together, looking sadly over her left shoulder at the dying Christ. She is shown with a dark veil flowing down over her shoulders, clad in a long-sleeved grey dress, swathed in a blue cloak. On the right is Saint John, wrapped in a red blanket. And in the middle is the kneeling figure of Mary Magdalene, embracing the cross like a lover and kissing Christ's feet, her shiny blonde hair blending into the golden silk of her dress, veil-less, cloak-less, and showing her pale arms.

As Marina Warner explored, Western art gives us on the one hand the demure, restrained Virgin and on the other the overt, emotional Magdalene, the latter being the model of the penitent whore:[9] 'together, the Virgin and the Magdalene form a diptych of Christian patriarchy's idea of women'.[10] The veiled versus the unveiled (or less veiled) is the most obvious clue to their respective identities at a time when a single woman, unveiled, was either a whore or a joke: in traditional Italian songs the *zitella*, the old maid who has not taken the veil, is 'a pathetic figure of fun'.[11] Earlier on, when Mary Magdalene is shown veiled, wearing the *maphorion* of Byzantine and Medieval woman's wear, it can be distinguished by colour, usually red, or by style. In a Crusader icon from St. Catherine's, Sinai, she is clad in such a red *maphorion*, but her emotion breaks through the apparently modest attire, so that her veil is thrown back, her hair pokes out around her face and her garment is revealed as having a plunging neckline.[12]

She may also be shown naked, covered in her own hair, an image also relating to Voragine's legend, as an older woman ascetic, as most famously depicted in the bronze statue by Donatello, 1453–55, now in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Florence, the result of fusing her memory with that of the penitent prostitute Mary of Egypt.[13]

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[7]Robin Griffith-Jones, *Mary Magdalene: The Woman Whom Jesus Loved* (Norwich: Hymns Ancient and Modern, 2014), 7.
[8]Oil on canvas, 330 cm × 282 cm. Room 800, inv. 1766. For image, see https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:CrucifixionVanDyckLouvre.jpg.
[9]Warner, *Alone*, 232–6.
[10]Ibid., 235.
[11]Ibid., 236.
[12]Vassiliki A. Foskolou, 'Mary Magdalene between East and West Cult and Image, Relics and Politics in the Late Thirteenth-Century Eastern Mediterranean', *DOP* 65, no. 66 (2011–12): 271–96, Figure 1.
[13]Haskins, *Myth and Metaphor*, 110–11.

The Virgin and the (penitent) Whore shown below Christ's dying body repeat in countless images, and we can feel fairly confident we know how to identify both of them by dress and hair and by posture. We can recognize these women in any portrayed image because of features that play out time and time again. But if we move away from the Western world and break off the various encrustations of the Western tradition that give Mary a large iconographical character, the visual contrasts between Mary the Virgin and Mary the Magdalene are not so obvious.

MARY IN THE EAST

In the Eastern Orthodox traditions we rapidly come unstuck in terms of any simple clues concerning clothing and hair that would enable us to identify Mary Magdalene. While we still have the template of the Virgin clad in a long, dark blue veil (*maphorion*), as in the great mosaic of Santa Sophia, Constantinople (depicting the triumph of orthodoxy in 843), we have a dark-clad, veiled Magdalene in various church paintings as well, for example in an eighth-century panel from St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, where she and the other Mary encounter the risen Christ. One Mary is kneeling and one standing, but there are no definite iconographical features that would enable us to differentiate between the two. In sixth-century pilgrim flasks made in Jerusalem to be carried away by pilgrims, she is one of two indistinguishable veiled women in front of the tomb, sometimes shown carrying censers.[14] Further back still, in the fifth-century Maskell Ivory in the British Museum (MME 1856.06-23.4-7), the two Marys of the Gospel of Matthew 28.1-10 might as well be twins, both veiled, both leaning on their elbows almost as mirror images of each other, behind sleepy guards, no one quite noticing that the tomb door is open (Figure 20.2).[15]

In the Orthodox churches, Mary was not usually fused with the sinner of Luke 7. She was simply Jesus's leading (virgin) woman disciple, from whom Jesus cast out seven demons (Mk 16:9; Lk. 8:2), but these are not associated with sexual sins. In iconography, one common accessory can remain in that she at times carries a perfume container, but the perfume is not the pure nard of the woman with the alabaster jar (Mk 14.3-9 = Mt. 26.6-13, cf. Lk. 7.36-50, Jn 12.1-8). Mary Magdalene in the East is one of the myrrh-bearers, *Myrrhophores* (Μυροφόροι), since it is held that she came with another woman, or other women, to the tomb after the Sabbath was over with myrrh to anoint the body of Christ.[16]

The legend of Mary Magdalene in the East reached its fullest expression in the thirteenth-century account by Xanthopoulos, who also emphasized the importance of her relics in Constantinople.[17] In

[14]André Grabar, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte (Monza, Bobbio)* (Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1958), 20–5, 34–6, 39–40, Pl. 9, 11–13, 16, 18, 26, 28, 47, see discussion in Ally Kateusz, *Mary and Early Christian Women: Hidden Leadership* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 37–9.

[15]Felicity Harley-McGowan, 'The Maskell Passion Ivories and Greco-Roman Art: Notes on the Iconography of Crucifixion', in *Envisioning Christ on the Cross: Ireland and the Early Medieval West*, ed. Juliet Mullins, Jenifer Ní Ghrádaigh and Richard Hawtree (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2013), 13–33. The panel measures 7.5 x 9.8 cm. We might include the so-called Reidersche Tafel in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum (Inv. Nr. MA 157), usually dated to the early fifth century, but here the type of aedicule shown corresponds to the Crusader form, not the Constantinian. The risen Christ is shown as a young Christ-type ascending to the clouds, but this may represent an artist's attempt to show an unrecognizable Jesus and may not be an indication of an early date.

[16]On this identification of Mary, see discussion in Haskins, *Myth and Metaphor*, 62.

[17]Foskolou, 'Between East and West', passim; Andrea Taschil-Erber, 'Apostle and Sinner: Medieval Receptions of Mary of Magdala', in *The High Middle Ages*, ed. Kari Elisabeth Børresen and Adriana Valerio, *The Bible and Women* 6.2 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2015), 301–26, at 324–6.



FIGURE 20.2 The Maskell Ivory, fifth century CE. 7.5 x 9.8 cm. MME 1856,0623.6. British Museum, London. Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum.

the Eastern tradition, found in a seventh-century work by Abbot Modestus of Jerusalem (preserved in the ninth-century *Bibliotheca* by Photius), Mary Magdalene is the apostolic companion of John, who travels with him to Ephesus and dies there.[18] Here Mary Magdalene is anything but a prostitute. She is a pure virgin and teaching companion of John, closely aligned also with the Virgin Mary, Jesus's mother.[19] As Vassiliki Foskolou has argued, a linkage was nevertheless made between Mary and emotion, in that she can be shown as lamenting deeply, close to the Virgin, in some artistic representations; despite this, 'the Magdalene is depicted in the same way (i.e. wearing the same clothes) as the other women, and nowhere is she represented with any of the iconographic features of the sinner saint of the West'.[20]

The other women here are her fellow female disciples, loyal to the end. While the Western tradition came to mark out Mary Magdalene as highly distinctive and something of a loner (by means of her especially alluring dress and hair or covered in hair), in the Eastern tradition Mary appears in a group of women, looking like them. The other women are likewise veiled from head to toe.

Artists made choices on the basis of both texts and tradition, and the cast list of the women who come to the tomb is a variable in the Gospels. Mary does appear alone in John 20.1-2, and

[18]Her relics were translated from Ephesus to Constantinople by Leo VI, in the late ninth century, see Haskins, *Myth and Metaphor*, 108.

[19]Photius, *Bibliothèque (Codices 257–80)*, ed. René Henry (Paris: Société d'édition les belles lettres, 1977), vol. 8: 118 (= Photius, Bibliotheca 274: 511a).

[20]Foskolou, 'Between East and West', 189. See Haskins, *Myth and Metaphor*, 106–8, for Mary Magdalene's burial in Ephesus by the tomb of the Seven Sleepers.

for Western artists that singularity in the encounter with the risen Christ has often seemed most enticing.[21] But in the Synoptic tradition she is in company, and that is what is usually shown in Eastern art. In Mark 16.1-2 we learn that Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of James and Salome bought *aromata* (ἀρώματα) that they might go and anoint Jesus's body. In Matthew 28.1 it is Mary Magdalene and 'the other Mary' (the mother of James and Joseph, so Mt. 27.56) who go. In Luke (24.1, 10-11) Mary Magdalene, Joanna and Mary the mother of James with other women bring *aromata* they have previously prepared. In fact, in the biblical texts it is not specifically said that Mary and the other women bring *myrrh*; in John 19.40 it is Nicodemus who brings 'a mixture of myrrh and aloes', referred to as *aromata* (τῶν ἀρωμάτων). An intertextual reading, with a little help from the Song of Songs (3.1-4), then resulted in an understanding of the *aromata* the women bring in the Synoptic Gospels (Matthew, Mark and Luke) as being indeed myrrh (and aloes).[22] Mary then appears in the East with a vessel not made of alabaster but with a perfume flask suitable for pouring. But Mary is primarily remembered for her subsequent announcement that she had seen the risen Lord (Jn 20.18, cf. Mk 16.10-11; Lk. 24.10-11; Mt. 28.8).[23]

It is the Eastern style of depicting Mary that is the more ancient. Before the developed Western association of Mary with the sinner of Luke 7, the well-veiled body of Mary Magdalene was the normal way of depicting her in Early Christian and Byzantine art, as in the depiction of the two women at the tomb in the sixth-century mosaic of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna.[24] Mary Magdalene is one of the holy women who comes to the empty tomb. She is clad in the *maphorion*, thus entirely modest and pious.

The veil, however, was not a garment that advertised modesty at all times and places. The earliest Christian art found in the catacombs and sarcophagi shows many Christian women of the third and early fourth centuries unveiled. As we go back in time, then, identifying Mary in art might be harder to spot, because any distinctive clothing showing her modesty, or her role and character, may be gone.

MARY BETWEEN WEST AND EAST: HIPPOLYTUS AND DURA-EUROPOS

With the focus of this volume being dress prior to 300 CE, we need to leave behind all these representations of Mary Magdalene to think of how she might have been represented in the earliest Christian art. But how might we recognize her? We may look for clues in texts. Before the severing

[21]For example, in Titian's *Noli me Tangere* (1514), in the National Gallery, London, 110.5 x 91.9 cm. Inv. Nr. NG270.

[22]Brendan McConvery, 'Hippolytus' *Commentary on the Song* of *Songs* and John 20: Intertextual Reading in Early Christianity', *Irish Theological Quarterly* 71 (2006): 211–22; Lundbom, 'From Text to Sermon', *passim*.

[23]Contemporary Russian icons can blend West and East. Mary can be shown with kinky blonde hair peeking out from a red veil, or she may also be carrying a red Easter egg. This latter iconography results from the peculiarly Eastern tradition of Mary, arising in the Russian Orthodox Church: a story of Mary Magdalene and the egg is depicted in the church of the Russian Monastery in Jerusalem, built in 1885, where it is claimed that there is manuscript of the story. According to this story, Mary Magdalene, who was a woman of wealth and status, discussed Christ's resurrection with the Roman emperor Tiberius over dinner, explaining it all by means of an egg she picked up from the table. He said there was as much chance of a human being returning to life as for the egg to turn red. Miraculously, it immediately turned bright red in her hand. I am grateful to Father Ioakeim of the Greek Orthodox Ecumenical Patriarchate of Thyateira and Great Britain for this information.

[24]Discussed in Haskins, *Myth and Metaphor*, 61–7; Diane Apostolos-Capadona, *In Search of Mary Magdalene: Images and Traditions* (New York: American Bible Society, 2002), 17–18.

of Eastern and Western tradition and the different characterizations of Mary Magdalene, she can be mentioned in our surviving literature in diverse ways, from being the 'companion of the Lord/Saviour' in the Gospel of Philip (59.6-11; 63.31-64:5) to an esoteric teacher of truth in the Gospel of Mary. These presentations are consistent with (some version of) the account of the Gospel of John in which Mary Magdalene alone goes to the tomb, is the first witness of Christ's resurrection and seeks to touch him, and tells other disciples what she has seen (Jn 20.1-18). They also reflect, already in the second century, an identity of Mary Magdalene as the sister of Martha, since there is no alternative disciple named Mary presented. In the Epistula Apostolorum 9, dated to the later second century, but preserved in its earliest form in a fourth-century Coptic codex,[25] there is the story of the women at the tomb and it is stated: 'There went to that place three women: Mary belonging to Martha and Mary [Mag]dalene.'[26] There is reference to three but only two women are mentioned. It is common to restore Martha here, to make three women, but then only two women (Martha and Mary) are sent to the male disciples. This then may indicate some textual instability in the fourth century pointing to an earlier version just with Martha and Mary (= Magdalene). As Mark Goodacre has noted, the composite Mary (combining Mary the sister of Martha and Mary Magdalene) actually appears to have been very common in the earliest tradition.[27] One can add that it may well be the intended implication in John 12.1-8. When Martha's sister Mary anoints Jesus's feet, Jesus states: 'Leave her alone, so that she preserves it for the day of my burial. You always have the poor with you, but you do not have me' (12.7). In John 20, no perfume is mentioned with Mary Magdalene at the tomb and no reason is given for her being there; the explanation for her presence harks back to John 12.7: she has saved some perfume for his burial.

Among the more interesting works there is the commentary on the Song of Songs by Hippolytus (*Comm. Cant.*), a baptismal homily dated to the third century, surviving only in full in Georgian, in which Mary's role in the resurrection is bifurcated.[28] This commentary penned in Rome points ahead to what would become normal in both traditions, in that it is possible to use an imaginative story about Mary or oral tradition that can expand or rewrite what is in the Gospels (witness Jacob de Voragine's *Golden Legend* in the West or Xanthopoulos's story in the East), and to engage intertextually, using in this case the Song of Songs.[29]

Here we have as resurrection witnesses not specifically Mary Magdalene but rather the sisters Martha and Mary together (*In Cant.* 24.2-3). It seems as if Mary Magdalene herself has been split into two. As Allie Ernst has argued, the identification of Martha and Mary as the key witnesses appears to be an early tradition (which creates a parallel between the Raising of Lazarus and

[25]This text is found only in this, in Greek fragments and a modern Ethiopic version, see Julian V. Hills, *Tradition and Composition in the Epistula Apostolorum* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008).

[26]Translated from the fourth-century miniature Coptic codex (Cairo IFAO P.416), in Carl Schmidt, Pierre Lacau and Isaak Wajnberg, *Gespräche Jesu mit seinen Jüngern nach der Auferstehung; ein katholisch-apostolisches Sendschreiben des 2. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Leipzig, J.C. Hinrichs, 1919), leaf II, lines 1–3.

[27]Mark Goodacre, 'The Magdalene Effect: Reading and Misreading the Composite Mary in Early Christian Works', *Rediscovering the Marys: Maria, Mariamne, Miriam*, ed. Mary Ann Beavis and Ally Kateusz (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2020), 7–24.

[28]Yancy Smith, *The Mystery of Anointing: Hippolytus' Commentary on the Song of Songs in Social and Critical Contexts: Texts, Translations, and Comprehensive Study* (Pickaway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2015), and see Victor Saxer, 'Les Saintes Marie Madeleine et Marie de Bethnie dans la liturgique et homiletique orientale', *RSR* 32 (1958): 1–37; J. A. Cerrato, *Hippolytus Between East and West: The Commentaries and the Provenance of the Corpus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 197–9.

[29]See Cerrato, *Hippolytus between East and West*, 200.

the Resurrection), reflected in the Jerusalem Holy Week celebrations and the depictions of the *myrrhophores*.[30] At any rate, in Hippolytus's sermon we are told that it is *Martha* who pours the anointing oil, *myron*, on Christ before the crucifixion (*In Cant.* 2.29), and she is implicitly a virgin, since – as a consequence – the church is itself 'like a virgin' (*In Cant.* 2.32-34). Martha and Mary here are Mary Magdalene, and they in fact unify to become one:[31] Martha and Mary together, at the tomb, stand in place of the lover in the Song of Songs, in that they come to the tomb to meet their beloved/bridegroom (new Adam) becoming, together, new Eve (*In. Cant.* 23.1-25.10). They are both, together, in the place of the Magdalene in John 20, since they jointly speak the words of John 20.16, 'Rabbouni' (*In Cant.* 25.2)[32] and Christ responds to them as he responds to Mary in John, though with some differences, in that he gives a loud cry after she grasps his feet (*In Cant.* 25.2). The homily creates an intertextual back-and-forth with Song 3.4. The following translation of *In Cant.* 25.2-3 from the Georgian (by Yancy Smith), is set out to show the dance:[33]

> But the Savior answered and said to them: 'Martha, Mary.' And they said, 'Rabbouni' (John 20.16), which means 'my Lord'.
>
> 'I found the one I have loved, and would not let him go' (Song 3.4).
>
> For in that moment, with [his] feet embraced (Matt. 28.9), she holds fast to him. And he with a loud cry says to her, 'Do touch me, for I have not yet ascended to my Father' (John 20.17).
>
> Indeed, she held on to him and it was said, 'I will not let you go, until I take you in and I bring you into my heart.' 'I will not let you go, until I take you into my mother's house and the chamber, [of] the one who conceived me' (Song 3.4).
>
> In her womb she treasured the love of Christ, she did not wish to be moved.
>
> For this reason (or form) with a cry she says, 'I found him and will not let him go.'
>
> O blessed woman, who held on to his feet, that she might be able to fly up in the air! Martha and Mary said this to him, 'The mystery of Martha (or: righteousness) was being shown beforehand through Solomon'. 'We do not let you fly up'.

In the next sections, Hippolytus, continuing to play with singular and plural, works by bouncing from the Song of Songs to a Gospel synthesis, in an allegorical mash. Martha-Mary keep holding

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[30]Allie Ernst, *Martha from the Margins: The Authority of Martha in Early Christian Tradition* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 139–75. This would mean the pilgrim flasks depicting the two women at the edicule may well be Mary and Martha rather than Mary Magdalene and the Other Mary (as in Matthew). Smith (*Mystery of Anointing*, 528) notes Martha's appearance in an unpublished manuscript MS Copte D in the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, a partial version of an early Easter hymn also found on a wooden tablet from Cologne.

[31]In Ambrose, *Or.* 5.42-43, there seems to be use of Hippolytus, but the two women are Mary Magdalene and the other Mary, as in Matthew 28.1-10. The composite Mary Magdalene as Martha-Mary may raise various questions, given that in Aramaic and Syriac the term *Martha Mariam* would mean 'Lady Mary' and also given the Western tradition of equating Mary the sister of Martha with Mary Magdalene. Elizabeth Schrader has pointed out that in some early manuscripts of the Gospel of John (particularly p66* and Vetus Latina) Martha's name is unstable. Schrader argues that Martha's name (from Lk. 10.38-42) was added to a previous version of John 11 and 12 to diminish Mary, who should indeed be identified with Mary Magdalene. See Elizabeth Schrader, 'Was Martha of Bethany Added to the Fourth Gospel in the Second Century?' *HTR* 110 (2017): 360–92.

[32]Hippolytus is working with texts, since he refers to 'the books of the gospel' (*Cant.* 24.3, Georgian) but one wonders if it is already some kind of conflation, since in the Paleo-Slavonic and Armenian versions of this text 'book of the Gospel' (singular) is found. Into this core story he adds imaginative elements and interpretation, so the boundaries of the source(s) are hard to distinguish.

[33]Smith, *Mystery of Anointing*, 533–5.

on to the feet and knees of Jesus, asking to be made into a 'new sacrifice' of Eve holding on to the tree of life (*In Cant*. 25.3). She wants to mix her body with the heavenly body, to be clothed with the Holy Spirit, no longer clad in the fig leaf (metaphorically meaning deception); instead, 'clothed through the Holy Spirit, she has put on a good garment, of which there is no corruption' (*In Cant*. 25.5).[34] The women become 'apostles to the apostles' or 'apostles of Christ [who] … complete through obedience the failure of the old Eve' (*In. Cant*. 25.6). Restored Adam and Eve are now married, and she is re-established as his helper (*In. Cant*. 25.8), and 'this is why the women evangelized the [male] disciples'. When the male disciples did not believe them, Jesus appears and states: 'It was my desire, I who appeared to these women, to send them also as apostles to you.'[35]

While this kind of allegorical mystery of the marriage is not strongly attested in Latin Christianity, it is found particularly in Valentinian writings,[36] but also in the *Epistula Apostolorum* 58-62, which draws on the parable of the wise and foolish virgins as brides of Christ (Mt. 25.1-13, see below). The Odes of Solomon, a work of Syrian Christianity from the second to third centuries, uses the imagery of the bridegroom and the bride to represent the spiritual marriage of Christ and believers. The entire collection has quite persuasively been interpreted as hymns for baptism, and it has long been thought that the Odes weave a poetic reflection on baptismal initiation as being a kind of marriage, in which the bridal pair are crowned (Ode 1).[37] The link here is implicit in the curious title of the Odes being 'of Solomon', just as the Song of Songs is likewise 'of Solomon' (Song 1), hence Christ is 'the Beloved' (Ode 3, 7, 8, 38). The final Ode (42) is written as if Christ speaks in the first person, triumphantly at his resurrection, and here the language of 'Beloved' changes to 'Bridegroom'. Nevertheless, the link is not explicit, and it is in the work by Hippolytus that the correlation between the tomb/resurrection and spiritual marriage is clearest, with Christ as Adam united with Martha/Mary as Eve.

Given such mystical concepts, we should not then be entirely surprised to find in the oldest of all surviving early Christian art, from the famous baptistery of the Dura-Europos house church, an image of the women at the tomb dressed as brides: at least, this is what I wish to argue here. To understand why I have reached this conclusion, we will consider the evidence, with particular interest in dress.

Excavated in joint French and American excavations led by Michael Rostovtzeff of Yale and Franz Cumont of the French Academy (from 1928 until 1937), the baptistery is found in a house church dated *c*. 235 CE.[38] It comprises a home with a central peristyle courtyard around which

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[34]Ibid., 539.

[35]Ibid., *Mystery of Anointing*, 542. Note that Smith (97–132) argues against considering this an indication of women's ordained leadership in the Church, though Martha and Mary may represent patronesses.

[36]Lubbertus Klass van Os, 'Baptism in the Bridal Chamber: The Gospel of Philip as a Valentinian Baptism Instruction' (Doctoral Diss, University of Groningen, Groningen, 2007); Risto Uro, 'The Bridal Chamber and Other Mysteries: Ritual System and Ritual Transmission in the Valentinian Movement', in *Sacred Marriages: The Divine Human Sexual Metaphor from Sumer to Early Christianity*, ed. Risto Uro and Martti Nissinen (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2008), 457–86; Gaye Strathearn, 'The Valentinian Bridal Chamber in the Gospel of Philip', *Studies in the Bible and Antiquity* 1 (2009): 83–103.

[37]J. H. Bernard, *The Odes of Solomon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912); Mark Pierce, 'Themes in the "Odes of Solomon" and Other Early Christian Writings and Their Baptismal Character', *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 98 (1984): 35–59.

[38]Carl H. Kraeling, *The Christian Building: Excavations at Dura-Europos 8*/2 (Locust Valley, NY: J.J. Augustin, 1967); Ann Perkins, *The Art of Dura-Europos* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1973), 52–55; Michael I. Rostovtzeff, *Dura-Europos and Its Art* (New York: AMS Press, 1978); Kurt Weitzmann and Herbert Kessler, *The Frescoes of the Dura Synagogue and Christian Art* (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1990), Michael Peppard, *The World's Oldest Church*: *Bible, Art, and Ritual at Dura-Europos, Syria* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2016), and see discussion in Haskins, *Myth and Metaphor*, 58–61.

are rooms on two levels; the north-western corner room, on the lower level, is a baptistery. This room contained a basin about 1 metre deep under a plaster-lined canopy. The plastered walls were painted extensively with Christian scenes, with the northern wall painting showing two registers: an upper one with scenes from the life of Christ and the lower one identified by Paul Baur as depicting women coming to Christ's tomb on Easter morning, with the tomb shown as a large, white sarcophagus, the left side of which closely abuts the baptismal basin (see Figures 20.3 and 20.4).[39]

As we examine this image, we must remember that the frescoes and plastered walls were stripped off, taken to Yale University Art Gallery and displayed in a reconstructed form, fortunately recorded in early colour slides and drawings, since after their excavation they have very greatly faded.[40] We can see that there are three women in the preserved section, but it has long been suggested that

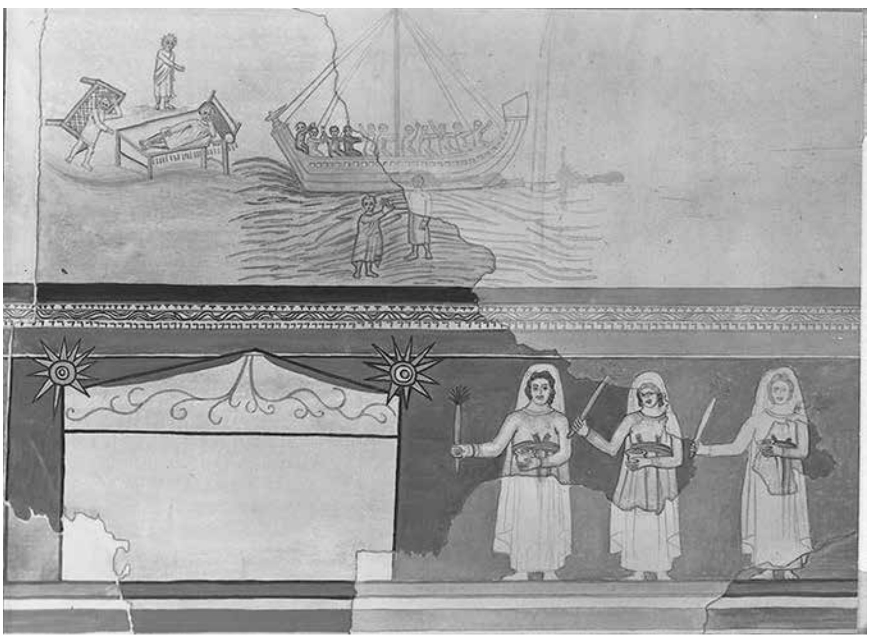


FIGURE 20.3 Composite drawing of painting, Dura-Europos house church, third century CE. Healing of the Paralytic; Parting of the Red Sea; Procession of Women at the Tomb. Photo: Courtesy of Yale University Art Gallery Dura-Europos Collection.

[39] P. V. C. Baur, 'The Paintings in the Christian Chapel', in *The Excavations at Dura-Europos Conducted by Yale University and the French Academy of Inscriptions and Letters, Preliminary Report of the Fifth Season of Work, October 1931–March 1932*, ed. M. I. Rostovtzeff (New Haven: Yale, 1934), 254–83.

[40] For details of the restoration, see http://media.artgallery.yale.edu/duraeuropos/dura.html 'Conserving the Wall Paintings': the paintings were already flaking as a result of ancient damage. No ancient binder was used to help preserve the pigment. Already in the field they had been sprayed with a cellulose nitrate coating. In Yale, the paintings were again sprayed, this time with polyvinyl acetate (in the 1930s and in the 1940s). In 1975 the paintings were restored using an Italian *strappo* technique and sprayed with acrylic resin, and again in 1985 they were treated with beeswax and heat. Finally in 2010 restoration took place, aiming to remove some of the excess previous treatments, with 'in painting', using removal pigments, to clarify the images.



FIGURE 20.4 Dura-Europos house church, third century. Reconstruction of baptistery in Yale University Art Gallery. Photo: Courtesy of Yale University Art Gallery Dura-Europos Collection.

there would have been one or two more figures not preserved on the right.[41] The programme of a procession of women starts in fact on the eastern wall, where there are here five pairs of women's feet (identifiable as women because of their long tunics) that have survived on a panel measuring 3.17 m. These figures are oriented to the northern wall (left), moving in that direction.

In Ulrich Mell's study of the baptistery paintings, he uses the second-century Gospel conflation of Tatian's *Diatessaron* as a key for interpretation. He has suggested that there are five women shown on the baptistery walls coming to the tomb on Easter morning, and that these represent four named women as found in the (Arabic) Diatessaron and another woman representative of all the others.[42] The five women on the northern and eastern walls are the same women.[43] Thus, here there are Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of James and Joses, the mother of the sons of Zebedee, Salome and other women who had followed together with him from Galilee (*Diat*. 52.21-23). There are certainly good reasons to look to the *Diatessaron*, which was very popular in the East, as a foundation for the art. In Hogg's version of the Arabic *Diatessaron* the story reads (52.45-49):

> [45] And in the evening of the sabbath, which is the morning of the first day, and in [46] the dawning while the darkness yet remained, came Mary Magdalene and the other Mary and other women to see the tomb. They brought with them the [47] perfume which they had prepared, and said among

[41]Kraeling, *The Christian Building*, 81.
[42]Ulrich Mell, *Christliche Hauskirche und Neues Testament: Die Ikonologie des Baptisteriums von Dura Europos und das Diatessaron Tatians* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010), 176–87.
[43]Mell, *Hauskirche*, 30–2, 179–80.

> themselves, Who is it that will [48] remove for us the stone from the door of the tomb? for it was very great. And when they said thus, there occurred a great earthquake; and an angel came down [49] from heaven, and came and removed the stone from the door.[44]

This provides an image of numerous women coming to the tomb before dawn, so we do not really need to imagine duplicates on the eastern wall. Quite rightly scholars note that Baur's usage of the canonical Gospels, notably Mark 16.1-2, to interpret the scene is wrong because, as Sanne Klaver states, the 'text says … that the visit took place after sunrise, which is not in accordance with stars and torches'.[45] But using this *Diatessaron* text as the basis for the painting solves this issue neatly.[46] As in the Dura painting, it is still dark, and thus the women would have needed torches, and in the *Diatessaron* text they are said to have prepared perfumes in advance, which correlates with the fact that the women in the painting are holding bowls.[47] We may see that there is heavy stone slab depicted on top of the sarcophagus and imagine the women are saying, as in Mark, 'who will roll away the stone for us … ?' (16.3), reflected in the Arabic *Diatessaron*.[48]

That the women are the myrrh-bearers can be understood by an important detail. Yale University Art Gallery has made available online the original photographs taken by the excavation team in situ when these frescoes were first discovered,[49] and one can see in one of these photographs more clearly than in the later images the fine detail of the containers held in the hands of Mary and her second companion. These containers are open bowls, not vials with stoppers, more suited to *pot pourri* or a thick salve than liquid (Fig. 20.4).[50]

If we read the painting in line with this interpretation, Mary and the other women move sequentially towards a large sarcophagus. First in line, Mary Magdalene is bearing a torch vertically in her right hand. She is front facing, though moving to her right, and is wearing light clothing: a long-sleeved tunic dress with a broad sash and a white veil. Her dark, wavy hair is visible under the veil, which would have been raised off the top of her head, as was the style in Dura and Palymra for women at this time, with hair done after the fashion of Julia Mamaea.[51] Her companions are

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[44]H. W. Hogg, *The Diatessaron of Tatian*, ed. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson; Ante-Nicene Fathers 9 (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1896), 201–2.

[45]Sanne Klaver, 'Brides of Christ: The Women in Procession in the Baptistery of Dura-Europos', *ECA* 9 (2012–13): 63–78, at 64.

[46]Peppard considers that an argument that the painting represents the *Diatessaron* is 'circular' because the text of the *Diatessaron* remains 'hypothetical' (Peppard, *World's Oldest Church*, 143). This shows a lack of trust in the Arabic version, translated from the Syriac Diatessaron, made in the eighth century.

[47]Note that the Arabic *Diatessaron* translated by Hogg has a later return of only two women at the tomb, using the account in Matthew, so: 'And Mary Magdalene and Mary that was related to Joses came to [37] the sepulchre after them, and sat opposite the sepulchre, and saw the [38] body, how they took it in and laid it there. And they returned, and brought ointment and perfume, and prepared *it*, that they might come and anoint him. [39] And on the day which was the sabbath day they desisted according to the command.'

[48]In this text, the irony of Mark – that the stone had already been removed from the tomb – is not preserved. The stone removal happens subsequent to the womens' question: 'And when they said thus, there occurred a great earthquake; and an angel came down [49] from heaven, and came and removed the stone from the door.' Thus we may have here a miraculous 'pow'.

[49]http://media.artgallery.yale.edu/duraeuropos/dura.html

[50]The word *aromata* indeed does take in quite a range of meanings, given it essentially means 'perfumed things'. BDAG (140–1) then helpfully translates it as 'any kind of perfumed substance fragrant spice/salve/oil/perfume, esp. used in embalming the dead', referencing, inter alia, Diodorus Siculus, *Bibl.* 18.26:3, regarding the ἀρῶματα in Alexander's coffin. See also LSJ 254.

[51]Baur, 'Paintings', 337–80.

wearing similar attire. Mary is holding in her left hand a perfume bowl, as too the woman to her left (the other Mary) who is also raising her right hand, holding a torch. The third woman is barely seen, but she has an identical stance and carries a bowl, and so it would appear all the women would have been depicted in the same way. Mary would then cohere with the Eastern and early tradition as being indistinguishable by dress from the other women.

However, there is one element of the painting over the two walls which does not make sense in this interpretation. One can see a frame at the bottom edge of the painting, which goes all the way around the scene, and above their heads. At the bottom corner of the northern wall painting there is the bottom of a box-like structure, for which the frame is the side, after which the frame reappears, carrying over to the eastern wall.[52] Perhaps the structure is supposed to stand in for a doorway from which the myrrh-bearers exit to go to the tomb, but a long-standing counter-interpretation of the scene has been that it depicts a doorway that separates the women on the northern and eastern walls. They are not the myrrh-bearers but the five wise and foolish virgins (as bridesmaids) of Jesus's parable in Matthew (Mt. 25.1-12).[53] In the parable the virgins carry lamps (τὰς λαμπάδας), and the wise virgins prepare for the future and also take oil in small vessels ('they took oil in the flasks / vessels with their lamps', ἔλαβον ἔλαιον ἐν τοῖς ἀγγείοις μετὰ τῶν λαμπάδων ἑαυτῶν). This could be represented by the torches and the bowls. We would see five wise virgins moving to the left on the northern wall, and the white structure then would not be interpreted as a sarcophagus.

Slightly complicating this interpretation, it is not entirely secure that there are five women shown on the northern wall. The total length of the fresco is just under 2 m. The white structure is 75 cm wide. The first female figure takes up approximately 50 cm of the width as her arm is the most outstretched, but the two figures behind her take up approximately 40 cm each from the elbow of the woman in front. There are 90 cm from the third woman's elbow to the edge of the frame, but in the lower part that is preserved there are no feet, which might mean that there are only four women shown on the wall, unless the fifth woman is in a different, higher position, passing through the door. However, we will assume there are five for the present discussion.

A veiled woman in third-century Syria would not immediately suggest a virgin bridesmaid but rather a married woman or bride. Notwithstanding the arguments made by Tertullian of North Africa in his exhortative essay, 'On the Veiling of Virgins', written around the time the paintings were made, it was the church of a later time, in the fourth century, that adopted the ritual of the marriage ceremony, along with veiling, to ensure consecrated virgins were veiled in church like married women.[54] Tertullian's recommendations themselves appear to be directed at dedicated, ascetic virgins in the church of Carthage, even though much of what he says has ramifications also for unmarried girls.[55] While veiling in the ancient Mediterranean was often quite culturally specific

[52]Klaver ('Brides of Christ', 63) assumes it is a door. See for the positioning of the images at http://media.artgallery.yale.edu/duraeuropos/dura.html.

[53]It was first presented by J. Pijoan, 'The Parable of the Virgins from Dura-Europos', *Art Bulletin* 19, no. 4 (1937): 592–5, and see now Michael Peppard, 'Illuminating the Dura-Europos Baptistery: Comparanda for the Female Figures', *JECS* 20 (2012): 543–74, and id., *World's Oldest Church*, 111–13.

[54]For example, Jerome's *Epist.* 130 to Demetrias, and further see David Hunter, 'The Virgin, the Bride and the Church: Reading Psalm 45 in Ambrose, Jerome and Augustine', *CH* 69 (2000): 281–303. For an excellent study of Tertullian's context in regard to veiling, see Mary Alice Fellman, 'The Social Context of Tertullian's on the Veiling of Virgins' (MA Thesis, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY), 2009. https://ecommons.cornell.edu/bitstream/handle/1813/13596/Fellman%2c%20Mary.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

[55]See the arguments in Fellman, 'Social Context of Veiling', 16–17.

and also variable in regard to class, with high-status women more modestly covered than low-status women, the veil is often found as the marker of a bride or married woman.[56] From marriage, in Roman contexts, a man was said to 'lead a wife', *ducere uxorem*, and a woman was to 'veil for a man', *nubere viro*.[57] Thus, on the basis of the veil the women represented in the Dura baptistery are brides but not really virgins attending a bride.[58]

Usefully, Michael Peppard and Sanne Klaver both resource a host of Syrian Christian literature, including baptismal liturgy and poetry, that uses bridal symbolism for the baptizand moving towards the baptismal font, symbolized as the bridal chamber, where they will meet (and be united with) the bridegroom, Christ.[59] Indeed, the virgins are already understood not as bridesmaids but as brides when the parable is used in the *Epistula Apostolorum*.

Usual bridal attire in this Roman colony on the Euphrates, with its mixture of Syrian, Greek and Roman culture, might be hard to define precisely, but certainly an elite Roman bride would be expected to wear a *flammeum* veil, often dyed *luteum* (off-white to yellow), and otherwise wear white, though many other accoutrements can be listed also, including a belt with a Herculean knot.[60] The women in Dura are presented appropriately in white bridal attire, as Klaver has well noted.[61] The torches in the hands of the women are a key feature of the procession accompanying a bride, though here the brides themselves hold the torches, which should normally be in the hands of bridesmaids. Indeed, the white structure may not be a sarcophagus but rather a tent or canopied bed, as a bridal chamber.[62]

That eminent art historians can see two different things in the Dura paintings points to an intended effect. The women are both myrrh-bearers and brides, given Hippolytus, who identifies the women who come to the tomb with the bride in his *Commentary* 24.[63] The artist is here reflecting the story of Mary Magdalene and other women coming to the tomb at the moment of the resurrection of Christ, as in the (Arabic) *Diatessaron*, and also aligning these women, shown as brides, with the faithful baptizands who are moving towards the baptismal basin, ready to immerse in the 'bridal chamber' in which they are to be brought into union with the risen Christ. In short, in regard to Mary Magdalene and her depiction prior to 300 CE, we have her visualized, by her dress, as a kind of bride, like the other women with her. In the context of the early church it is not strange in that the other women could also be conceptualized as virgins and brides, despite the other Mary being the mother of James and Joses or there being the mother of the sons of

[56]Kelly Olson, *Dress and the Roman Woman: Self-Presentation and Society* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 33, and see regarding the debate about veiling in 1 Corinthians 11:1-9, Cynthia L. Thompson, 'Hairstyles, Head Coverings, and St. Paul: Portraits from Roman Corinth', *BA* 51, no. 2 (1988): 99–115. Dale Martin, 'Prophylactic Veils', in *The Corinthian Body* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).

[57]Karen Klaiber Hersch, 'Introduction to the Roman Wedding: Two Case Studies', *CJ* 109/2 (December 2013–January 2014): 223–32, at p. 229.

[58]Virgins, also, at this time, should usually be imagined as younger than marriageable age, which could take place from the age of twelve. Karen Klaiber Hersch, *The Roman Wedding: Ritual and Meaning in Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 20, n.14.

[59]See especially Klaver, 'Brides of Christ', 66–7, 75–7.

[60]Hersch, 'Two Case Studies', 225; Klaver, 'Brides of Christ', 68, 77 n.71.

[61]Klaver, 'Brides of Christ', 68, and see Kersch, *Roman Wedding*, 71.

[62]Klaver ('Brides of Christ', 69–70) sees it as a tent, but a veiled, canopied bed is equally possible: the sexual metaphor of union is obvious in the language of the bridal chamber.

[63]Haskins, *Mary Magdalen: Myth and Metaphor*, 63–5.

Zebedee. 'Virgins', as ascetic women, could be placed in the category of 'widows', and vice versa.[64] Interpreted mystically, much is possible.

MARY IN FIRST-CENTURY JUDAEA

While we have seen different Mary's over time, we now need to ask: what did Mary Magdalene really look like, as a historical woman?

In terms of her historical reality, we have the key texts of the Gospels and other early Christian writings that indicate a memory that Mary Magdalene was one of many women who followed Jesus as disciples in Galilee and that she was a witness to the empty tomb (Mt. 27.55; 28.1, 6; Mk 15.41, 47; 16.6; Lk. 24.10; Jn 20.2 see especially Lk. 8.1-3) and resurrection (Mk 16.9; Mt. 28.8-10; Jn 20.11-18). We learn that she had been the subject of an exorcism (healing) by Jesus, and seven demons went out of her (Mk 16.9; Lk. 8.2), but in terms of the folk traditions of the time this simply means she was very ill, not that she was morally lax. There is nothing distinctive about her.

Fortunately, in terms of her clothing, a great array of material has come to light from sites around the Dead Sea, where the dryness and saltiness of the environment have naturally preserved organic substances that would elsewhere have decomposed.[65] Using comparative study of clothing and appearances on Egyptian mummy portraits[66] from the first to third centuries, and other art (particularly from Pompeii, Palmyra and Dura-Europos), it is possible to gain quite a good idea of how women in first-century Judaea dressed. It is also possible, from skeletal remains, to determine their average height and other aspects of their physicality. These remains can provide more than just bones. In the excavations of 1964, on the steps of the bathhouse in the northern palace of Masada, fragmentary and disturbed skeletons were found, and one of these skeletons was from a young woman; her long, black, plaited hair was still intact.[67] This plait would have been rolled up into a bun (see below).

According to the Israel Antiquities Authority human osteological database[68] for the later Second Temple period, the average height for a woman was 147 cm, or 4 feet 8 inches, with the average for men being 166 cm, or 5 feet 5 inches.[69] In addition, we may note that Judaeans would have been of 'Middle Eastern' appearance, with olive-brown skin. The biological anthropologist Yossi Nagar goes further to specify that Jews of this time, in Judaea, had a strong biological connection with people from the area of Iraq, so that in fact if you want to get the best 'look' of a Jew of Jesus's

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[64]See Charlotte Methuen, 'The "Virgin Widow": A Problematic Social Role for the Early Church?', *HTR* 90 (1997): 285–98.

[65]For excellent examples, see Hero Granger-Taylor, 'Textiles from Khirbet Qazone and the Cave of Letters, Two Burial Sites Near the Dead Sea: Similarities and Differences in Find Spots and Textile Types', in *Textiles in Situ: Their Find Spots in Egypt and Neighbouring Countries in the First Millennium CE*, ed. Sabine Shrenk (Riggisberg: Abegg Stiftung, 2006), 113–31; Avigail Sheffer and Hero Granger-Taylor, 'Textiles from Masada: A Preliminary Selection', in *Masada IV: The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963–1965 Final Reports*, ed. Joseph Aviram, Gideon Foerster and Ehud Netzer (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1994), 149–256.

[66]See, for example, Susan Walker, ed., *Ancient Faces: Mummy Portraits from Roman Egypt* (The Metropolitan Museum of Art Publications, New York: Routledge, 2000).

[67]Yigael Yadin, *Masada* (New York: Random House, 1966), 54, cf. 193, 196, though Joe Zias has doubted that these remains are of Jews, in 'Whose Bones?' *BAR* 24, no. 6 (1998): 24–36.

[68]Yossi Nagar, 'Human Osteological Database at the Israel Antiquities Authority: Overview and Some Examples of Use', *Bioarchaeology of the Near East* 5 (2011): 1–18.

[69]Nagar, 'Human Osteological Database', 8.

time you might consider the Iraqi Jewish community.[70] We are not told anything about Mary Magdalene's age, and there is absolutely nothing in our texts that would require us to imagine Mary as young, or as beautiful, though we may choose to do so. Since Luke 8.1–3 indicates that she was a woman with resources that could be used for supporting Jesus's work, we should think not think of her as a minor.

With regard to Mary's dress, studies conclude that women in Judaea wore, overall, Mediterranean-wide clothing,[71] in having a long tunic (in Greek, a *chitōn*).[72] Women's tunics were distinguished from men's by being both longer on their bodies and baggier. Such tunics were usually made of wool, but linen was associated with warmer environments, like Jericho (Josephus, *War* 4.469-70). Woollen tunics usually had coloured stripes (called *clavi*) which ran from shoulder to hem.[73] In Hebrew, a tunic, *haluq*, means 'divided', since these have separate front and backs, sewn together at the shoulders and sides.[74]

The 'sleeves' of a tunic at this time were not separate, or long, but created from the width of the material, though such 'sleeves' could have tucks at the shoulders.[75] Long sleeves appeared increasingly on women's tunics over the course of the Roman period, but overall women's tunics are simply baggier and longer than men's.[76] For example, there is one side of an undyed tunic with purple stripes found in a grave in Khirbet Qazone, now in the British Museum (2004, 0910.5; Figure 20.5). It is approximately 117 cm long and 142 cm wide, that is wider than it is long.[77] This would have provided longish sleeves, a women's tunic with 'sleeves' down to the wrist, and a baggy shape.[78] On an average woman standing some 147 cm tall it would have reached her ankles. Such a tunic was drawn in at the waist under the breasts (and sometimes at the hips) with a cloth band, an example of which has been found at Naḥal Hever, but it could also be made of leather or cord.[79]

[70]Yossi Nagar, personal communication (emails of February and March, 2017).

[71]See especially Lucille A. Roussin, 'Costume in Roman Palestine', in *The World of Roman Costume*, ed. Judith L. Sebesta and Larissa Bonfante (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2001), 182–91; Dafna Schlezinger-Katsman, 'Clothing', in *The Oxford Handbook of Jewish Daily Life in Roman Palestine*, ed. Catherine Hezser (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 362–81; Katie Turner, '"The Shoe Is the Sign!" Costuming Brian and Dressing the First Century', in *Jesus and Brian: Exploring the Historical Jesus and His Times via Monty Python's Life of Brian*, ed. Joan Taylor (London: T&T Clark, 2015), 221–37 *id*. 'The Representation of New Testament Figures in Passion Dramas,' PhD thesis (King's College London, 2019), 34–105. See also Joshua Schwartz's chapter in this volume.

[72]Steven Fine, 'How Do You Know a Jew When You See One? Reflections on Jewish Costume in the Roman World', *Fashioning Jews: Clothing, Culture, and Commerce*, ed. Leonard J. Greenspoon (Studies in Jewish Civilization, West Lafayette, Ind: Purdue University Press, 2013), 19–28.

[73]In linen these stripes were made out of a different weave alone and are called 'self-bands'. See Orit Shamir and Naama Sukenik, 'Qumran Textiles and the Garments of Qumran's Inhabitants', *DSD* 18 (2011): 206–25, at 217–20: nos. 7 and 58; see the example in Yigael Yadin, *The Finds from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1963), 261–2. It is 85 cm wide and 80 cm long. IAA no: 1997–9049.

[74]Mishnah (m.Nega'im 11:9; Yadin, *Finds*, 212, Pl. 66; IAA no: 1996–9132.

[75]Yigael Yadin, *Bar-Kokhba: The Rediscovery of the Legendary Hero of the Last Jewish Revolt against Imperial Rome* (London: Random House, 1971), 66–71.

[76]This became quite standard in the later (third century onwards) Coptic tunic; there was also a tendency to have more decoration around the collar and sleeves, see M. S. Dimand, 'Coptic Tunics in the Metropolitan Museum of Art', *Metropolitan Museum Studies* 2 (May 1930): 239–52.

[77]Granger-Taylor, 'Textiles from Khirbet Qazone', 120, Fig. 3.

[78]This would be practical also allowing for pregnancy and (modest) breast-feeding.

[79]Taylor, *What Did Jesus Look Like*, 173.



FIGURE 20.5 Khirbet Qazone. Undyed tunic with purple stripes, *c*. 117 cm long and 142 cm wide, second to the third centuries CE. British Museum 2004,0910.5. Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum.

Over her head and shoulders it is likely that a Judaean woman wore a shawl (veil), as we see in the depictions of Syrian women from the Roman period in Palmyra or Dura-Europos, and in later synagogue art, for example in the image of Virgo in the fourth-century zodiac mosaic of Hammat Tiberias. In literature this shawl could have different names (e.g. in Hebrew a *tsammah* (Song Sol. 4.1, 3; 6.7) or *rādīd* (Song Sol. 5.7; Isa. 3:23, in Aramaic *r*ᵉ*dīd*, so Targum Neophiti 24.25; 38.14), translated as *theristron* in the Greek Septuagint).

A mantle (Greek: *himation*; Hebrew: *tallit*) could be worn as an outer garment, especially by elite women, and there were different types and qualities. A *himation* was sometimes called (in Greek) a *chlanis*, *chlainion* or *chlanidion*, the latter indicating one of finer wool worn by refined rich women (Plutarch, *Alciphon* 23/2.253a).[80] A well-preserved woman's mantle, found in the Cave of Letters in Naḥal Hever, measured when whole 140 x 270 cm.[81]

[80]Such words relate to the verb 'warm', *chlainō*, and thus mean 'warmer': LSJ 1994.
[81]Yadin, *Finds*, 238, IAA no. 43–8.11.

There is also some evidence to suggest that women were expected to wear more colourful clothing than men, though Pompeian art shows there was no simple correlation. Josephus associates coloured clothing with women's apparel in *War* 4:561-3, but recently found tomb paintings in Beit Bas (ancient Capitolais) in Jordan show male physical workers wearing bright red, yellow, pink, pale green and other coloured *chitōnes*.[82] Remains of clothing found by the Dead Sea indicate that people sometimes wore undyed clothing but also a great range of strong colours, particularly reds (dyed with madder), yellow and green.[83] The *himatia* of women were probably also distinguished by a *gamma* shape in the corners, as opposed to what I would call an *iota* shape in the garments of men.[84]

In terms of hair, women's hair was long, yet invariably bound up and secured in hairnets (*svachot*, m.Kelim 24:16), as have been found in Murabba`at and Masada. The plaits (braids) of the woman in Masada would indicate a style in which these were wound up on the head rather than hanging down. A bun support ring has also been found in Murabba`at, dating to the second century CE. As Janet Stephens has explored, elite women throughout the Roman Empire tended to follow the patterns of imperial Roman women, whose elaborate hairstyles were distributed via portrait busts and coins.[85] The hair of elite women, who could employ a slave as a personal hairdresser, could be tied up with string: sewn into place and unsewn by nimble fingers. Less elite women presumably followed local traditions, as today. Plaiting/braiding is one of the most convenient ways of dealing with long hair, as it makes it particularly easy to secure with a net and pins. A Judaean or Nabataean woman may have worn a bun-wrapper scarf since small coloured cloths have been found on either side of the Dead Sea.[86] There were several such cloth scarves found in Masada. At Khirbet Qazone an exceptionally well-preserved cloth has been found, with some fringes intact. Measuring 23.7 cm by 18.9 cm it is made of wool, dyed red and has three thin stripes at the surviving edge in blue and yellow (Figure 20.6).[87] It may be that a scarf was worn in lieu of a hairnet, since hairnets, being finer, may not have been so commonly available to poorer women, though shown on portrait busts of elite women.[88]

Once bound up, a woman's hair would not have been easy to loosen. The sinner woman of Luke 7 had hair that was apparently already loose and hanging down at the time she appeared with the alabaster jar, ready for wiping Jesus's feet. Traditionally, in a legal setting, the loosing of a woman's hair was one of the trials inflicted on women suspected of adultery (Num. 5.18-31, cf. Jn 7.53–8.11), as Gail Labovitz also discusses in her chapter in this book, but women's unbound hair in Mediterranean antiquity was far more often associated with grieving.[89] No texts associate unbound hair with prostitution. Thus, in John 12 it is Mary the sister of Martha, Jesus's disciple,

[82]For image, see https://www.archaeology.org/news/7000-180928-jordan-capitolias-murals

[83]Orit Shamir, 'Textiles, Basketry, Cordage and Whorls from Mo'a (Moje Awad)', *'Atiqot*, 50 (2005): 99–152 at 100–3.

[84]Taylor, *What Did Jesus Look Like*, 181–4.

[85]Janet Stephens, 'Ancient Roman Hairdressing: On (Hair)pins and Needles', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 21 (2008): 111–33.

[86]Hero Granger-Taylor (pers. comm.). This is probably indicated by the Aramaic word *mandila*, meaning 'small scarf'.

[87]It is now in the British Museum (BM 2004,0910.3).

[88]I. Jenkins and D. Williams, 'A Bronze Portrait Head and Its Hair Net', *Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University* 46, no. 2 (1987): 8–1; Elizabeth Bartman, 'Hair and the Artifice of Roman Female Adornment', *American Journal of Archaeology* 105, no. 1 (2001): 1–25.

[89]Charles H. Cosgrove, 'A Woman's Unbound Hair in the Greco-Roman World, with Special Reference to the Story of the "Sinful Woman" in Luke 7:36-50', *JBL* 124 (2005): 675–89.

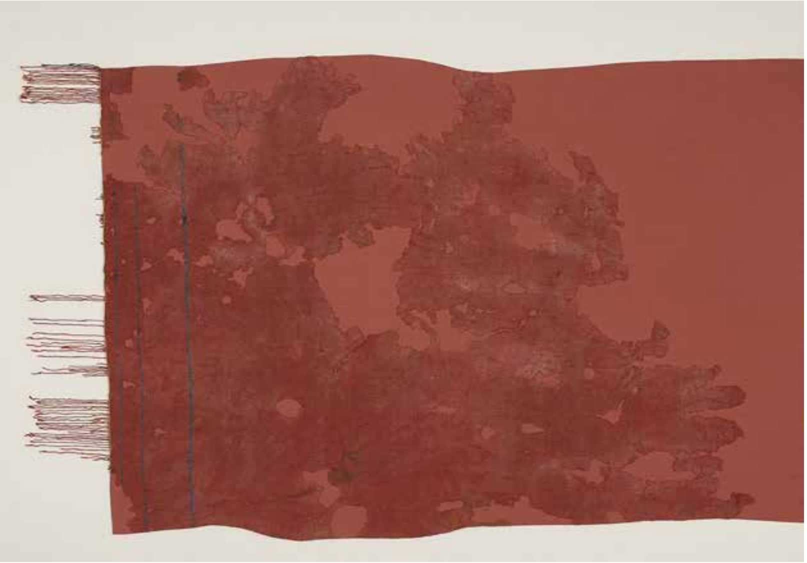


FIGURE 20.6 Khirbet Qazone. Headscarf, 23.7 cm by 18.9 cm. British Museum 2004,0910.3. Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum.

who pours perfume on Jesus's feet, wiping them with her unbound hair, apparently momentously grieving ahead of time for what would soon happen in a way not appreciated by her critic, Judas.

A woman could draw her *himation* over her head for special modesty, and especially in situations of mourning, as we see in terms of the representation of a Judaean woman in a coinage issued after the First Revolt in 70 CE by Vespasian and Titus (Figure 20.7). In this *Judaea Capta* type, the woman is sitting dejectedly under a palm tree, with a Roman soldier towering over her. The woman is illustrative both of local women and of Judaea as a humiliated, mourning nation. It is implied she has been raped:[90] the Roman soldier holds a staff upright by his right hand and holds in his left hand a *parazonium* scabbard meant to signify an erect penis, indicating Roman virility (dominance) against Judaean femininity (submission).[91] The woman is shown sitting, covered, in grief. Perhaps the woman portrayed weeping in the Judaea Capta coinage may have been imagined as a rich woman, with a large mantle, reflecting the wealth of Judaea symbolized by the date palm now captured by the Romans.

As for Mary Magdalene, however, an ordinary woman who worked physically would not usually have worn a cumbersome mantle except to keep warm on cold days. On Mary's feet were sandals. Many examples of these have now been found,[92] including very 'as new' sandals from the

[90]Davina C. Lopez, 'Before Your Very Eyes: Roman Imperial Ideology, Gender Constructs and Paul's Inter-nationalism', *BibInt* 84 (2006): 115–62, 118.
[91]Ibid., 123.
[92]Renate Rosenthal-Heginbottom, 'A Man Must Not Go Out with a Nail-studded Sandal' – Footwear in Jewish Sources and from Archaeological Remains', in *Drawing the Threads Together: Textiles and Footwear of the 1st Millennium AD from Egypt*, ed. Antoine De Moor, Căcilia Fluck and Petra Linscheid (Tielt: Lanoo, 2013), 268–75.



FIGURE 20.7 Roman sestertius of the emperor Vespasian. Coin of Vespasian, 69–79 CE, bronze sestertius, 71 CE in Rome. Soldier (Vespasian) in armour stands facing to the right, with spear and parazonium; a mourning and veiled woman (Judaea) sits under a palm tree. Private collection of Andreas Pangerl. Photo: Andreas Pangerl, www.romancoins.info.

burial of the woman with braids in Masada. Sandals were invariably made according to the *soleae* type, with the sole composed of thick leather and the upper parts much like thongs but with a heel strap, and they were tightened at the toe for a close fit.[93]

Women are shown in portraits as wearing brooches (*fibulae*), earrings and other jewellery, especially in the case of wealthy women, though it is unlikely that a disciple of Jesus like Mary would have worn much, given the early Christian discourse against jewellery (e.g. 1 Tim. 2:9).[94] Overall, we need to see Mary and the other women disciples as dressing without much regard to looking well turned out, especially given that they were on the road with Jesus: their appearance would have been as poor women.

Thus we arrive at an image of Mary Magdalene (Figure 20.8). The colour of her tunic may have been bright. She would have had a coloured shawl (veil) and sandals on her feet. Her hair would have been bound up and secured. She is, in some ways, an everywoman, indistinguishable. We have yet to have her depicted as such in art, accurately, as a Jewish woman in appropriate dress of first-century Judaea. The time for this has surely come.

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[93]See discussion with photographs in Joan E. Taylor and Naama Sukenik, 'Organic Materials from Cave 11Q: A. Leather, Basketry, Ropes, Wood and Seeds', in *Khirbet Qumrân and Ain Feshkha IVa: Qumran Cave 11Q. Archaeology and New Scroll Fragments*, ed. Jean-Baptiste Humbert and Marcello Fidanzio (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2019), 125–33 at 125–6.

[94]Kristi Upson-Saia, *Early Christian Dress: Gender, Virtue, and Authority* (London: Routledge, 2012), 43–6.



FIGURE 20.8 Mary Magdalene. Illustration by Joan E. Taylor.

CONCLUSION

This examination has travelled back in time from the portrayals of Mary Magdalene West and East to the early period of Christian art in the third century. Here, we see a Mary Magdalene portrayed in bridal attire, advancing with other women to the tomb of Christ/bridal chamber. In terms of actuality, the real Mary Magdalene can be loosely visualized by considering the clothing she would have worn as a woman of Judaea in the first century. This type of clothing has been preserved in caves and burial grounds around the Dead Sea and shows us that the people of this area dressed similarly to elsewhere in the ancient Mediterranean. We may imagine Mary as looking like other women of her time. Even if she is to be elided with the sinful woman of Luke 7, or Mary of Bethany who lets down her hair in John 12, her hair would not generally have been loose: only in expressing grief. In resisting elisions, we resist much of Mary's later characterization. We are left only with the barest outline.

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

Robes of Transfiguration and Salvation in Early Christian Texts

JANELLE PETERS

Both the transfigured robes of Jesus and the baptismal garments of believers represent an individual's identity and the revealed nature of salvation. During his transfiguration, Jesus's robes become radiant as three of his disciples watch in awe (Mk 9.1-8; Mt. 17.1-8; Lk. 9.28-36). Paul tells believers to clothe themselves in Christ. Similarly, Luke's resurrection account instructs the disciples that Jesus will clothe the disciples with power from on high (24.49).

In this chapter, I will examine interest in the transfigured robes of Jesus and the putting on of new clothes by believers in Christ. These garments are androgynous, and they contribute to the moral development of the individual. They create an identity located in the self, Christ, morality and the divine. While these textiles intersect with garments from Jewish, Greek, Roman and other traditions, they acquire a larger function of orienting the baptized in the meaning of the divinity and baptism of Christ.[1]

PUTTING ON CHRIST AND THE NEW SELF

Several letters exhort recipients to clothe themselves with Christ. Believers are to put on this new self as part of their initiation into their new identity and membership in the communal body of Christ. The moment at which one could first 'put on Christ' was one's baptism. In this way, as commentators such as J. Albert Harrill have noted, the motif could have paralleled the *toga virilis* ceremony for Roman boys that conferred upon them a coming-of-age.[2] Candida Moss observes that white garments featured frequently in Roman culture, appearing at Roman initiations, parties, processions for Isis and Roman triumphs.[3] However, the exhortations in early Christian literature suggest that this clothing would then be one's identity, even more so than the ceremonial toga. The imperative to put on Christ is ongoing in several references, going beyond morning rituals of donning garb or maintaining purity to the metaphorical state of one's consciousness. Fabric and cloth have already become Christ – Paul does not need to explain how believers are to don the

[1]Receiving the gift of a royal robe in ancient Persia also entailed being touched by the king's spirit: see Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones, 'Dress and Ceremony in Achaemenid Persia: The *Gaunaka', this volume.

[2]J. Albert Harrill, 'Coming of Age and Putting on Christ: The *Toga Virilis* Ceremony, Its Paraenesis, and Paul's Interpretation of Baptism in Galatians', *Novum Testamentum* 44, no. 3 (2002): 252–77.

[3]Candida Moss, *Divine Bodies: Resurrecting the Perfection in the New Testament and Early Christianity* (New Haven: Yale, 2019), 102–3.

identity of Christ by using a simile about clothing. One is always to put on Christ, to remember one's baptismal identity and to be ready for Christ following his model.

a. Putting on Christ

The letters to the Galatians and the Romans from the apostle Paul emphasize that new members are putting on Christ. Galatians 3.27 depicts its recipients' baptism as an event in and after which those believers clothed themselves 'with Christ'. As Stanley Porter opines, the clothing with Christ is what culminates the process from faith in God leading to adoption as 'sons of God' to baptism and 'the resulting egalitarian relations'.[4] Likewise, Romans 13.14 features the apostle giving the instruction: 'put on the Lord Jesus Christ'. Both letters convey agency on the part of the believer. Neither Paul nor Jesus garbs the baptized in Christ; rather, the baptized clothe themselves in their new identity in Christ on an ongoing basis. Moreover, the baptized are not only made new, but they assume a particular identity, that is, that of Christ.

In 2 Corinthians, Paul presents the idea of a doubly garmented believer. At the end of this world, or the death of the baptized, believers will lose their earthly bodies. Paul refers to these as 'earthly dwellings' (5.1) or 'tents' (5.1, 2, 4). However, the baptized will retain the heavenly buildings they had by virtue of their baptism. Wayne Meeks draws attention to the 'down payment' of the Spirit already received (5.5) for the eschatological future.[5] Proper desire, accordingly, is not to be unclothed, that is, stripped of the mortal body. Rather, Paul teaches that the goal is to be 'further clothed, so that what is mortal may be swallowed up by life' (5.4). Such a formulation implies that when Paul insists on putting on Christ in Galatians and Romans he means that the identity of the second garment, that of Christ, is the permanent identity of the baptized.

Yet, Paul is not always clear on precisely when this new garment of Christ is assumed. When Paul talks about the raising of the dead at the last trumpet at the Resurrection in 1 Corinthians 15.50-58, he envisions the dead as sleeping. With the sounding of the last trumpet, 'the dead will be raised incorruptible', meaning Paul and his associates 'will be changed'. Elsewhere, in Philippians 3.21, the apostle states that Jesus has the power to change our lowly human bodies to conform to his glorious body. Here, in 1 Corinthians 15, Paul says that the corruptible must be clothed with the eternal at verse 53, but he indicates in the next verses that this will not happen until the fulfillment of Hosea's prophecy about victory over death. Thus, although the baptized put on Christ, he says in 1 Corinthians 15 and implies in Philippians 3 that the continual process is not complete until the resurrection.

b. Putting on the new self

Texts developing the Pauline idea of 'putting on Christ' tend to see this in terms of putting on the new self. Whereas both Galatians and Romans specifically refer to the putting on of 'Christ', Colossians 3.10 and Ephesians 4.24 exhort recipients to 'put on the new self'. This new self is an identity that has been created through a relationship to Christ, but it is a more nuanced proposition.

[4]Stanley Porter, 'The Church in Romans and Galatians', in *The New Testament Church: The Challenge of Developing Ecclesiologies*, ed. John P. Harrison and James D. Dvorak; *McMaster Divinity Biblical Studies Series 1* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2012), 85–102, 97.

[5]Wayne A. Meeks, *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul*, 2nd edition (New Haven: Yale, 2003), 188.

Both texts position the identity of the baptized in terms of creation and the Creator, but Colossians links this new identity to a more fully developed ethical framework with defined vices and virtues. The Gospel of Philip, meanwhile, interprets what the believer puts on as clothes, light and the perfect human.

Colossians 3.10 envisions the 'new self' that is worn as being continually 'renewed in knowledge in the image of its Creator'. Forged by baptism, it has put away vices and dressed virtuously.[6] This connection to creation ties the new self to a cosmic love. As Rosemary Canavan notes, Colossians 3.1-17 suggests that the clothing is a love that shapes the body, resembling the Stoic notion that a unifying spirit keeps together the universe. Believers put on the new self, which is a 'love which unifies the body to be mature in Christ'.[7] The garment of the new self in Colossians is the conclusion of the letter's references to love: 'your love in the Spirit' (1.8), 'united in love' (2.2) and 'over all of these, love' (3.14). After removing the 'old human being' (3.9), the believer puts on a sequence of garments. First, in what is now described as a layering of garments, one dons 'heartfelt compassion, kindness, humility, gentleness, and patience' (3.12). Over all of these, one dons love, which is described as a bond of perfection (3.14). This outfit stands in contrast to ethnic and socio-economic status.

In Ephesians 4, body language turns into an instruction to 'put on the new self'. The overall goal of this section is to develop the 'one Lord, one faith, and one baptism' (4.5) idea. We learn of the necessity for different roles within the church: apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors and teachers (4.11). The community grows into Christ, the head of the body. Having put off the old self, the members put on their new self (4.23), acquiring new morals that show their likeness to God (4.24). Stephan Fowl connects this putting on of a new self with donning the 'whole armour of God' in 6.10-11.[8] As this armour permits the new self to resist the devil by wearing the equipment of God, the new self does, in fact, embody characteristics of God and Christ.

Referencing 1 Corinthians 15.50, the Gospel of Philip features the related idea of putting on new clothes as part of participation in the eucharist. Carly Daniel-Hughes observes that the various exhortations to put on the perfect man and the light have similarity.[9] For the *Apocalypse of Paul*, Anthony Hilhorst includes the idea of the putting on of the monastic and angelic garb as reasons to consider the document Christian.[10]

c. Putting on the toga

All of these texts within the broader Pauline tradition give us a metaphorical garment. They suggest the conflation of identity and apparel that was present in the Roman world. Rather than focusing on the fabric used for the garment, they use the idea of putting on clothing to indicate the willing and intentional taking on of a new identity. These texts reference more than

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[6]Elsa Tamez, Cynthia Briggs Kittredge, Claire Miller Columbo and Alicia J. Batten, *Philippians, Colossians, Philemon*, Wisdom Commentary Series 51 (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2017), 181.

[7]Rosemary Canavan, *Clothing the Body of Christ at Colossae: A Visual Construction of Identity*, WUNT 2.334 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 3.

[8]Stephen E. Fowl, *Ephesians: A Commentary*, NTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2012), 203.

[9]Carly Daniel-Hughes, 'Putting on the Perfect Man: Clothing and Soteriology in the *Gospel of Philip*', in *Dressing Judeans and Christians in Antiquity*, ed. Kristi Upson-Saia, Carly Daniel-Hughes and Alicia J. Batten (Farnham, UK: Ashgate Press, 2014), 225–6.

[10]Anthony Hilhorst, *Visio Pauli and the Gnostic Apocalypse of Paul*, ed. Jan N. Bremmer and Istvan Czachesz (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 1–23, 18.

fashion; they tell us that the donning of clothes is closely linked conceptually with the new and permanent identity of the baptized.

Possibly in the background of Paul's imagery could be notions of Israelite priestly garments (Exod. 29.4-9; 40.12-15; Lev. 16.3-4) and events such as the replacement of Joshua's dirty high priestly robes (Zech. 3.3-5).[11] Multiple places in the Hebrew scriptures associate priestly and prophetic clothing with salvation. 2 Chronicles 6.41 contains a prayer for Solomon's priests to be clothed with salvation and so too does Psalm 132.16 attribute the clothing of the priests of Zion with salvation. Being clothed with the garments of salvation is something that causes the author to rejoice in Isaiah 6.10.[12]

The repeated and persistent use of garments as identity also probably comes from the Roman imperial context of the communities of Galatians, Romans, Colossians and Ephesians. The Romans had a traditional garment, the toga, which was the emblem of Roman citizenship.[13] A specific coming-of-age ritual, a Roman boy's putting on the *toga virilis*, occurs abundantly in both Latin and Greek sources. Harrill has shown how the mere reference to a toga functioned to mark the beginning of public life for a Roman man. According to Seneca, for instance, this ceremony was a major life event, one that a parent would envision as a necessary milestone for a complete life: 'So many funerals pass our doors, yet we never think of death! So many deaths are untimely, yet we make plans for our own infants – how they will don the toga, serve in the army, and succeed to their father's property' (*De consolatione ad Marciam* 9.2).[14] The toga would have encompassed ceremonially the whole of a Roman man's adult and public life. In this way, the toga is analogous to baptismal robe, which denotes a changed identity that is permanent.

What is interesting here is that the descriptions of these put-on garments in these epistles are all androgynous, particularly when compared to descriptions of the toga. Quintilian praises the toga for making a Roman man's chest look 'distinguished and manly', explaining that the excessive and sometimes cumbersome fabric of the toga puffed the chest so as to render its appearance larger (*Inst.* 11.3.137). Though the ideal divine is still based on the self as male rather than female, the Pauline texts under consideration present a largely divine and androgynous garment that may be 'put on' by all the baptized. As F. F. Bruce has commented, 'when the "new man" is said in Ephesians 4:24 to be "created according to God in righteousness and true holiness" (cf. Col. 3:10, "renewed after his Creator's image so as to attain true knowledge"), the new man or new humanity is Christ himself – not Christ in isolation from his people but Christ *in* his people'.[15]

TRANSFIGURATION

Garments that radiate divine light feature in the various accounts of the transfiguration, when Jesus's appearance changes and God's voice claims Jesus as his son.[16] Jesus's transfigured form fits

[11]Jung Hoon Kim, *The Significance of Clothing in the Pauline Corpus*, LNTS 268 (New York: T&T Clark, 2004), 120–1.
[12]Kim, *Significance*, 130–1.
[13]Canavan, *Clothing*, 3.
[14]Harrill, 'Coming of Age', 257. Harrill cites Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 26.3; *Tiberius* 15.1; *Gaius Caligula* 15.2; Livy 26.19.5; Tacitus, *Annales* 4.4.1; *Germania* 13.1.
[15]F. F. Bruce, *The Epistles to the Colossians, to Philemon, and to the Ephesians* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1984), 235.
[16]Moss astutely places the location of personal identity 'in the body's materiality' with authors beginning with Irenaeus. Candida Moss, 'Heavenly Healing: Eschatological Cleansing and the Resurrection of the Dead in the Early Church', *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 79, no. 4 (2011): 1008.

both within Jewish apocalyptic expectations of the Messiah and heavenly figures and his prediction of his own role as the Son of Man.[17] The accounts of the transfiguration occur in the Synoptics (Mt. 17.1-8; Mk 9.2-8; Lk. 9.28-36), 2 Peter (1.16-18) and apocryphal literature (e.g. Eth. Apoc. Pet. 15-17; Akh. Apoc. Pet. 1-20; Acts Pet. 20; AJohn 90-91).[18] Although the accounts contain many similarities, their description of the changed raiment of Jesus and its effects varies substantially. In the Synoptics, the resurrection accounts demonstrate the celestial nature of Jesus's white garments at the transfiguration by featuring the white garments of one or more angels at the empty tomb.[19] This is seen to correspond to the Synoptics' accounts of the developing understanding of Christology, contrasting with the resurrection account of the transfiguration-less and highly Christological Gospel of John.[20]

a. Transfigurations

Transfigurations appear in other near contemporaneous texts and contemporaneously read texts. *Joseph and Aseneth* describes the heroine as literally radiant with her shining face and lightning-dress. As her clothes shine light rather than simply appear pure white, Meredith Warren argues that they demonstrate her connection to Joseph's God.[21] And God does wear a 'sunlit-like gown' in 1 Enoch 14.20. She also observes that Achilles's armour shines with his power in the Iliad (19.374-6; 22.25-32).[22] Moreover, Moss has noted that the venerable and long-kept Homeric tradition would have been rife with such garments, citing the goddess Aphrodite appearing in a robe more brilliant than fire.[23]

b. Synoptics

In Mark's account of the transfiguration, Jesus's clothes are so 'dazzling white' that 'no fuller on earth' could have been responsible for bleaching them (9.3). A fuller bleached and carded garments to give them a nap, and woollen garments were more prevalent in Israel than were linen ones, with linen textiles found at Qumran constituting a notable exception.[24] Fullers would be responsible

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[17]Arthur Michael Ramsay, *The Glory of God and the Transfiguration of Christ* (London: Longmans, Green, 1949), 109.
[18]Other transfiguration texts include Acts of Thomas 143 and Gospel of Philip 58.5-10. David Wenham and A. D. A. Moses think it is possible for John 1.14c and d to have an echo of transfiguration with references to 'glory', 'we have seen', 'the only begotten of the Father' and 'tabernacled'. See David Wenham and A. D. A. Moses, '"There Are Some Standing Here … ": Did They Become the "Reputed Pillars" of the Jerusalem Church? Some Reflections on Mark 9:1, Galatians 2:9 and the Transfiguration', *Novum Testamentum* 36, no. 2 (1994): 153.
[19]Although the two events are similar, it is unlikely that the transfiguration event was a resurrection account that was relocated by Mark, as was argued by Bultmann. Robert H. Stein, 'Is the Transfiguration (Mark 9:2-8) a Misplaced Resurrection-Account?', *Journal of Biblical Literature* 95, no. 1 (1976): 79–96.
[20]D. Moody Smith, *John*. ANTC (Nashville: Abingdon, 1999), 39. In Acts of John 90-91, Jesus is dressed not in garments but is naked and not like a man. Yet, he has feet that are 'whiter than snow' that illumine the ground on which he stands. Jonathan Potter argues that this transfiguration subtly reworks Synoptic *topoi* with which the author disagrees and serves to further the high Christology of the Johannine tradition by being just one of the many transfigurations that happens in the Acts of John. Jonathan M. Potter, 'Naked Divinity: The Transfiguration Transformed in the Acts of John', in *Jesus and Mary Reimagined in Early Christian Literature*, ed. Vernon K. Robbins and Jonathan M. Potter (Atlanta: SBL, 2015), 183.
[21]Meredith Warren, 'A Robe Like Lightning: Clothing Changes and Identification in Joseph and Aseneth', *Dressing Judeans and Christians in Antiquity*, 152.
[22]Warren, 'A Robe', 146.
[23]*Homeric Hymn V* (To Aphrodite) 84–7. Candida Moss, 'The Transfiguration: An Exercise in Markan Accommodation', *Biblical Interpretation* 12, no. 1 (2004): 79.
[24]Orit Shamir and Naama Sukenik, 'Qumran Textiles and the Garments of Qumran's Inhabitants', *Dead Sea Discoveries* 18 (2011): 216.

for bleaching linen and woollen garments and also using a teasel such as a hedgehog brush on woollen garments.[25] Though a luxury process, fulling nonetheless would have been available to non-wealthy individuals in the Roman Empire.[26] While the emphasis on the brilliance of Jesus's robes undoubtedly references heavenly attributes, one also wonders whether these robes might not have been interpreted as linen early on, given that no nap is mentioned and linen garments were important to the Essenes as described by Josephus (Jewish War 2.137, cf. Exod. 28.39-42) and as indicated by the 1 QM 7:9-10.[27] A linen robe is also worn by Aseneth in *Joseph and Aseneth 3.6*. As fullers used their Egyptian natron and other surfactants possibly to remove oil introduced in weaving, a fulled garment need not be a used garment, so Jesus's transfigured robes are more than simply new.

Mark's unusual comparison of Jesus's white robes to mundane garments rather than celestial raiment suggests that perhaps he could be thinking of earthly robes, including the *toga candida*. Given that Jesus, Peter, James and John have just hiked up a high mountain in Mark's Gospel, it does make sense within the developing story that Jesus would require at least the services of a fuller in order to wear dazzling white garments. The fact that these garments are whiter than a fuller would be capable of producing suggests that they have both a supernatural origin and a connection to the civic sphere, where dry cleaning would have been necessary.[28] Dennis Ronald MacDonald compares Jesus's transfiguration with that of another traveller, Odysseus, but Moss notes that the Homeric convention of shining epiphanies could easily have been transmitted by oral culture.[29] Mention of the fuller, moreover, situates the spiritual activity in the wilderness with reference to the economic and aesthetic standards of the city.

However, Mark gives no direct indication that the disciples are impressed specifically with the radiant garb of Jesus. It is only after Elijah and Moses appear that Peter makes his offer to erect tents for the three luminaries on the mountain, which Mark explains as Peter's bumbling attempt at problem resolution because the disciples are 'terrified' (9.6). Mark does not elaborate on the attire or countenance of either Moses or Elijah.[30] Among the Synoptics, the evangelist is unusual in placing the fright of the disciples so early; both Matthew and Luke connect the fear of the disciples with the cloud from which the voice of God emanates. Along with his mention of a fuller, the Markan lack of Moses's shining face would seem to lessen the strength of his allusion to Mount Sinai, the high mountain on which Moses received the Ten Commandments from God in the Torah.[31] The ancient commentator Jerome thought Mark's reference to a fuller proved that Jesus was present in the flesh, keeping Jesus on earth before his ascension.[32]

[25]Elena Soriga, 'A Diachronic View on Fulling Technology in the Mediterranean and the Ancient Near East: Tools, Raw Materials and Natural Resources for the Finishing of Textiles', in *Textile Terminologies from the Orient to the Mediterranean and Europe, 1000 BC to 1000 AD*, ed. Salvatore Gaspa, Cécile Michel and Marie-Louise Nosch (Lincoln, NE: Zea Books, 2017), 24–46.

[26]Miko Flohr, *The World of the Fullo: Work, Economy, and Society in Roman Italy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 69.

[27]Todd S. Beall, *Josephus' Description of the Essenes Illustrated by the Dead Sea Scrolls*, SNTS 58 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 46.

[28]Wenham and Moses, '"There Are"', 157.

[29]Dennis Ronald MacDonald, *The Homeric Epics and the Gospel of Mark* (New Haven: Yale, 2000), 227. See Candida Moss, 'The Transfiguration: An Exercise in Markan Accommodation', *Biblical Interpretation* 12, no. 1 (2004): 83.

[30]Candida Moss notes that the actions of Jesus 'mimic those of Elijah and Moses'. See Moss, 'The Transfiguration', 73.

[31]A. D. A. Moses, *Matthew's Transfiguration Story and Jewish-Christian Controversy* (Sheffield: Sheffield, 1996), 45–6.

[32]Jerome, *In Matthaeum* 3.17.2 (*CCSL* 77:147). Albert Paretsky, 'The Transfiguration of Christ: Its Eschatological and Christological Dimensions', *New Blackfriars* 72, no. 851 (1991): 313–24.

The allusion to the fuller's work in Mark's transfiguration bears analogy to the purified robes in Revelation.[33] Just as Revelation invites readers to imagine the faithful washing their robes in the blood of the Lamb, assuring audiences that one need not have been perfect to embark on a path towards Jesus, the image of the fuller presents the reader with the idea that God is a perfect lower class craftsperson. Jesus brings vestiges of his previous ministry through his transfiguration, but his garments have also been carded into the divine image by a celestial fuller. Reading the image of the fuller in the Markan transfiguration through a Derridean lens, Andrew Wilson argues that the white robes of the transfigured Jesus in Mark 'open up the field of meaning' to 'pure undifferentiated potential' while being 'indelibly marked by a weave of traces'.[34]

For Matthew, the transfigured appearance of Jesus in and of itself does not appear to frighten the disciples; only the voice of God does that. Matthew refers to the altered face and clothes of Jesus as being 'like the sun' and 'white as light' (17.2). Directly after Jesus's appearance radiates divine light, and Moses and Elijah appear and begin conversing with him (17.3). The reader is left to wonder about the attire of Moses and Elijah and the content of their conversation. One imagines that the conversation must have been sufficiently intense to suggest to Peter that Moses and Elijah would be staying around awhile, because he offers to make three tents for Jesus, Moses and Elijah, despite Jesus's travel party only numbering four people and probably not having three spare tents. It is only after a cloud casts a shadow on them and reveals a voice that claims Jesus as his beloved son that the disciples fall prostrate in a state of fear (17.6). The garments emanating light do not seem to trouble the disciples in and of themselves.

A more elaborate heavenly raiment appears in Matthew's account of Jesus's resurrection. After Mary Magdalene and 'the other Mary' go to the tomb, an angel arrives and causes an earthquake. He then proceeds to roll the stone from the entrance of the tomb and then sits on it. Matthew gives a lengthy description of the transfigured appearance of this angelic man, relating that his appearance is 'like lightning' and his clothing is 'white as snow' (28.3). This impressive clothing and performance shakes the guards – not mentioned in Mark – with fear. The angel instructs the women not to be afraid, because they are seeking Jesus the crucified and he has risen. At this, the 'overjoyed yet fearful' women spread this information to the rest of the disciples (28.8).

While the logic of Peter in the Matthean narrative is imperfect, there are parallels in contemporary Jewish literature to the disciples' lack of fear of Jesus's changed form and their trembling before the numinous cloud. Many interpreters of the transfiguration point to Jewish texts in which celestial garments signify angelic status or prophetic power, such as Ascension of Isaiah 9, 2 Enoch 22.8-10, Testament of Levi 8.2 and Apocalypse of Zephaniah 8.1-5.[35] Yet, in the contemporary Jewish romance novel *Joseph and Aseneth*, we do find white garments that indicate the conversion of Aseneth to Judaism for her beloved Joseph. Aseneth's robe is 'like lightning in appearance' (18.5), and she has a 'golden … girdle' (18.6).[36] Her holy attributes mirror but are nowhere as developed as those of the man in linen in Daniel 10.5. That degree of holiness would seem to fit the level of holiness of Jesus before conversing with Moses and Elijah and being offered mundane tents by Peter.

[33]John C. Poirier, 'Jewish and Christian Tradition in the Transfiguration', *Revue Biblique* 111, no. 4 (2004): 516–30.
[34]Andrew P. Wilson, *Transfigured: A Derridean Re-Reading of the Markan Transfiguration* (New York: T&T Clark, 2007), 99.
[35]Wilson, *Transfigured*, 62–3.
[36]Peter R. Carrell, *Jesus and the Angels: Angelology and the Christology of the Apocalypse of John* (Cambridge: Cambridge, 1997), 83–4.

By contrast, Luke explains that Jesus's clothes are 'dazzling white' and amplifies the description of Moses and Elijah by stating that they appear 'in glory' and speak of an 'exodus'. Peter, James and John sleep in this account of the transfiguration, and they wake to see Jesus's glory and his two visitors. Luke's mention of 'glory' is rather vague, and it does not give certitude as to whether the appearance of Moses and Elijah 'in glory' means that their clothes were as brilliant as those of Jesus.[37]

For Luke, the white robes that the angels wear are the iconographic marker of a celestial messenger. Luke recounts the 'two men in lustrous garments' (24.4) who terrify the women – Mary Magdalene, Joanna and Mary the mother of James – and cause them to remember Jesus's words (24.9). Though Luke calls the angels 'men', their lightning clothing reveals their angelic status.[38] When the women return to share the news, their reports of angels are dismissed (24.10-11). Nonetheless, despite the scepticism, Peter runs to the tomb, sees only the burial cloths and bis amazed. Luke 24.24 privileges the story of the women, whose entire story is now accepted as completely authoritative once the incredible aspect of the resurrection of Jesus has been resolved.[39]

c. Petrine tradition

Eyewitness account is the narrative conceit of the account of the transfiguration (1.16-18) in the pseudepigraphal 2 Peter. According to verse 16, the first-person plural group has visually confirmed Christ's 'majesty'. This corresponds with the transfiguration in the next few verses, but the author never explicitly described the transfigured appearance of Jesus, whether robes or face. Instead, the author describes hearing the pronouncement of God: 'This is my Son, my beloved, with whom I am well pleased' in verse 17. The author confirms that this auditory revelation occurred on a holy mountain while with Jesus (1.18). Surrounding this core, there is a reference to the author being in a 'tent' in verse 13, and verse 19 holds that the author has a 'reliable' prophetic message. Though the robes of Jesus are not present in 2 Peter, the details of the transfiguration story known from the Synoptics are evident with the addition of some Petrine tradition details such as the Christological title 'Lord Jesus Christ'.[40] The idea that the robes of Jesus support a new identity could be true here, because the auditory revelation is used to prove that the author has true prophetic authority. Not forefronted is the new identity in Christ that believers put on at baptism.

In the Apocalypse of Peter, the robes that shine belong not to Jesus but to 'two men', Moses and Elijah. The resplendent garb is perhaps the least impressive aspect of their theophany. The men are described with a number of impossible features, including (from one) emanating light brighter than the sun and (from the other) hair of a rainbow in the sky.[41] Richard Bauckham notes that if the Apocalypse borrowed from 2 Peter it made more substantial borrowings from Matthew.[42] Moreover, the type of imagery – auditory versus visual – differs between the two texts.

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[37]C. C. McCown, 'The Geography of Luke's Central Section', *Journal of Biblical Literature* 57, no. 1 (1938): 65.

[38]John Granger Cook, *Empty Tomb, Apotheosis, Resurrection* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018), 604.

[39]Stef Van Tilburg and Patrick Chatelion Counet maintain that the absence of the body both at the empty tomb and on the roof to Emmaus is as important as the presence of Jesus's body. See Stef Van Tilburg and Patrick Chatelion Counet, *Jesus' Appearances and Disappearances in Luke 24* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 69.

[40]Paul Foster, 'Does the Apocalypse of Peter Help to Determine the Date of 2 Peter', in *2 Peter and the Apocalypse of Peter: Towards a New Perspective*, ed. Jörg Frey, Matthjs den Dulk and Jan van der Watt (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 241.

[41]Foster, 'Does the Apocalypse', 240.

[42]Richard Bauckham, '2 Peter and the Apocalypse of Peter: Towards a New Perspective', in *2 Peter and the Apocalypse of Peter*, 268–9.

The luminous appearance of the clothing of the two prophets reinforces the supernatural conditions of their visit. With features like hair comprised of the rainbow, the prophets seem to merge with elements of the natural world and perhaps emphasize towards the unity of creation and the divine and away from the individual accomplishments of each. This could orient believers into a baptismal attitude of faith rather than of worldly deeds as they contemplate the awe-inspiring and heavenly features of Moses and Elijah.

CONCLUSION

Celestial and purified robes weave through the Pauline corpus, gospels and apocryphal literature. The familiarity of shining garments for epiphanies and theophanies in Greek and Jewish tradition allows audiences of transfiguration texts to interpret their dazzling clothes as part of a divine scene. Jesus appears with heavenly robes in order to convey the Christological message of his divine nature. For Pauline texts, this results in the imagery of a Christ garment that believers may wear as their new baptismal identity. For the Synoptics, the transfigured robes of Jesus find parallels in the garb of angels at the resurrection. This illumines the salvific aspect of Jesus's divine identity, which can be appropriated by individuals who merely touch his garments out of faith.

Paul's call to put on Christ anticipates the eschatological change of believers' bodies from the corruptible to the eternal. Galatians repeatedly instructs believers to put on Christ. The implication is that those who receive baptism into Jesus assume a new identity in the risen Christ. 2 Corinthians likewise envisions the garments of salvation as clothing believers on top of the clothing they already wear, demonstrating that those who follow Christ wear an identity beyond that of themselves. Putting on Christ entails both moral transformation and encouragement.

In the Synoptic Gospels, we learn that power can flow through robes and that brilliant white robes can belong to Jesus or angels. Purified robes demonstrate that the self can take on Christ and be shaped into this new identity, just as a fuller would bleach a garment. More importantly, this identity is based in the resurrection of Jesus, as indicated by the luminous, white garments associated with angelic figures at the resurrection.

For Petrine literature, the emphasis on the transfigured robes of Jesus fades away. 2 Peter places greater emphasis on the divine announcement that Jesus is the son of God. The Apocalypse of Peter displays only Moses and Elijah in heavenly garments. The elements of the transfiguration are largely present and not only in order to be refuted. The incarnational aspect of 2 Peter and the heavenly visit of the Apocalypse of John serve to remind believers that the divine is present and active in the world. The connection of Jesus's identity with Jewish scriptural prophets is affirmed.

Overall, the transfigurational robes of Jesus in early Christian literature map onto the garments of those around him. Moses and Elijah appear as figures sharing in the divine revelation into the mundane world. Angels at the resurrection likewise demonstrate that the celestial realm unites the life and death of the human Jesus and the resurrection of the Lord Jesus Christ. Believers put on the robes of Jesus at baptism and as part of their baptismal identity to participate in the transfiguration.

CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

Worn Stories: (Ad)dressing Wives in 1 Peter

KELSI MORRISON-ATKINS

INTRODUCTION

In 1 Peter 3.1-6, the author calls upon wives in the community to manifest a submissive spirit of obedience to their husbands through their wardrobe, writing,

> Likewise wives, be subjected to your own husbands, so that if some of them are not persuaded by the word, they might gain an advantage without a word through their wives' way of life by overseeing with reverence your holy conduct. Do not adorn yourselves outwardly by braiding your hair, and by wearing gold ornaments or fine clothing; rather, let your adornment be the hidden person of the heart with the lasting beauty of a gentle and quiet spirit, which is very precious in God's sight. It was in this way long ago that the holy women who hoped in God used to adorn themselves by accepting the authority of their husbands. Thus, Sarah obeyed Abraham and called him lord. You have become her daughters as long as you do what is good and never let fears alarm you.[1]

These six verses have a long effective history and were of particular interest to later commentators on the letter, including Tertullian and Cyprian.[2] In light of this, John Elliott observes that 'the Church Fathers show more interest in this text in 1 Peter than in other passages *that might be expected to draw attention* such as the letter's Christological statements or other soteriological formulations'.[3] Implicit in this statement is an assumption that the rhetorics of clothing are peripheral to or less significant than the letter's loftier theological stakes. On the contrary, I argue

The ideas in this chapter will be developed substantially in my dissertation, 'The Rhetoric of Dress and Adornment and the Construction of Identity in Early Christianity' (ThD Dissertation, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA), forthcoming. I am so grateful for the generous reading and feedback on this chapter from the editors of the volume, Alicia Batten and Kelly Olson, and to Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza and Kristi Upson-Saia for providing feedback and support throughout the writing process.

[1]All translations are NRSV, with slight modifications. The NRSV translates ὁ κρυπτὸς τῆς καρδίας ἄνθρωπος as the 'inner self'.

[2]See Carly Daniel-Hughes, *The Salvation of the Flesh in Tertullian of Carthage: Dressing for the Resurrection* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011) and Kristi Upson-Saia, *Early Christian Dress: Gender, Virtue, and Authority* (New York: Routledge, 2011), especially 'Scripting Christians' Clothing and Grooming' and 'Performance Anxiety'. See, for instance, Clement, *Paed.* 3. 11; Tertullian, *On Prayer*, 20 and *Cult. Fem.*, especially 2.2; Cyprian, *Hab. virg*, 8.

[3]John Hall Elliott, *1 Peter: A New Introduction with Translation and Commentary* AB 37B (New York: Doubleday, 2000), 565. Emphasis mine.

that much is at stake politically and theologically for 1 Peter in defining and policing the dress of wives[4] in the community.

Through rhetorics of dress and adornment, the author of 1 Peter ties the cultivation of (feminine) virtue to the proper performance of Sarah's obedience to Abraham, whose paradigmatic submission led her to call her husband 'lord', as a slave might refer to a master. The author's argument thus constructs wives' ideal clothing practices as an imitation and embodiment of Sarah, as the text makes genealogical connections between 'the gentle and quiet spirit' (3.4) demanded of wives in the present and the behaviours of 'holy women of old' who 'adorn[ed] themselves by accepting the authority of their husbands'. This genealogical impulse was common among ancient moralists, such as Seneca and Plutarch,[5] who connected women's clothing practices to the cultivation of the virtues of exemplary historical women. Using Judith Butler's theory of gender performativity as a framework, I will argue that 1 Peter works to construct Sarah as paradigm of wifely submission and to solidify wives' place in this lineage of subordination by compelling them to perform it again and again through everyday practices of dress. Nevertheless, the author's need to normalize his version of Sarah's stories hints at other possible traditions in relation to which wives in the community might have fashioned themselves.

While Elliott's statement draws an implicit binary between 1 Peter's loftier theological themes and the banal materiality of clothing practices, recent studies of dress and adornment in early Christianity demonstrate that attempts at regulating and policing women's bodies are bound up with debates about the salvation of the flesh, the authority of social distinctions based on gender, free/slave status and/or race and ethnicity in the *ekklesia*, and the reshaping of gendered norms in relation to ascetic bodily practices.[6] Rather than setting clothing discourses apart from the theological and philosophical aims of the texts in which they are situated, these scholars prioritize contextual readings that underscore dress as integral to the debates and struggles for power

[4]It is important to note that these prescriptions were likely addressed not to women in general but particularly to wives in the community. The Greek words γυνή and ἀνήρ can refer either to gender (woman/man, respectively) or marital status (wife/husband), but in this case, given that 1 Peter here draws on a 'household' code tradition and references Abraham and Sarah it is likely that the author speaks directly to wives. Nevertheless, Jennifer Bird notes the ways in which these regulations are often understood and applied not just to wives but to all women in many contemporary Christian communities. See her *Abuse, Power, and Fearful Obedience: Reconsidering 1 Peter's Commands to Wives* (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2011), 133.

[5]The quintessential example of ancient discussions of clothing, ethics and politics is Livy's account of the debate over the repeal of the Oppian Laws (sumptuary legislation, which limited women's access to luxurious garments and jewellery) in book 34 of his *History of Rome*.

[6]In addition to Daniel-Hughes, *Salvation of the Flesh in Tertullian of Carthage* and Upson-Saia, *Early Christian Dress*, see also Kristi Upson-Saia, Carly Daniel- Hughes and Alicia J. Batten, eds., *Dressing Judeans and Christians in Antiquity* (London: Routledge, 2014); Joseph A. Marchal, 'Female Masculinity in Corinth?: Bodily Citations and the Drag of History', *Neotestamentica* 48, no. 1 (2014): 93–113. On the question of modesty as a gendered virtue, see Kate Wilkinson, *Women and Modesty in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015) and Susan Hylen, *A Modest Apostle: Thecla and the History of Women in the Early Church* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015). While not explicitly focused on dress and adornment, Antoinette Clark Wire's classic *The Corinthian Women Prophets: A Reconstruction through Paul's Rhetoric* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, *c*. 1990) also speaks to the ways in which the practice of veiling becomes the focal point of debates about gender and authority in 1 Corinthians 11.

operative in the text as a whole. In the context of 1 Peter[7] specifically, regulations concerning dress emerge at the intersection of debates over theological ideals of equality versus cultural mores which demanded relations of domination and subordination, a particularly urgent dilemma for a community facing (real or perceived) persecution on the grounds of non-conformity.[8] On the one hand, it is likely that women and slaves were attracted to the more emancipatory elements of early in-Christ communities as evidenced by texts such as Galatians 3.27-28.[9] On the other, the presence, active engagement and even leadership roles taken on by those of low or lesser status in the eyes of the Empire brought charges of impiety and even insubordination upon in-Christ assemblies.[10] Walking this tightrope, 1 Peter grants women authority, but only insofar as their superior virtue might win over their husbands 'without a word' (3.1). Schüssler Fiorenza writes, 'The goal here is the conversion of the husband, which be brought about not by [wives'] preaching to them but by their proper, "lady-like" conduct of purity and subordination, which was exemplified by the matriarch Sarah, the prime example for female converts to Judaism.'[11] The potentially transgressive mode of social organization indicated in Galatians 3.27-28 is thus adapted to mimic imperial power relations.

But these kyriarchal[12] aims are not inevitably and universally successful, a fact often forgotten when we only have access to one side of the conversation. Following the feminist insight that if a regulation or norm needs to be stated then it is likely not being followed,[13] scholars such as Alicia Batten have pointed to clothing prescriptions as an indication of women's resistance to these very norms. In this way, clothing practices represent sites of struggle whereby women of means in the

[7] 1 Peter is a circular letter, likely written in the late first century CE. The letter pseudonymously claims Petrine authorship and is addressed to assemblies (*ekklesiai*) in Asia Minor who understood themselves as persecuted outsiders in the communities in which they were situated. While many have argued that 1 Peter's application of language and themes from the Septuagint represents an instance of Christian supersessionism, Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza argues that 1 Peter should be understood as a Jewish text and in particular an instance of Jewish proselyte discourse. See Schüssler Fiorenza, *1 Peter: Reading against the Grain*; Phoenix Guides to the New Testament 18 (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2015).

[8] 1 Peter is very concerned with suffering, as the text admonishes slaves to accept suffering by appealing to Christ as a paradigmatic model (2.18-25) and emphasizes 'suffering for what is good' (3.8-22). Nevertheless, it is unlikely that the reader should imagine formal imperial persecution as these persecutions were sporadic and local rather than widespread and systematic as many have often assumed. See Karen King, 'Rethinking the Diversity of Ancient Christianity: Responding to Suffering and Persecution', in *Beyond the Gnostic Gospels: Studies Building on the Work of Elaine Pagels*, ed. Eduard Iricinschi, Lance Jenott, Nicola Denzey Lewis and Philippa Townsend; Studien Und Texte Zu Antike Und Christentum 82 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 60–78.

[9] 'As many of you as were baptized into Christ have clothed yourselves with Christ. There is no longer Jew or Greek, there is no longer slave or free, there is no longer male and female; for all of you are one in Christ Jesus.'

[10] See, for instance, Katherine Shaner, *Enslaved Leadership in Early Christianity* (New York: Oxford, 2017) and Katherine Bain, *Women's Socioeconomic Status and Religious Leadership in Asia Minor in the First Two Centuries C.E.* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2014). For household codes as apologetic response to such criticisms, see David L. Balch, *Let Wives Be Submissive: The Domestic Code in 1 Peter* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1991).

[11] Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, 'Empire and the Rhetoric of Subordination', in *The Power of the Word: Scripture and the Rhetoric of Empire* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2009), 149–94, 176.

[12] I use Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza's neologism 'kyriarchy' to replace the more common 'patriarchy'. She defines kyriarchy as the 'complex interstructuring of dominations' determined by gender, class/status, race/ethnicity, sexuality and other structures of power. See *The Power of the Word*, 14.

[13] See, for instance, Shelly Matthews, 'Feminist Biblical Historiography', in *Feminist Biblical Studies in the Twentieth Century Scholarship and Movement*, ed. Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2014), 236.

community resisted the author's attempt to constrain their bodily self-expression.[14] Batten also addresses the enduring legacy of these clothing prescriptions, stating,

> Considering the attention it receives in patristic writings, one might speculate that some women, in certain contexts, resisted giving up their adornment because they wished to display their status and assert their importance by maintaining some degree of economic power, while their male counterparts, concerned about the church's perception by the larger society, sought to control their appearance even more.[15]

Thus, the meanings and practices of dress were and continued to be contested in early Christian *ekklesiai*, underscoring that these prescriptions are not only regulatory but speak to critical questions of gender, power and the place of the community within the larger society.

WEARING DOWN: CLOTHING AND THE RHETORIC OF WIFELY SUBORDINATION

1 Peter's clothing rhetorics are not unique but part of a larger web of ethical discourse which used dress and adornment to 'think with'. Elite male writers frequently exhorted women to cast aside external, sumptuous materiality in favour of an eternal, 'inner beauty' and sought to shape women's ethical self-formation by tying clothing practices to their place in a historical lineage of heroic women. A commonly cited instance of this trope may be found in Seneca's letter of consolation to his mother upon his exile, in which he praises her modesty as a mark of her transcendence of 'typical' feminine impulses. He writes,

> You never defiled your face with paints or cosmetics; you never liked clothes, which showed the figure as plainly as though it were naked; your sole ornament has been a consummate loveliness which no time can impair, your greatest glory has been your modesty. You cannot, therefore, plead your womanhood as an excuse for your grief, because your virtues have raised you above it; you ought to be as superior to womanish tears as you are to womanish vices.[16]

As in 1 Peter 3.4, which emphasizes the 'lasting beauty of a gentle and quiet spirit', Seneca here establishes a dichotomy between the passing materiality of luxury and the beauty of modesty, which lasts eternally. A desire for luxury is thus established as modesty's antithesis, and the development of external beauty is understood as a 'womanish vice' to be overcome. Furthermore, a woman's virtue must be performed and presented as a matter of public opinion to be drawn at a glance from her bodily comportment.

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[14]Alicia Batten, 'Neither Gold nor Braided Hair (1 Timothy 2.9; 1 Peter 3.3): Adornment, Gender, and Honour in Antiquity', *NTS 55* (2009): 484–501. See also the important work of Kelly Olson on dress and self-representation in the Roman world, *Dress and the Roman Woman: Self-Representation and Society* (New York: Routledge, 2008). Batten, 'Neither Gold nor Braided Hair', 501.

[15]See also Batten, '(Dis)Orderly Dress', in *Scribal Practices and Social Structures among Jesus Adherents: Essays in Honour of John S. Kloppenborg*, ed. William E. Arnal, Richard S. Ascough, Robert A. Derrenbacker, Jr., and Philip A. Harland; BETL 285 (Leuven: Peeters, 2016), 567–84. Here Batten productively frames this manifestation of modesty using Harry O. Maier's notion of 'wearing theology'. See Maier, 'Dressing for Church: Tailoring the Christian Self through Clement of Alexandria's Clothing Ideals', in *Religious Dimensions of the Self in the Second Century CE*, ed. Jörg Rüpke and Gregory D. Woolf; Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum 76 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 66–89, 86.

[16]Seneca, *Helv.* 16 (LCL 254; trans. John W. Basore).

Ancient writers also deployed genealogical arguments, which symbolized the formation of the ethical self as a mode of 'dressing' in the virtues of historical women. Writing to the bride-to-be, Eurydice, in *Advice to the Bride and Groom*, Plutarch constructs a genealogy of virtue that she should aspire to embody. He advises,

> You cannot acquire and put upon you this rich woman's pearls or that foreign woman's silks without buying them at a high price, but the ornaments of Theano, Cleobulina, Gorgo the wife of Leonidas, Timocleia the sister of Theagenes, Claudia of old, daughter of Scipio, and all of the other women who have been admired and renowned, you may wear about you without price and, adorning yourself with these, you live a life of distinction and happiness.[17]

In this training in virtue,[18] Plutarch raises up women who put civic and domestic interests ahead of their own and seeks to inspire Eurydice to do the same.[19] Here again, the parallels with 1 Peter are striking. Whereas Plutarch advises Eurydice to 'put on' specific women with whose stories she must have been familiar, so also does 1 Peter draw out the more general example of the 'holy women of old', including Sarah, who adorned themselves in obedience to their husbands. In both cases, women are called to 'put on' a shared history that, implicitly or explicitly, circumscribes their civic or communal belonging by situating them within a lineage of women deemed exceptionally virtuous in their adherence to the traditional mores of household and state. While I do not aim here to make any claims that the author of 1 Peter was a reader of Seneca and/or Plutarch, I do seek to demonstrate that these rhetorics of clothing and the cultivation of feminine virtue were intertwined ideologically across a wide range of communities and contexts. Within this small sample, attempts at ethical formation coalesce with strategies of social control even as the need to restate these norms again and again hints at the persistence of other ways of configuring and performing the relationship between gender and virtue.

TAILORING SARAH: NATURALIZING WIFELY OBEDIENCE

In light of these examples, 1 Peter's clothing regulations might be read not only as attempting to manage the perceptions of outsiders but also as constructing a history of 'holy subordination' to which wives must consent in order to be understood as daughters of Sarah. Jennifer Bird draws out the implications of this association, writing, 'Re-interpreting Sarah as having called Abraham "lord" gives the author a hero, a model of obedience which, when combined with the previous admonition to have a gentle and quiet spirit, is quite useful for controlling or containing the wives.'[20] Nevertheless, while the author of 1 Peter writes with confidence of Sarah's obedience to Abraham such that she 'called him lord/master', this claim is in tension with evidence from the

[17]Plutarch, *Conj. praec.* 145F (LCL 222; trans. Frank Cole Babbitt).

[18]For more on the intersection of philosophical training for women and early Christian texts, see Annette Bourland Huizenga, *Moral Education for Women in the Pastoral and Pythagorean Letters:Philosophers of the Household*; Supplements to Novum Testamentum 147 (Boston: Brill, 2013).

[19]For a discussion of paradigmatic women in Plutarch's *Moralia*, see Kathleen O'Brien Wicker, '*Mulierum Virtutes* (Moralia 242e-263c)', in *Plutarch's Ethical Writings and Early Christian Literature*, ed. Hans Dieter Betz (Leiden: Brill, 1978), 106–34.

[20]Bird, *Abuse, Power, and Fearful Obedience*, 118.

Septuagint from which 1 Peter repeatedly draws and likely references in 3:6.[21] Indeed, nowhere in the Septuagint does Sarah behave precisely as the author of 1 Peter would like.

Sarah refers to Abraham as 'lord/master' only once in the Septuagint and even then in tones more mocking than obsequious. In Genesis 18.12, Sarah learns that she is to give birth to Isaac in her advanced age and in response, the text states, 'Sarah laughed to herself saying "it has not happened to me yet, and my lord is rather old"'.[22] What is particularly striking about this oblique reference is that the author of 1 Peter thought it was possible to get away with it, as at least some members of the community would likely have been familiar with the tradition in question. Troy Martin notes that it would be rhetorically irresponsible and counterproductive to undermine without further elaboration a (possibly) shared understanding of Sarah's story between author and audience.[23] He writes,

> If the author of 1Pet created the situation of Sarah's calling Abraham 'lord' or misinterpreted Gen 18,12, he should have provided an explanation for his readers similar to Paul's explanation in Galatians 4,21-31 ….The paraenetic example of Sarah would only be meaningful if the recipients and author of 1Pet shared a common opinion about Sarah.[24]

As I will draw out using examples from the writings of Philo and Josephus below, the problem is precisely that the author and audience do *not* share an opinion about Sarah, as elements of her story as indicated in Genesis fit ill within the gender mores these authors wished to instill.

Multiple attempts have been made to smooth the stubborn wrinkles between 1 Peter and Septuagint traditions, including Martin's own proposal which points to *The Testament of Abraham* as an alternative intertext.[25] In contemporary scholarship, this quest for a single, stable referent does not allow for a consideration of the ways in which the author of 1 Peter actively sought to shape Sarah's story by compelling women to perform his interpretation of her legacy with and through their dress. Indeed, as Dorothy Sly notes, ancient writers such as Josephus and Philo were forced to contend not with Sarah's obedience to Abraham but with the overwhelming evidence of *Abraham's obedience to Sarah*.[26] For Josephus, the notion that 'Abraham obeyed Sarah' (Gen. 16.2) was unthinkable, and in *Jewish Antiquities* it is God, not Sarah, who hatches the plot to

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[21] Magda Misset-van de Weg points to a number of references, direct or indirect, to the Septuagint in 1 Peter including 'the "stone texts" as Christological marker in 2.6-8 (cf. Isa. 8.14; 28.16; Ps. 118.22); the Isaian basis for the theology of atonement (Isa 52-53); the importance of Hos. 1 and 2 in defining Christianity's new identity as the people of God in 2.1-10 and the use of Ps. (3.10-12) for underlining the ethical admonitions'. See Magda Misset-van de Weg, 'Sarah Imagery in 1 Peter', in *A Feminist Companion to the Catholic Epistles and Hebrews*, ed. Amy-Jill Levine and Maria Mayo Robbins (Cleveland: Pilgrim, 2004), 50–62, 52 n. 8.

[22] Translation NRSV.

[23] Troy W. Martin, *Metaphor and Composition in 1 Peter*, SBL Dissertation Series 131 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 1992), 114–16.

[24] Troy W. Martin, 'The TestAbr and the Background of 1 Pet 3, 6', *ZNW* 90, no. 1 (1999): 139–45, 140.

[25] Martin's proposal is based on three key insights in relation to *T. Abr.*: (1) that Sarah refers to Abraham as lord in A 5:12-13; A 6:2, 4, 5, 8; A 15:4; 4:1; B 6:5; (2) Sarah is understood to be mother of proselytes in both texts; (3) that fear and good deeds are connected in both texts. For alternative approaches to this problem, see Bird, 'Daughters of Sarah', in *Abuse, Power, and Fearful Obedience*, 110–34; Mark Kiley, 'Like Sara: The Tale of Terror behind 1 Peter 3:6', *JBL* 106, no. 4 (1987): 689–92; Dorothy I. Sly, '1 Peter 3:6b in the Light of Philo and Josephus', *JBL* 110, no. 1 (1991): 126–9; James R. Slaughter, 'Sarah as a Model for Christian Wives (1 Pet. 3:5-6a)', *Bibliotecha Sacra* 153 (1996): 357–65; Jeremy Punt, 'Subverting Sarah in the New Testament: Galatians 4 and 1 Peter 3', *Scriptura* 96 (2007): 453–68.

[26] See Gen. 16:2.

impregnate Hagar and whom Abraham obeys.[27] In *On Mating with the Preliminary Studies*, Philo celebrates Abraham's obedience to Sarah, though he develops her personhood allegorically as the virtue towards which one should strive. Philo writes, 'Abraham, it says, "hearkened to the voice of Sarah" (Gen. 16. 2), for the learner must needs obey the commands of virtue'.[28]

While Josephus and Philo approach the issue very differently – the former erasing Sarah's agency from the narrative and the latter moving her from historical woman to abstract personification – both authors take liberties in shaping Sarah's story in ways that indicate the fluidity of these traditions as well as the patriarchal politics of interpretation that these writers engage. The way Sarah's story gets told *matters*, not just for tracing a history of interpretation but for the social-political organization of the community. If Sarah is understood as a central figure for women in the community, as she likely was, attempting to paint her as dutifully subordinate to Abraham thus establishes an oppressive model whereby wives are understood as 'naturally' submissive and secondary to their husbands. By tying this lineage of subordination to clothing practices, the author seeks to solidify this self-understanding as it is subtly repeated and performed day in and day out until it becomes almost impossible to contest.[29]

GENDER AND GENEALOGY: 'PUTTING ON' SARAH?

But what does this detour through the history of interpretation of Genesis have to do with clothing regulations? So far, I have argued that decentring the search for a stable textual referent allows us to reconsider not the origins but the *effects* of particular understandings of Sarah and her legacy for constructing relations of gender and power in the community. Asking what this reference to Sarah *does* thus requires that we examine its close association with clothing practices and the construction of embodied ethic of subordination for wives in 1 Peter.

Regarding 1 Peter's genealogical approach, Misset-van de Weg observes that 'such an appeal to the past could create a sense of belonging to a community and of being a part of a history that transcends immediate experiences of, for example, conflict, difference, and division'.[30] Tying this history to women's bodies by regulating the meanings of their clothing practices, however, makes this belonging somewhat more precarious. As noted in the ancient moralizing literature cited above, these appeals are never neutral but seek to discipline women's moral formation by connecting women's bodily practices to the performance of virtue and/as belonging in community. While we unfortunately do not have access to the alternative stories and traditions that may have

[27]*Ant.* 1.1.187 (LCL 242; trans. H. St. J. Thackeray): 'Abraham was living near the oak called Ogyges, a place in Canaan not far from the city of the Hebronites, when, distressed at his wife's sterility, he besought God to grant him the birth of a male child. Thereon God bade him be assured that, as in all else he had been led out of Mesopotamia for his welfare, so children would come to him; and by God's command Sarra brought to his bed one of her handmaidens, an Egyptian named Agar, that he might have children by her.'

[28]Philo, *Congr.* 63 (LCL 261; trans. F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker). See also Maren Niehoff, 'Mother and Maiden, Sister and Spouse: Sarah in Philonic Midrash', *HTR* 97, no. 4 (2004): 413–44.

[29]Bird underscores the ongoing effects of such frameworks, stating that 'in addition to erasing or taming the image of Sarah, this move reflects a freedom to manipulate women and the texts that give voice to them. Given the significance of narratives in forming the Judeo-Christian traditions, this kind of freedom has a far-reaching effect'. See Jennifer Bird, *Abuse, Power, and Fearful Obedience: 1 Peter's Commands to Wives* (London: T&T Clark, 2011), 32.

[30]Misset-van de Weg, 'Sarah Imagery in 1 Peter', 60.

circulated among women in this context, Butler's theory of gender performativity does allow us to hold up for analysis the ideologies of gender and power at play in this letter and the potential sites of resistance encoded within it.

'Gender performativity' refers to the ways in which gender comes to be understood as proceeding 'naturally' from biological sex through the repetition of embodied practices that make one intelligible as 'man' or 'woman'. She writes, 'Gender is the repeated stylization of the body, a set of repeated acts within a highly rigid regulatory frame that congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance, of a natural sort of being.'[31] This 'repeated stylization of the body' has no concrete archetypical or orginary model but is produced and sustained through the performance of gendered scripts, which promote the illusion of gender as natural or given. To this end, she argues, 'gender is a kind of imitation for which there is no original; in fact, it is a kind of imitation that produces the very notion of the original as an effect and consequence of the imitation itself'.[32] Finally, Butler underscores that power functions not through outright proscription but through the formation of intelligible subjects. She states,

> Here it becomes important to recognize that oppression works not merely through acts of over prohibition, but covertly, through the constitution of viable subjects and through the corollary constitution of a domain of unviable (un)subjects – *abjects* we might call them – who are neither named nor prohibited within the economy of the law.[33]

Gendered scripts thus become self-policing, as 'insider' and 'outsider' are defined by the success of one's performance of the norm.

In 1 Peter 3.1-6, as in the ancient moralizing literature cited above, the constitution of what Butler refers to as 'viable subjects' via assent to and performance of a particular genealogy of femininity is operative. As we have seen, attention to luxurious outward adornment is at odds with the development and display of 'the hidden person of the heart', and 1 Peter underscores this point by appealing to a particular framing of Sarah's history and subjectivity. Assent to and imitation of this vision of submission and obedience as adornment becomes the condition of belonging for women in the community, as 'you have become her daughters as long as you do what is good and never let fears alarm you' (1 Pet 3.6). Daughterhood is not once-and-for-all but constructed and sustained by the repetition of this gendered framework of subordination in order to manifest with and through the body one's proper 'adornment' in virtue. In short, Sarah as obedient wife is not an entrenched and unchanging narrative but a compulsory framework of behaviour whose originality is undermined by the necessity of its performance. Sarah might thus be 'put on' otherwise.

[31]Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 43.

[32]Judith Butler, 'Imitation and Gender Insubordination', in *Inside/Out: Lesbian Theories, Gay Theories*, ed. Diana Fuss (New York: Routledge, 1991), 21.

[33]Ibid., 20. See also Butler, *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence* (London: Verso, 2006).

[34]Butler also states that 'it seems to me that there is no easy way to know whether something is subversive. Subversiveness is not something that can be gauged or calculated … I do think that for a copy to be subversive of heterosexual hegemony it has to both mime and displace its conventions' in Liz Kotz, 'The Body You Want: Liz Kotz Interviews Judith Butler', *Artforum* 31, no. 3 (1992). Online: https://www.artforum.com/print/previews/199209/the-body-you-want-an-inteview-with-judith-butler-33505 (accessed 30 November 2019).

CONCLUSIONS

While Butler's insights help us to see cracks in the logic of the text, they also caution against attempts to determine or limit what subversion or resistance to these norms might look like.[34] This is compounded even further by the fact that we do not have direct accounts of ancient women's experiences or the alternative (hi)stories they might have retold and embodied in fashioning themselves. Nevertheless, what I underscore in this chapter are the ways in which the diversity of attempts to rewrite Sarah's legacy complicate the author's attempt to 'clothe' the women in the community with obedience, submission and secondary status as a condition of their belonging. Clothing oneself otherwise might thus be understood not as 'mere bodily adornment' but as an embodied and material challenge to the structures of subordination and domination that the author's rhetoric seeks to naturalize.

CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE

Exposed! Nakedness and Clothing in the Book of Revelation

HARRY O. MAIER

This chapter considers the motifs of nakedness and dress in the last book of the Christian Bible, the book of Revelation or the Apocalypse. Nakedness and dress also appear in the Hebrew Bible as well as Jewish and Christian apocalyptic literature roughly contemporary with Revelation, and furnishing a consideration of their presence there offers a broader perspective with which to interpret John's development of these motifs. The representation of conquered enemies as stripped or improperly dressed also often appeared in Roman imperial iconography to celebrate victory and conquest. Since Revelation adapts a number of Roman imperial concepts and images in the communication of its message, attention to this iconography helps to situate the writing in its broader setting. John, the Apocalypse's author, aimed for his intended audience to hear his writing read aloud in a public assembly and as a strategy of persuasion he used vivid description to turn its listeners into viewers through the oral performance of a text filled with lively images.[1] By drawing on representations of nakedness and dress in the Hebrew Bible and by creating images of them at home in the propaganda of Roman imperial conquest, John added his voice to an apocalyptic tradition which played a central role in communicating religious ideals.[2] Once canonized, his depictions helped to create an enduring set of meanings associated with clothing and nakedness that have become part of the foundation of the Western tradition.[3]

At first glance it may seem odd to discuss nakedness in a volume dedicated to dress, but the absence of clothing is as salient as its presence in the discussion of this topic.[4] My discussion is

[1]For the role of vivid speech in Revelation as a rhetorical strategy of persuasion, see Robyn J. Whitaker, *Ekphrasis, Vision, and Persuasion in the Book of Revelation*. WUNT 410 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015), 1–70.

[2]Attention to dress and specifically nakedness in Hebrew Bible and ancient Near Eastern Studies is a growing field; for a wide-ranging study with literature, Christoph Berner, Manuel Schäfer et al., eds., *Clothing and Nudity in the Hebrew Bible: A Handbook* (London: Bloomsbury, 2019); Antonios Finitsis, ed., *Dress and Clothing in the Hebrew Bible: 'For All Her Household Are Clothed in Crimso'*. Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies 679 (London: T&T Clark, 2019); for New Testament and early Christian treatments, Kristi Upson-Saia, Carly Daniel-Hughes and Alicia J. Batten, eds., *Dressing Judeans and Christians in Antiquity* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2014); for Roman considerations, Jonathan Edmondson and Alison Keith, eds., *Roman Dress and the Fabrics of Roman Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011); Christopher H. Hallett, *The Roman Nude: Heroic Portrait Statuary 200 BC–AD 300* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

[3]For a general orientation, see Kenneth Clark, *The Nude: A Study in Ideal Form*. Bollingen Series 35.2 (New York: Pantheon, 1956) and John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (London: BBC and Penguin, 1972), 45–64.

[4]Oliver König, *Nacktheit: Soziale Normierung und Moral* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlg, 1990), 25–62; Hans Peter Duerr, *Der Mythos vom Zivilisationsprozess. Vol. 1. Nacktheit und Scham* (Frankfurt a.M: Suhrkamp 1988), and Jean-Claude Bologne, *Histoire de la pudeur* (Paris: O. Orban, 1986) consider dress and nakedness as inextricably bound cultural phenomena.

oriented towards anthropological treatments of dress, a subset of anthropology that has, especially since the 1980s, become a topic of growing interest.[5] Social scientific study reveals that there is a repertoire of meanings associated with dress, a term that describes what one wears as well as adornment, whether by way of accessories or through body modification by such means as piercing and tattooing.[6] The list includes items such as rites of passage, ritual identity, social performance, familial ties, social boundaries, body definitions, authority, protection, wealth, happiness, gender performativity, group affiliation, status, grief, spiritual power, social dissent and resistance, beauty valuation and temporal and spatial designation. A more recent trend has been to consider the function of clothing in globalization, colonization and the fashioning of postcolonial identities.[7]

Anthropologist Terence Turner describes dress and adornment as a 'social skin' by which he means 'the construction of the individual as social actor or cultural "subject"'.[8] Dress becomes the site of a social construction of self and others through which cultural value is invested and displayed and reproduced across generations or where social values are contested and redefined. Dress in this sense belongs to what the anthropologist and sociologist Pierre Bourdieu describes as 'habitus', 'a particular but constant way of entering into a relationship with the world which contains a knowledge inhabiting it to anticipate the course of the world, without any objectifying distance, in the world and the "forth-coming" that it contains'.[9] Habitus expresses the structural elements of a culture or society that patterns daily behaviour, attitudes, tastes and beliefs.[10] Bourdieu likens habitus to a kind of social dress: the dispositions, behaviours, values that we are caught up in and inhabit in our daily lives. Dress can also be a site or field of competition, a means by which status is secured and made visible. In this sense, it can become a form of what Bourdieu calls symbolic capital – the social assets, knowledge and tastes that distinguish one person or class from another and grants them a particular kind of social advantage.[11]

Once these aspects of dress are considered, the absence of dress can be easily recognized as its own form of habitus and medium of symbolic capital and thus also a topic of anthropological interest, as for example in the study of burlesque.[12] Even as dress speaks a particular social language

[5]The anthropological study of clothing is a relatively recent development in the field; for a survey of the literature, see Joanne B. Eicher, 'The Anthropology of Dress', *Dress* 57 (2000): 59–70; Karen Tranberg Hansen, 'Anthropology of Dress and Fashion', in *Bloomsbury Bibliographical Guide* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015), DOI: 10.5040/9781474280655-BG004 (accessed 16 March 2019); Lars Allolio-Näcke, 'Nudity and Clothing from the Perspective of Anthropological Studies', in *Clothing and Nudity in the Hebrew Bible*, ed. Christoph Berner, Manuel Schäfer et al. (London: Bloomsbury, 2019), 33–49; also the chapter by Lynne Hume in this volume. (I am grateful to Prof. Hume for allowing me to read her essay before it went to press.)

[6]Joanne Eicher and Mary Ellen Roach Higgins offer an anthropological definition of dress as an 'assemblage of body modifications and/or supplements' ('Definition and Classification of Dress: Implications for Analysis of Gender Roles', in *Dress and Gender: Making and Meaning* (Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Women), ed. R. Barnes and J. B. Eicher (Oxford: Berg, 1992), 15, a definition also used by Lynne Hume in this volume.

[7]Karen Tranberg Hansen, 'The World in Dress: Anthropological Perspectives on Clothing, Fashion, and Culture', *Annual Review of Anthropology* 33 (2004): 369–92.

[8]Terence S. Turner, 'The Social Skin', *Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 2 (2012): 486–504.

[9]Pierre Bourdieu, *Pascalian Meditations* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000), 142.

[10]Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), 53.

[11]Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), whose main ideas are well summarized in Pierre Bourdieu, 'Symbolic Capital and Social Classes', *Journal of Classical Sociology* 13 (2013): 292–302, first published in 1978.

[12]Becki Ross, *Burlesque West: Showgirls, Sex, and Sin in Postwar Vancouver* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009). For accounts from other disciplinary perspectives, see Bologne, *Histoire*; Ruth Barcan, *Nudity: A Cultural Anatomy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Jean Brun, *La nudité humaine*, 2nd edition (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1986).

that is embedded within larger cultural dynamics, so does its absence; nakedness can paradoxically also be a kind of social skin that covers the self with cultural meanings and is situated within a cultural field of values, practices, tastes and symbols. The oft-juxtaposed terms *nude* and *naked* have a wide range of connotations. From an anthropological perspective, both terms imply a range of inter-subjective meanings embedded in cultural contexts. Both can refer to a natural state; *naked* – a cultural category that is broader than that of *nude* – can be value neutral such as when we say we are born naked; or it can communicate a positive state such as when one says that the naked body is beautiful; or it can have a negative meaning, the chief interest of this chapter.[13] In this last sense, it can bring a host of associations such as being exposed, without protection, shame, being stripped and laid bare.

In the ancient world, the period with which this chapter concerns itself, the words *nude* and *naked* (Greek: *gymnos*; *gymnotēs*; Latin: *nudos*; *nuditas*) were deployed in a variety of ways.[14] Because poor people often worked in the nude, the words could communicate a servile identity of powerlessness. At the other extreme, nudity also communicated the status of being a hero or possessing divine power, with an idealized form of the naked body portraying strength and virtue, notions at home in the Greek East where there was from the classical period onward a tradition of exercising naked, hence the Greek term *gymnasia*.[15] In the Roman west, where there was not a tradition of depicting rulers without clothing, Greek classical and Hellenistic models were nevertheless adapted for the purposes of political portraiture. Emperors could be depicted as nude or semi-nude to associate them with gods, heroes or the leading protagonists of Greek and Roman myths.[16] Since my interest here is in the negative connotations of nakedness, I will focus on the motif as part of the violent loss of identity, being stripped and forced exposure. In the agonistic honour-shame culture of antiquity, being stripped and exposed was symbolic of public humiliation and loss of status. As a form of orally performed rhetoric, Revelation's graphic representations of nakedness were designed to conjure in the minds of its listeners vivid pictures of the loss of identity as well as emotions associated with shame and public exposure. As we will see, in Roman imperial iconography, imitating themes that appeared in ancient Near Eastern and Hellenistic art, the vanquished are often in varying states of absence of dress, which signifies their conquest, often accompanied with gestures or emotional depictions of sorrow or pain.[17] This is a cultural code that continues into the present day.[18]

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[13]Allolio-Näcke, 'Nudity and Clothing', 36–7.

[14]Valerio Neri, 'Nacktheit I', *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* 22 (2013): 601–29. Albrecht Oepke, 'gymnos, gymnotēs, gymnazo, gymnasia', in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, vol. 1, ed. Gerhard Kittel, trans. Geoffrey W. Bromiley (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans), 773–6.

[15]For the spectrum of meanings and their history, see P. Stewart, 'Nacktheit II (Ikonographie)', *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* 22 (2013): 630–51.

[16]Hallett, *Nude*, 159–270.

[17]For an orientation to the ancient Near Eastern evidence, which this chapter will not discuss, see Andrea Beyer, 'Nudity and Captivity in Isa. 20 in the Light of Iconographic Evidence', in Berner, Schäfer et al., *Nudity*, 491–8. I am grateful to Dr. Beyer for allowing me to see this essay before it was published; also Julia Asher-Greve and Deborah Sweeney, 'On Nakedness, Nudity and Gender in Egyptian and Mesopotamian Art', in *Images and Gender: Contributions to the Hermeneutics of Reading Ancient Art*, ed. S. Schroer (Frebourg and Göttingen: Academic Press, 2006), 123–76.

[18]One need only recall the 1972 photo of Kim Phuc Phan Thi that depicts her as a naked girl burning with napalm and running down a Vietnamese road with clothed American soldiers walking behind her, http://www.apimages.com/Collection/Landing/Photographer-Nick-Ut-The-Napalm-Girl-/ebfc0a860aa946ba9e77eb786d46207e (accessed 22 March 2019). A more recent set of examples can be seen in photos taken in 2003 of humiliated naked Iraqi prisoners in Abu Ghraib prison near Baghdad in front of American soldiers, http://100photos.time.com/photos/sergeant-ivan-frederick-hooded-man (accessed 1 April 2019).

THE NAKED AND THE DRESSED IN THE BOOK OF REVELATION

Before turning to observations concerning nakedness in the Apocalypse a few words of introduction to the setting and literary form of the writing are necessary. Revelation was composed sometime during the second half of the first century. It is the fullest example of apocalyptic literature in the New Testament; as a literary type its closest biblical parallel is the book of Daniel (composed in the second century BCE).[19] Revelation and Daniel share a set of properties common to a large body of Jewish and Christian writings, most of which are not canonical, that span roughly from the third century BCE to the Byzantine era and beyond. 'Apocalypse' is a cognate of the Greek noun *apokalypsis* and verb *apokalyptein*, 'to unveil' (a word whose etymology invites a playful set of connotations related to the shedding of clothing). In short, the primary element of this literature is that of disclosure, typically mediated by one or more heavenly messengers, whether of God, of the future, of humans, of heaven and hell, and so on, couched in coded symbols and metaphors often drawn from the Hebrew Bible.[20] In the case of Revelation, the writing comprises a series of visions John receives while he is on the eastern Aegean island of Patmos, probably in prison, to Jesus followers in western Asia Minor, designed to persuade them of the impropriety of their too extensive participation in Roman imperial life.[21] His visions serve two chief purposes: to expose the empire as an idolatrous political order governed by Satan through his servant the emperor whose chief aim is to destroy the church and to portray the reward of those who resist the idolatry of the imperial order, even to the point of losing their lives. In the history of its interpretation, Revelation has been used in multiple ways, often to comfort the oppressed, but frequently also to expose political leaders as corrupt and to challenge believers who participate or benefit from their rule.

Revelation, as other instances of literature with which it shares many features, is strewn with clothing and nakedness plays an important role in its unfolding fashion code. John uses clothing to disclose purity or corruption. Revelation's protagonists are always dressed in white (Rev. 3.4-5, 18; 4.4; 6.11; 7.9, 13-14) – a widely shared cultural signifier in Antiquity designating purity and/or divinity.[22] The twenty-four elders who sit around God in the heavenly throne room are dressed in white robes (4.4), with golden crowns on their heads; similarly, each of the martyrs beneath the throne of God who await their vindication receives a white robe (6.11). The most extended instance appears in Revelation 7.4-17, where John sees a vision of 144,000 virgin men (14.4), who 'have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the lamb', a reference to John's ideal of martyrdom. At the opposite extreme of the white gowns of John's protagonists is the

[19]In biblical studies the word 'apocalypse' is a literary term created in the nineteenth century to refer to a genre of literature with a shared set of properties; apocalyptic refers to a type of eschatology often associated with end-time calamity, but not always and not exclusively present in the apocalypse genre; for the definitions and their discussion, John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature*, 3rd edition (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2016), 1–52.

[20]For discussion of apocalypse as divine disclosure in this sense, Christopher Rowland, *The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity* (New York: Crossroad, 1982), 9–10.

[21]I follow here the interpretation pioneered by Leonard L. Thompson, *The Book of Revelation: Apocalypse and Empire*, rev. ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), developed more fully in Harry O. Maier, *Apocalypse Recalled: The Book of Revelation After Christendom* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2002); the more traditional account is that the Apocalypse was written to comfort the oppressed or those experiencing real or imagined deprivation, for which see Adela Yarbro Collins, *Crisis and Catharsis: The Power of Apocalypse* (Philadelphia: Westminster John Knox, 1984).

[22]M. Gotheins, 'Gottheit lebendiges Kleid', *Archiv für Religions Wissenschaft* 9 (1906): 337–64; R. Eisler, *Weltmantel und Himmelszelt. Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur Urgeschichte des antiken Weltbildes* (München: Lili von Pausinger, 1910), 49–112; A. Kehl, 'Gewand (der Seele)', *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* 10 (1978): 945–1025. Alicia J. Batten's chapter in this volume also discusses the association of white with purity.

luxurious clothing of his antagonists. He portrays Rome, coded in Revelation as the Great Whore of Babylon, as a 'woman … clothed in purple and scarlet, and adorned with gold and jewels and pearls' astride a scarlet beast with seven heads and ten horns (Rev. 17.3-4). Here John draws on a rhetorical commonplace or *topos* found in contemporary Greek and Latin literature, as well as the Old Testament, of the rich courtesan in which luxurious adornment is the sign of seduction and corruption.[23] John intends this depiction as both satirical and grotesque. As satire, he clothes Rome in luxuriating costume to assault the political propaganda of the Empire with exposure; Roman goddesses such as Roma, Venus, Concordia, Pax and Tellus were iconographically depicted as modest and self-possessed female figures properly dressed and coifed, the emblem of Roman virtue and self-mastery, values that were lauded for elite women more generally.[24] The motif of a whore is the opposite of this and functions as a kind of exposé. He reaches for the grotesque in his graphic depiction of her allies drunk from 'the wine of her fornication' (17.2) and she herself 'drunk with the blood of the saints and the blood of the witnesses to Jesus' (17. 6). John seems to revel in grotesqueness in his vivid description of Rome's demise and the use of violent sexual narratives; he depicts the destruction of Rome, the great whore, as a gang rape and murder by her erstwhile lovers (code for the nations that have sought allegiances with Rome). For the author of Revelation where there is luxury, nakedness is not far behind. Significantly, 'the ten horns and the beast' 'will hate the whore; they will make her desolate and naked; they will devour her flesh and burn her up with fire' (17.16) – a vivid description that, as we will see, both echoes Hebrew Bible prophetic denunciation of unfaithful Israel and imitates the depiction in Roman iconography of conquered peoples, personified as sexually violated and humiliated women. Being exposed as naked is a sign of both divine punishment and imperial victory. With respect to the imperial context, John reverses the hermeneutical flow of Roman depictions, but at the same time re-inscribes violence by pornographically 'othering' Rome as a vanquished and raped woman and as harlot.[25] John juxtaposes his graphic representation of Babylon/Rome with another extended ekphrastic representation at the end of the Apocalypse (21.2–22.5), in which the heavenly Jerusalem descends from heaven 'prepared as a bride adorned for her husband' (21.2), which also echoes a host of Hebrew Bible texts and deploys a *topos* that idealized brides.[26] It is against these binary oppositions between the whore and the bride, corruption and purity, luxury and modesty, clothing and nakedness, that John's representation of nudity finds its place.

John's treatment of the luxuriously clothed and then stripped whore of Babylon is the most sustained instance of nakedness in the Apocalypse, and it is in concert with it that Revelation's two other nudity passages are best understood, where again the author associates nakedness with divine punishment. The first reference to nudity, no less striking than the one related to Babylon, appears in Revelation 3.17:

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[23]David E. Aune, *Revelation 17-22*. Word Biblical Commentary 52C (Nashville: Nelson, 1998), 935, with citations.

[24]See Kelly Olson, *Dress and the Roman Woman: Self-Presentation and Society* (London: Routledge, 2008), 80–95.

[25]For the uses of depictions of women as strategies for feminizing enemies and vivid iconographical representation of sexual abuse of women in imperial art of the ancient Near East, J. Assante, 'The Lead Inlays of Tukulti-Ninurta I: Pornography as Imperial Strategy', in *Ancient Near Eastern Art in Context. Studies in Honor of Irene J. Winter and Her Students*, ed. Jack Cheng and Marian H. Feldman (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 369–407; for the narrative device of the humiliation of woman as apocalyptic strategy in Revelation, Tina Pippin, *Death and Desire: The Rhetoric of Gender in the Apocalypse of John* (Philadelphia: John Knox Westminster, 1992); for Roman imperial uses, see below.

[26]Ibid., 1121–2.

> For you say, 'I am rich, I have prospered, and I need nothing'. You do not realize that you are wretched, pitiable, poor, blind, and naked. Therefore I counsel you to buy from me gold refined by fire so that you may be rich; and white robes to clothe you and to keep the shame of your nakedness from being seen; and salve to anoint your eyes so that you may see.

The passage is near the start of the work, as part of a message to a Christ assembly at Laodicea (3.14-22), a city located along a network of Roman roads built primarily for trade near the west coast of Asia Minor (contemporary Turkey). It is part of the last, the numerologically significant, seventh message (seven being a number associated in biblical tradition with God, as God rested on the seventh day of creation – Gen. 2.1-3), to seven Christ assemblies (Rev. 2.1–3.22). As the passage from 3.17 indicates, it is a message of censure. John magnifies his critique by placing it in the rhetorically forceful last position in the sequence of messages and by making it the seventh one, he emphatically juxtaposes the impoverished state of the Laodiceans with the divine. The message to Laodicea is the dramatic conclusion to the literary unit of the seven messages that began in 2.1; at 4.1 John will change location, from messages to the seven churches to a vision of the heavenly throne room of God, whence the contents of the rest of the writing will come. The exhortation to buy white robes complements his depiction of some of the members he describes in his fifth message to the church at Sardis 'who have not soiled their clothes'. 'They will walk with me', Jesus promises, 'dressed in white, for they are worthy' (3.4). He goes on to exhort those who are not yet like them: 'If you conquer, you will be clothed like them in white robes, and I will not blot your name out of the book of life.' (v. 5). The other reference to nakedness in Revelation occurs in 16.15: 'See, I am coming like a thief! Blessed is the one who stays awake and is clothed, not going about naked and exposed to shame.' The admonition echoes the association of nakedness and shame in 3.17 and foreshadows the desolation and nakedness of 17.16.

DRESSING UP AND THE NAKED TRUTH IN THE HEBREW BIBLE

As is the case of most other aspects of the Apocalypse, Revelation's treatment of clothing and nakedness draws from the Hebrew Bible and parallels traditions found in the Intertestamental period.[27] Clothing in the Hebrew Bible has a wide array of associations.[28] It represents the body and creation as (perishable) garments (Job 10.11; 13.28; 38.14; 38.9; 39.19; Pss. 65, 13; 102.26; Isa. 50. 9; 51.6-8; Sir. 14.17). It depicts God as robed in splendid incorruptible garments, light, glory or similar holy qualities, or wearing the weapons of a warrior (Job 40.10; Isa. 6.1; 59.17; 63.1-3; Dan. 7.9). Predictably, it has God's heavenly emissaries dressed in white or the clothing of divine holiness and glory (Dan. 7.9). It dramatizes divine punishment and blessing as stripping off of garments and the covering of or the putting on of positive and negative qualities as clothing (Judg. 6.34 [LXX]; 1 Chron. 12.18 [LXX]; 2 Chron. 24.20 [LXX]; Job 8.22; 29.14; Pss. 30.11; 35.26; 109.29; 132.9, 16, 18; Isa. 52.1; 59.17; Prov. 31.25; Zech. 3.3-5; Ps. of Sol. 2.20-22). Salvation and righteousness are states of being one puts on as a garment (Job 29.14; Ps. 131.9, 16; Isa. 61.10; 2 Esd. 2.39, 40, 45; Bar. 5.1). Conversely, it describes the unrighteous as robed in vices (Job 8.22; Ps. 35.26; Pss. 73.6; 109.18-19, 29; 132.18; Isa. 64.6).

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[27]For an overview, Steve Moyise, *The Old Testament in the Book of Revelation*. Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 115 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995).
[28]For closer analysis of the spectrum of these uses and meanings, see Berner, Schäfer et al., *Nudity*.

Nakedness in the Hebrew Bible and the Intertestamental as well as other Jewish literature is a motif that describes a variety of notions. In its most value-neutral sense, nakedness is associated with creatureliness (Gen. 2.25; 3.7; Job 1.21; Qoh. 5.15; Hos. 2.3; Tob. 1.17; 4.16; 2 Esd. 2.20). In the Jahwist's creation account, Adam and Eve are first naked and unashamed (Gen. 2.25). The first-century Alexandrian philosopher and biblical commentator Philo interpreted the nudity and freedom of shame of the first couple in a unique way. He read the two accounts in Genesis 1.26-27 and 2.7, 18-24, of the creation of Adam and Eve as an account of a two-stage generation, first of spiritual incorporeal beings and then corporeal ones. The nakedness of Adam and Eve symbolizes for Philo an ostentationless existence, a state of being clothed with virtue or divine properties – the pre-lapsarian period of freedom from corporeal sensuality when the couple lived in conformity with a pre-corporeal intellectual nature (*leg. alleg.* 2.7,22-28, 25; 15. 53–17.69; 18.58-60; *fug. et inv.* 20.108-112; *quaest. in Gen.* 1.69). God's clothing Adam with skins (Gen. 3.20) signifies the second creation of them as corporeal beings, entangled in the physical order, in order to begin the long process of a return to God. The negative association of nakedness and shame, which Revelation deploys, is a recurring theme. Adam and Eve discover that they are naked only after eating from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, and clothe themselves with loincloths (Gen. 3.7), a symbol of their shame and their desire to hide themselves from God (3.9-11). In Philo's exegesis of Genesis 2 and 3, he links clothing with the sensual, luxury-loving, sexual life, focusing in particular on clothing and nakedness in Genesis 2.25 and 3.7, 21, and on Adam and Eve's post-lapsarian entanglement with corporeal existence and pursuit of pleasure (*leg. alleg.* 2.18,71-2; 51.148-52, 154; *quaest. et sol. in Gen.* 1.40-53).

In the prophetic tradition, divine judgement is often represented as either God's stripping or a conquering power's public exposure of nakedness. Anja Klein argues that representations of nakedness and exposure as divine judgement in the exilic and post-exilic prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah and Nahum are in part rooted in the ancient Near Eastern practice of stripping the conquered and the traumatic experience of the sexual violation of women by the Babylonian army (Jer. 13.25-27; Ezek. 16.36-39; 23.10, 18, 29; Lam. 1.8; Hos. 2.3, 9; Mic. 1.11; Nah. 3.5; Isa. 20.2-4; 47.3).[29] In Hosea 2 and Ezekiel 16 and 23, nakedness is part of a metaphorical description of Yhwh as husband and Israel and Judah personified as unfaithful wives. In Nahum 3.1-7 and Isaiah 47.1-4 judgement as stripping is directed to Nineveh and Babylon, respectively, a reversal of the terror they have inflicted on others. The Septuagint magnifies the idea of nakedness where it translates the Hebrew word for naked, *ᶜerwā*, with the Greek term *aischynē*, 'shame, disgrace' (Isa. 20.4; 47.3; Ezek. 16.36, 38; 22.10; 23.10, 18, 29).[30] The warning against the Laodiceans in 3.17 and the more general portent in 16.15 that the shame of nakedness will be exposed have as its backdrop these biblical traditions. Additionally, the charge against the Laodiceans of being poor and naked builds on the association found in biblical tradition (Job 24.7, 10; Ezek. 18.16). The extended ekphrasis of ch. 17 where John portrays Babylon as stripped naked, left desolate, cannibalized and burned reworks prophetic descriptions of Judah's demise into statement about Rome's destruction.

[29]For discussion Anja Klein, 'Clothing, Nudity, and Shame in the Book of Ezekiel and Prophetic Oracles of Judgment', in Berner, Schäfer et al., *Nudity*, 499–523 at 518; also 'Uncovering the Nymphomaniac: The Verb גלה and Exile as Sexual Violence in Ezekiel 16 and 23', in *Images of Exile in the Prophetic Literature Copenhagen Conference Proceedings 7–10 May 2017*. FAT 103, ed. Jesper Høgenhaven, Frederik Poulsen and Cian Power (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2019), 167–86. I am grateful to Professor Klein for allowing me to see these essays before they went to press.
[30]David E. Aune, *Revelation 6-16*. Word Biblical Commentary 52B (Nashville: Nelson, 1998), 897.

In Ezekiel 23.26-29 the prophet predicts Israel's conquest and massacre: 'Your survivors shall be devoured by fire. They shall also strip you of your clothes and take away your fine jewels. So I will put an end to your lewdness and your whoring brought from the land of Egypt …. [T]hey shall deal with you in hatred … and leave you naked and bare, and the nakedness of your whorings shall be exposed.'[31] John reverses the direction of violence by having Babylon (Rome) suffer violation rather than its victims.

REVEALING DRESS IN APOCALYPTIC

The discussion has shown that Revelation's representations of clothing and nakedness draws heavily from and parallels texts and motifs found in the Hebrew Bible. We turn now to a large corpus of apocalyptic literature that can be dated from the centuries before the Common Era through to the Byzantine and Medieval periods, which, like the book of Revelation, deploys analogous themes and shows the degree to which John is at home in this tradition. Thus agents of revelation, evil forces, heavenly beings, as well as the resurrected righteous, are depicted as crowned, clothed in purple, many-coloured garments or with imperishable garments of divine glory. In the body of apocalyptic literature associated with the Hebrew Bible figure of Enoch (Gen. 5.18, 21-24), dress plays an important role. It often signifies God's act of redemption. God clothes the righteous or elect ones in garments of glory (*1 Enoch* 62.15-16 [second century BCE to first century CE]). Enoch gives up his 'earthly clothing' and is put into 'the clothes of my glory' (*2 Enoch* 22.6-10 [late first century CE]). In *3 Enoch* (fifth to sixth century CE), heavenly beings are robed in majesty or light (12.1-5; 18.25). *The Apocalypse of Sedrach* (third to fourth century CE) offers an extended ekphrastic account of the pre-incarnate Christ's adornment, which he gives up when he descends to earth (11). Ascent to heaven with the putting on of garments and descent to earth putting them off is a common theme in apocalyptic literature. Paul's reference to putting on the armour of light (Rom. 13.12; cf. 1 Thess. 5.8; Eph. 6.11, 14-15) or putting on imperishability in the resurrection (1 Cor. 15.53; cf. Gal. 3.28; Col. 2.9-12; 3.9-14) may reflect this influence. In the first to second century CE *Ascension of Isaiah*, Isaiah describes exchange of 'the honour of the garments of the saints for the garments of the covetous' (3.25). Elsewhere it represents bodies as garments of flesh which are exchanged for new ones when one ascends to the seventh heaven (4.16-17; 8.14, 26; 9.8-9,11-12, 17-18). When Isaiah ascends there he sees garments and a crown reserved for him (7.22; 9.2) even as he beholds clothing, thrones and crowns reserved for those who follow Jesus's teachings and believe in him (9.24-26). In the roughly contemporary *2 Baruch* 15.8, the righteous are crowned with divine glory in the world to come. *5 Ezra* (also second century) concludes with a vision of the faithful who 'have received shining garments from the Lord' and 'who are clothed in white' (39-40). These passages form a striking correspondence with the white clothing of the martyrs John sees in the heavenly throne room.

The descent from earth into infernal regions is also accompanied by dress. In the second century CE *Apocalypse of Peter*, those punished in hell are clothed 'in tattered and filthy raiment rolled about on them in punishment' (29) and in the Byzantine *Book of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ*, Judas is stripped of his 'glorious apparel', he is 'arrayed for cursing' and lice cover him like a garment.[32] In the *Apocalypse of Moses* (a Greek text also known as *The Life of Adam and Eve* dating

[31]For nudity as part of prophetic judgement in Ezekiel more generally.

[32]E. A. Wallis, trans. and ed., *Coptic Apocrypha in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* (London: British Museum, 1913), 185–6.

from the third to the fifth century, but which probably reflects traditions older than that), Adam's shame at his nakedness is associated with the loss of the glory of the Lord that had covered him (20.1-4). *The Coptic Apocalypse of John*, an eleventh-century text also known as *The Mysteries of Saint John the Apostle and Holy Virgin*, similarly refers to Adam's nakedness that came about when 'God removed the righteousness wherewith he was once arrayed'.[33] This is a theme Paul may be invoking in his own apocalyptically toned account of death in 2 Corinthians 5.3 where he uses a clothing metaphor to state that the saved once deceased will put off the body but will not be found naked, a passage consistent with the apostle's other juxtaposition of Adam and Christ (Rom. 5.14; 1 Cor. 15.22, 45) and representation of putting on Christ (Rom. 13.14).[34] Hebrews 4.13 may invoke the same theme in its description that no creature is hidden but naked before God to whom everyone must give an account. This places Revelation's association of nakedness and shame within a larger apocalyptic tradition and cosmic set of meanings.

In the Qumran literature, a body of texts named after their origins in a community of Jews living near the Dead Sea from the first century BCE until its destruction by the Romans in first century CE, clothing takes on a variety of meanings.[35] In the *Vision of Amram* (4Q544 1, 10-14), Malki-Resha – the angel of darkness – wears a many-coloured robe; in 4Q405 23, 7-10, ministering spirits wear woven and 'splendidly purified' garments in the heavenly temple. *The War Scroll* (1QM, 4QM491-496 7, 10-12; late first century BCE to early first century CE) gives instructions about seven priests and seven Levites who will take part in the battle against the Kittim (the Romans) in the final apocalyptic battle; they are to dress in 'vestments of white cloth of flax, in a fine linen tunic and fine linen breeches' with belts embroidered with blue, purple and scarlet thread and decorated hats. The soldiers are to take care not to expose 'the shame of their nakedness' in the camp and to remain pure. The description of priests in white is strikingly parallel with Revelation 19.14 in which 'the armies of heaven, wearing fine linen, white and pure' follow Jesus in battle against the Devil and his earthly military allies (i.e. Rome; vs. 17-21). There are several instructions in the scroll to wash clothes and to clean them after any contact with menstrual blood or semen (e.g. *Damascus Document* 11, 3; 4Q274 1, 4-9, 2, 4-9; 4Q514); the coincidence with Philo's description (*Therapeutae* 51) of those whom he calls Essenes as wearing white clothing is striking and furnishes the evidence of their identification with the Qumran community. These concerns furnish an interesting parallel with Revelation's account of the 144,000 white-robed male virgins of Revelation 7.13 and 14.3-5.

Finally, we turn to *The Shepherd of Hermas*, a text written in Rome between the end of the first and the middle of the second century CE. Hermas, a Roman freedman, receives a series of revelations from a variety of figures including the eponymous shepherd, designed to exhort and admonish Jesus believers who are charged with the pursuit of riches. The Shepherd exhorts Hermas to clothe himself with good desire and to resist evil desire (*Mandate* 12.1-2 [44.1-2]). In a later vision he sees people entering a tower (the church) wearing the same clothing 'white as snow' (*Similitude* 8.2.3 [68.1.3]). In another vision of the tower (*Similitude* 9.13.1-9 [90.1-9]), Hermas

[33]For the text John M. Court *The Book of Revelation and the Johannine Apocalyptic Tradition* (Sheffield: Sheffield University Press, 2000), 144–5.

[34]For a discussion of the motif of putting on in Paul and its relation to broader biblical and extracanonical literature, Jung Hoon Kim, *The Significance of Clothing Imagery in the Pauline Corpus* (London: T&T Clark/Bloomsbury, 2004).

[35]For the dating and a general orientation to the literature, Michael Wise, Martin Abegg and Edward Cook, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* (San Francisco: HarperOne, 2005), 3–37.

sees a company of female virgins that symbolize the powers of God and learns that no people can enter the kingdom of God unless the women clothe them in their garments; each garment is the name of a spiritual power. Those 'clothed with these spirits' wear garments of 'one colour' (9.13.5 [90.5]); they have 'one spirit and one body and one garment; for they had the same mind and did what was right' (9.13.7 [90.7]). He also sees women with 'uncovered shoulders, loose hair, and beautiful figures' who wear dark garments and seduce believers; those who wear their garments cannot enter the tower (9.13.8-9 [90.8-9]). Hermas likens the gift of the spirit to reception of a clean garment that believers are to keep intact and not return damaged (*Similitude* 9.32.3 [109.3]).

Taken together, these texts and traditions furnish the context for situating Revelation's account of his white-clothed protagonists, his luxuriating antagonists, as well as his warnings concerning nakedness. John was obviously well acquainted with a tradition that used clothing as a narrative device for communicating reward and punishment. His audience, however, situated as it was in the west coast of Asia Minor would have also associated nakedness with punishment through their daily experience of Roman propaganda that celebrated imperial conquest by depicting the vanquished as stripped and naked. It is with this set of images that this chapter concludes.

STRIPPED IN DEFEAT

Roman imperial imagery was ubiquitous in the cities of the Roman Empire.[36] The second-century CE philosopher Marcus Cornelius Fronto acclaims the frequency with which he beholds the emperor's image: 'You know that in all the banks, booths, shops, and taverns, gables, porches and windows, anywhere and everywhere, there are portraits of you exposed to public view.'[37] A part of this imperial portraiture was the celebration of the reigning emperor as victor over enemies. Representation of him as triumphant functioned as a way to honour the emperor as the person the gods had chosen to unite the peoples of the Mediterranean Basin under one rule and through him bring peace and prosperity to his subjects. It is difficult to know whether John's audience was as well versed in the biblical imagery and texts of the Hebrew Bible as John was or how acquainted it was with the kinds of apocalyptic tradition the book of Revelation appropriates. It is certain, however, that as inhabitants of the cities of western Asia Minor they would have had regular experience of the iconography that honoured the emperor as victor over enemies. This imagery took several forms – numismatic, statues, mosaics, as well as a host of media that because of time have long since disappeared such as placards and frescos.[38] Among the most important of these media were temples designed to honour the emperor through worship of him as divine. Little survives of the temples that once existed in many of the cities that dotted the eastern Mediterranean.[39] At Aphrodisias, however, not far from Laodicea (where there was also a temple dedicated to the worship of Domitian

[36]For the ubiquity, social functions and meanings of imperial imagery, see Clifford Ando, *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 206–73. For strategic locations of images of the emperor and his family and the cultural values and ceremonial associated with those images, see Thomas Pekáry, *Das römische Kaiserbildnis in Staat, Kult und Gesellschaft. Das römische Herrscherbild* Abt. 3 Bd. 5 (Berlin: Mann, 1985), 42–65.

[37]Marcus Cornelius Fronto, *Ep.* 4.12.6 (LCL 112, translation Haines).

[38]For a general orientation, see Harry O. Maier, *Picturing Paul in Empire: Imperial Image, Text and Persuasion in Colossians, Ephesians and the Pastoral Epistles* (London: T&T Clark/Bloomsbury, 2013), 35–61.

[39]For a map that designates the presence of temples in Asia Minor, S. R. F. Price, *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), xx–xxiii.

[81–96 CE] and his wife Domitilla), archaeologists have excavated a temple completed under Nero (54–68 CE) and have uncovered a cycle of reliefs that reveal the kind of imagery that we can expect was used in other temples to honour the emperor with a cult.[40] A number of these reliefs are of interest for our purposes here because of the way they deploy motifs of clothing and nakedness to mark imperial victory and conquest. They show emperors standing in triumph over women in various states of nudity. These reliefs feminize enemies by representing them as subordinated females and they masculinize Rome by portraying the emperor as a nude heroic male. In a relief (see Figure 23.1) that represents the crowning of the emperor Claudius (41–54 CE), the emperor stands

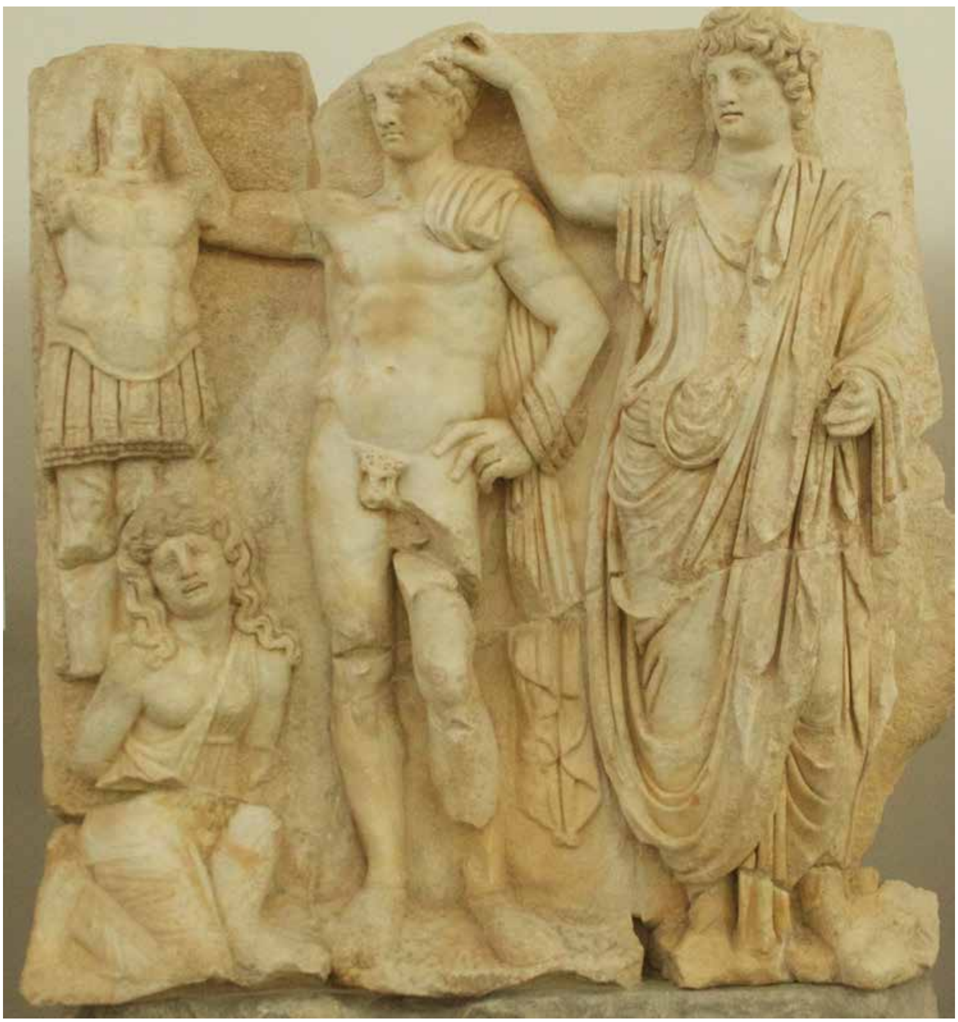


FIGURE 23.1 Relief of emperor with conquered figure and personified senate, Aphrodisias, first century CE. Aphrodisias Museum, Aphrodisias, Turkey. Photo: Author.

[40]For a detailed account of these reliefs with images, R. R. R. Smith, 'The Imperial Reliefs from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias', *JRS* 77 (1987): 88–138.

in the nude (signifying his divine power) holding a military trophy in his right hand, with a stricken, vanquished woman kneeling below him. The woman has unbound hair and a bare breast to reveal her defeat as well as her barbarian, uncivilized identity. She contrasts with the figure personifying the Roman senate to Claudius's left, with coiffed hair and a properly arranged *peplos*. Her sober expression indicates her self-regulation and civilization. The relief uses the nakedness and grief of the kneeling figure to signify the public shame and humiliation of the conquered, which is indicated also in her being diminished in size in the lower part of the portrait with the enlarged emperor and the personified senate above. As such it uses nakedness strategically to indicate both submission and power; the enemy is 'othered' as distraught female while the senate personified as properly dressed matron and the emperor and the senate together as sombre symbolize their divinely appointed domination. A second example (Figure 23.2) uses the iconographic representation of nakedness in a similar way to display conquest and shame. It celebrates the victory of Claudius over Brittania by depicting the emperor (again as a heroic nude) astride a half-naked woman with unbound hair



FIGURE 23.2 Relief of Claudius's victory in Britannia, Aphrodisias, first century CE. Aphrodisias Museum, Aphrodisias, TurkeyPhoto: Author.

in the lower half of the relief, about to strike her with a sword (no longer present). A third relief (Figure 23.3), this time of Nero victorious over a female figure personifying Armenia, uses the same iconographical depiction of nakedness. In all these examples, gender and the public display of nakedness express public humiliation and punishment and assert imperial power.

Roman imperial representation of the conquered as feminine and naked offers an important resource for interpreting and understanding the references to nakedness and clothing in the book of Revelation. When John imagines the Great Whore of Babylon as naked and defeated by her erstwhile lovers, John is echoing Hebrew Bible imagery, but perhaps more provocatively he is



FIGURE 23.3 Relief of Nero's victory in Armenia, Aphrodisias, first century CE. Aphrodisias Museum, Aphrodisias, TurkeyPhoto: Author.

inviting his listeners to imagine Rome personified as a woman in the humiliated position we see in these reliefs, a reversal of the iconographic celebration of imperial power and domination. Similarly, when he threatens the Laodiceans with public exposure of their nakedness and later warns them that Jesus's coming will be as a thief that will catch people unaware and expose their nakedness, he is using vivid speech to create in his listeners' minds the kinds of images we see in this imperial iconography of conquest.

Considered from an anthropological perspective, the imagery of conquest and defeat is part of the creation of symbolic capital. Imperial portraiture of the emperor astride his feminized, naked enemies was a way of granting the emperor and those in whom he invested his authority to govern the precious commodity of honour. Those who donated funds to build these temples and furnished them with imagery were engaging in a form of communication with Rome that used the expression of provincial loyalty to further their own interests. The furnishing of symbolic capital for the emperor was a means also of garnering honour for oneself amid one's own civic peers.[41] It also expresses the agonistic elements of the honour-shame culture of the ancient world, namely that honour was something people competed for and that often came at the cost of another's shame. In the Apocalypse, John deploys the symbols of honour and shame but reverses their flow so that those who expect to win symbolic capital through their allegiance with Roman power can expect to find themselves shamed and those who suffer at the hands of Rome for their faith can look forward to honour. Thus, the Laodiceans who boast of wealth (thanks to their increased economic fortunes in the imperial economy) will be exposed as naked, whereas those such as the 144,000 who are punished – and thus publically shamed – by the imperial regime for their faithful witness to Jesus will be clothed with white robes washed in the blood of the lamb (7.13-14; see also Rev. 3.4-5; 6.11; 19.14). John feminizes Rome as a whore drunk on blood (the opposite of the modest properly dressed and arranged representation of the Roman senate seen in Figure 23.1); he masculinizes the white robed 144,000 as males (14.4; presumably it is both men and woman whom he imagines should suffer for their religious witness – the masculinization of both male and female martyrs is telling when seen from the perspective of the imperial gender code). He thus honours the imperially shamed with new dress. This reversal of fortunes provides John with a means to 'lift the veil' on imperial power and to engage in a kind of political satire or parody that reverses fortunes and unsettles expectations.

The Book of Revelation is both unveiling and re-veiling. John uses clothing to dress his enemies and to celebrate those who keep the faith the champions. He uses representations of nakedness to pillory the Empire and to criticize those who fail to resist the imperial order in the way he expects. The Apocalypse's treatment of clothing belongs to a long tradition that clothes religious identity in various kinds of dress. John reverses imperial iconographical expectations by showing the conquerors naked and the conquered clothed. Roman triumph is thus defeat and victimhood is conquest. John's Apocalypse is a text strewn with the clothing that John has his characters try on for size and the garments he strips off of them. Given the enduring fascination with this text in contemporary culture, it offers a dress code that shows no sign of going out of fashion.

[41]For the temples and cult as a form of imperial communication, see Ando, *Ideology*, 73–276.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR

Dirty Laundry in the Christ Cult

ALICIA J. BATTEN

INTRODUCTION

Most cultures throughout the world make distinctions between clean and dirty. Such categorizations can play significant roles in fostering and maintaining individual and social boundaries,[1] and they may influence political, social and legal agendas,[2] among other functions. Anthropologists have observed that the association of dirtiness with moral suspicion has been widespread throughout history: 'unwashed hands, greasy clothes, offensive smells, grime on the skin all entered into complex judgments about not only the social position of the "dirty" person but also his or her moral worth'.[3] People also sometimes associate that which is 'dirty' with 'disgust', the latter a powerful emotion that the majority of human beings experience at one point or another.[4] As a response to 'dirty', disgust only increases the degree to which people perceive the unclean as a violation of a prohibition and as a potential contaminant upon contact.[5] Such a 'feared contagion extends the danger of a broken taboo to the whole community',[6] and anxieties about contamination have not dissipated in the modern world given the ongoing industrial and technological developments that people often experience as threats and dangers.[7]

The decision as to whether something is clean or dirty is partly subjective and depends upon a range of factors specific to context. This is not to say that such judgements are arbitrary but that they 'depend on our appreciation of the situation – the character of the item, its current state and its current role. And we may be right or mistaken'.[8] Moreover, just as assessments of 'dirtiness' can vary from group to group, perceptions of particular items or substances as dirty or clean can change according to time, place and overall perceptions and attitudes.

[1]Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger*; Routledge Classics Edition (London and New York: Routledge, 1966; repr., 2002), 153.

[2]For a recent philosophical treatment of dirt, see Olli Lagerspetz, *A Philosophy of Dirt* (London: Reaktion Books, 2018).

[3]Adeline Masquelier, 'Dirt, Undress, and Difference: An Introduction', in *Dirt, Undress, and Difference. Critical Perspectives on the Body's Surface*, ed. Adeline Masquelier (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005), 6.

[4]See William Ian Miller, *The Anatomy of Disgust* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997).

[5]Martha C. Nussbaum, '"Secret Sewers of Vice": Disgust, Bodies, and the Law', in *The Passions of Law*, ed. Susan A. Bandes (New York and London: New York University Press, 1999), 23. See also Martha C. Nussbaum, *Hiding from Humanity. Disgust, Shame, and the Law* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2004).

[6]Douglas, *Purity and Danger*, xiii.

[7]Ibid., xix.

[8]Olli Lagerspetz, '"Dirty" and "Clean" between Ontology and Anthropology', in *Philosophical Anthropology. Wittgenstein's Perspective*, ed. Jesús Padilla Gálvez; Aporia 1/1 (Frankfurt: ontos Verlag, 2010), 161.

Ancient notions of these phenomena were no doubt as variable as modern ones. A case in point is the somewhat indelicate topic of Roman attitudes towards human urine. On the one hand, this particular type of human waste was clearly disgusting, and there are examples of people urinating on monuments as a means of desecration, such as the account of Nero befouling an image of the Syrian goddess.[9] On the other hand, the Romans used urine as a cleaning agent – a detergent – for washing clothes and for a range of other purposes such as preparing dyes, removing stains and healing injured animals. Pliny the Elder understood it to be a curative for gout,[10] and in popular parlance, it was a *lotium* – 'virtually dish-washing liquid'.[11] Use, then, appears to determine the attributes of urine; it could be either dirty or clean, depending upon its purpose.

Likewise, attitudes towards clean and dirty vary among some of the writings stemming from the ancient Christ cult. The following discussion explores the variety of assessments of clean and dirty in this literature but with specific reference to dress.[12] At a symbolic level, we encounter a link between clean or washed clothes and righteous behaviour such as in the book of Revelation (3.4; 7.14; 22.14), although the appearance of Christ in a blood-soaked robe (19.13) offers an intriguing exception. The contrasting association between stained clothes and bad behaviour or beliefs is evident in Jude 23. There are other moments, however, when discrimination against those who are literally wearing dirty clothes receives criticism (Jas 2.2). Dirt, in this instance, does not provoke discrimination or receive disdain. This chapter therefore engages the rich social and symbolic background of dirty and clean dress in antiquity in order to analyse the references to such attire in the literature of the Christ cult. Images of grimy or clean dress, as we shall see, assist in advancing some of the moral and theological aims of these ancient texts.

ANCIENT ATTITUDES TOWARDS DIRTY AND CLEAN DRESS

The Latin term *polluo* means 'to make dirty', but we cannot assume in all cases throughout antiquity that a dirty item was also 'polluted' in the sense of 'immoral' or 'accursed'.[13] There was plenty of dirt, garbage and decaying, stinking matter lying around or flowing along the streets and gutters of ancient cities and towns; it would be impossible for most people to avoid such filth, and it was normal to be grubby.[14] Most people, possessing few garments, probably wore soiled clothes much of the time. Dirt was simply too hard to avoid.

Notions of dirty and polluted or 'impure' could overlap, however, and 'cleanliness is often an important part of purity, but a dirty robe may be ritually far purer than a clean one'.[15] Mary Douglas's groundbreaking 1966 book *Purity and Danger* demonstrated that within a given system, there are many connections between dirt and pollution. She defined dirt or uncleanness as 'matter

[9]Suetonius, *Nero* 56.1. This reference appears in Mark Bradley, '"It All Comes Out in the Wash": Looking Harder at the Roman *fullonica*', *JRA* 15 (2002): 31.
[10]Pliny, *Nat.* 28.65; as discussed by Bradley, 'It All Comes Out', 31.
[11]Bradley, '"It All Comes Out"', 31.
[12]Given space limitations, the essay confines itself to examples from the New Testament.
[13]Roger L. Beck, 'Sin, Pollution, Purity – Rome', in *Religions of the Ancient World. A Guide*, gen. ed. Sarah Iles Johnson (Cambridge, MA and London, UK: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004), 509.
[14]See Alex Scobie, 'Slums, Sanitation, and Mortality in the Roman World', *Klio* 68 (1986): 399–433. On pollution in the city of Rome in antiquity and throughout history, see the essays in Mark Bradley, ed., with Kenneth Stow, *Rome, Pollution and Propriety. Dirt, Disease and Hygiene in the Eternal City from Antiquity to Modernity*, British School at Rome Studies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).
[15]Robert Parker, *Miasma. Pollution and Purification in Early Greek Religion* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 56.

out of place'.[16] Polluted things are matter out of place. However, this does not mean that all matter out of place is polluted, defiling or impure,[17] and today, many would make distinctions between dirty and polluted objects.[18] To be dirty was not, by definition, to be defiled. As indicated above, much depended upon the specifics of place and time.

And, as Catherine Hezser has explained, because ancient peoples regularly recycled items, parts of what was once impure or susceptible to impurity could be recycled and reused for a different purpose, rendering them unsusceptible to impurity.[19] Hezser points to Joshua Schwartz's examination of the Mishnah tractate *Kelim*, which clarifies that broken household goods such as utensil parts are not susceptible to impurity if their function has shifted to a secondary purpose. Thus a 'secondary or recycled usage was not similar to a primary usage'.[20] According to this Mishnaic text, an object that is technically garbage or dirty is not always vulnerable to impurity.

Some scholars concur that Israelite purity laws reflect two major types of purity: ritual purity and moral purity. The relationships between these two types of purity, their connections to notions of sin and their relative importance could vary among different groups with ancient Judaism and could shift over time.[21] In the Hebrew Bible, ritual impurity could result from either direct or indirect contact with natural occurrences such as birth, death, disease and genital discharge. Such impurities were generally not sinful[22] and although they could spread,[23] they were not permanent. Moral impurity was the result of serious sin such as idolatry or murder, but unlike ritual impurity, was not contagious. Moreover, moral impurity could lead to enduring, if not permanent, 'degradation of the sinner and eventually, the land of Israel'.[24] One could regain moral purity through punishment, atonement and/or exile but not through ritual cleansing. Thus within many forms of ancient Judaism, washing one's clothes was important for ritual purity but it would not salvage moral purity.

How did clothing become impure within the context of ancient Judaism, which was itself diverse? Generally, contaminated garments were a result of contact with a corpse or an impure object or a person in an impure state. The purification of dress items that had had physical contact

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[16]Douglas, *Purity and Danger*, 50.

[17]For a discussion of Mary Douglas's ideas of dirt and pollution, see Jonathan Klawans, *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 7–10.

[18]Catherine Hezser, 'Dirt and Garbage in the Ancient Jewish Religion Imagination and in Daily Life', in *Envisioning Judaism. Studies in Honor of Peter Schäfer on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Ra'ana S. Boustan, Klaus Herrmann, Reimund Leicht, Annette Y. Reed, Giuseppe Veltri, with the collaboration of Alex Ramos (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 107.

[19]Hezser, 'Dirt and Garbage', 109–10.

[20]Joshua Schwartz, '"Reduce, Reuse and Recycle": Prolegomena on Breakage and Repair in Ancient Jewish Society: Broken Beds and Chairs in Mishnah "Kelim"', *Jewish Studies: An Internet Journal* 5 (2006): 174. Online: http://www.biu.ac.il/JS/JSIJ/5-2006/Schwartz.pdf (accessed 15 July 2019). See *m. Kelim* 2:1; 11:1; 15:1.

[21]See Klawans, *Impurity and Sin*.

[22]For exceptions, see Klawans, *Impurity and Sin*, 25.

[23]In a helpful discussion of the Priestly purity regulations in the Hebrew Bible, Yitzhaq Feder ('Contagion and Cognition: Bodily Experience and the Conceptualization of Pollution (*ṭum' ah)* in the Hebrew Bible', *JNES* 72 [2013]: 163) points out that the Priestly regulations not only 'distinguish between pollution and sin, … [they] also seem to distinguish pollution from infection'. He goes on to point out although various types of pollution, such as genital discharges, leprosy and corpse pollution, may have originally evoked fears of infection, the Holiness Code restricts the 'threat of pollution to the sacred domain'. What this means is that although the physiological hazards of these forms of pollution were 'neutralized, [their] powerful socio-religious influence – as reflected in subsequent Jewish and Christian traditions – was only beginning to be manifested' (167).

[24]Klawans, *Impurity and Sin*, 26.

with an impurity, such as skin disease, included careful inspection and then washing. If the spot on the clothing has spread after the item had been washed, then destruction of the garment by burning was necessary (Lev. 13-14 and *m. Neg.* 11-12).[25] If one entered a quarantined house and slept on the furniture and/or ate in that house, one must launder one's clothes (Lev. 14:46-47; see also *m. Neg.* 13:9-10). David Wright, building on Jacob Neusner's work, points out that the later rabbis thought that when people touched certain impurities, they become 'charged' with impurity. 'Momentarily thus charged, they pollute the clothes they are wearing and can pollute other articles and persons.'[26] Worn directly on the body, dress, no matter how clean it was, was immediately susceptible to impurity.

It is not entirely clear whether all practitioners of Judaism during the Second Temple period thought that impurity was transmissible by touching dress or fringes (*tzitzit*).[27] At Qumran, one had to launder clothes if one touched a carcass (11QT 51:1-5), but the later rabbis did not share that view and thought that touching a carcass of a clean animal did not render the clothes impure (Sifra on Lev. 11:39-40). However, there is guidance in the Mishnah to avoid the clothes of those who do not observe purity carefully (*m. Demai* 2:3), and a later text, *Hekhalot Rabbati* (225–28), indicates that a garment became contaminated if an impure person touched it.[28] It could be, as Jodi Magness and E. P. Sanders surmise, that ordinary people during the Second Temple period did not worry too much about contaminating their clothes unless they were about to enter the temple.[29]

To reiterate, contaminated garments were not the same thing as having dust or grime on one's clothes. The latter would be almost impossible for most people to avoid even though clean dress was preferred, at least for those with access to some sort of laundry. In general, dirty, ragged and/or patched clothing was worn by poor people because 'not only the type, but also the maintenance of clothing distinguished the rich from poor; well washed clothing was important'.[30] No matter where one lived in the Roman Empire, it was better to be clean or at least 'to look' clean.[31] Concerns about having clean clothes go back as far as Homer, when, for example, Nausicaa expresses a desire to

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[25]For discussion, see David P. Wright, *The Disposal of Impurity: Elimination Rites in the Bible and in Hittite and Mesopotamian Literature*; SBLDS 101 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 90–1.

[26]Wright, *The Disposal of Impurity*, 186, n. 39.

[27]Jodi Magness, *Stone and Dung, Oil and Spit. Jewish Daily Life in the Time of Jesus* (Grand Rapids and Cambridge, UK: Eerdmans, 2011), 118. Due to space limitations I will not examine the story of the woman with the flow of blood (Mk 5.25-34) who is healed after she touches Jesus's garment. However, the story has been subject to much debate. For example, has Jesus's garment, and indeed, Jesus, become impure because of her touch? The account focuses on healing and the health and faith of the woman, but some scholars think that purity issues are also important to consider as part of the background. For some discussion, see Thomas Kazen, *Jesus and Purity Halakhah: Was Jesus Indifferent to Impurity?* ConBNT 38 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 2002), 132–6; and Susan Haber, 'A Woman's Touch: Feminist Encounters with the Hemorrhaging Woman in Mark 5:24-34', *JSNT* 26 (2003): 171–92. For further discussion of *tzitzit*, see Joshua Schwartz's chapter in this volume.

[28]See Magness, *Stone and Dung*, 238, n. 64.

[29]Magness (*Stone and Dung*, 120) cites Sanders (*Judaism: Practice and Belief 63 BCE-66 CE* [London: SCM Press; Philadelphia: Trinity Press, 1992], 220), who wrote: 'Common people, one gathers from rabbinic discussions, did not worry about *midras* impurity, except when they entered the temple, and possibly then they did not worry about *midras* impurity on their clothes.' This point by Sanders reflects Feder's (see note 22) observation that although people during the Second Temple period may have worried less about the physiological dangers associated with various types of impurities than the ancient Israelites, such impurities were problematic when it came to the sacred domain.

[30]Kelly Olson, 'Status', in *A Cultural History of Dress and Fashion in Antiquity*, ed. Mary Harlow; A Cultural History of Dress and Fashion, vol. 1 (London, New York: Bloomsbury, 2018), 111.

[31]Mark Bradley, 'Approaches to Pollution and Propriety', in *Rome, Pollution, and Propriety*, 23.

wash the entire family's clothes prior to her wedding, indicating that honour and desirability are associated with clean linens.[32] Although men who preoccupied themselves with dress and toilet receive ridicule, Romans upheld their status in part through the appearance of cleanliness and neatness.[33] Ancient writers sometimes describe slaves as 'dirty' (*sordidata*),[34] while in contrast the 'well-washed' (*lautus*) embodied the refined Roman male.[35]

In the *Odyssey*, women wash clothes in the river and lay them out on the riverbanks to dry, but eventually the professional 'fuller' emerges within the Roman Empire. The fulling process included washing the items in 'stale urine and clay, trampled by the bare feet of slaves, rubbed with chalk, and fumigated with sulphur', which was quite different from the application of detergents, bleaches and fabric softeners that many employ today.[36] 'Clean' clothes in the Roman Empire probably stank, but ancient noses must have been accustomed to it, and thus smelly garments, as Kelly Olson explains, could bestow a certain status on their wearers. But, as Olson elaborates, because the cleaning methods were quite tough on fabric, a cloak or tunic that had been fulled many times was less valuable. An item that had never been washed was worth much more.[37]

In classical antiquity people deliberately donned dirty attire at certain moments. Greek and Roman mourners, particularly women, would sometimes don sullied clothes,[38] although there is evidence of boys wearing a dirty mourning toga.[39] Interestingly, an inscription from Gambreion from the third century BCE seeks to prohibit mourning women from wearing grubby dress. This inscription addresses post-burial practices and insists that women should participate. It decrees that they should wear grey clothing and not soiled garments (κατερρυπωμένην). Its function may be to strong-arm women into taking part in the public processes perhaps because they were otherwise preoccupied with attending to the dead.[40] The reason for the grey as opposed to dirty clothing may be because grey clothes represent dirty white clothes; wearing grey instead of soiled garments would 'tame and curtail' some aspects of mourning rituals while allowing particular sacred aspects of them to continue.[41] It could be, as well, that the social implications that resulted from wearing soiled clothes did not sit well with the framers of these regulations.

Other examples of the purposeful wearing of sullied garb include when a man receives a capital accusation and subsequently, he and his family put on *vestes sordidi*. An individual who had been victimized in some manner could venture out in the city dressed *in sordibus* in order to make

[32]Homer, *Od.* 6.25-70.
[33]Kelly Olson, 'Masculinity, Appearance, and Sexuality: Dandies in Roman Antiquity', *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 23 (2014): 187. Olson points to Horace, for example, who disparages a man for his bad haircut and dishevelled dress (Horace, *Ep.* 1.1.94-97).
[34]Cicero, *Pis.*67. Juvenal (3.149) refers to the soiled toga of an indigent person.
[35]Bradley, 'It All Comes Out', 23.
[36]Ibid., 23.
[37]Kelly Olson, *Masculinity and Dress in Roman Antiquity*; Routledge Monographs in Classical Studies (Oxford, New York: Routledge, 2017), 124–5. Olson refers to Martial, 7.86.8, on the value of an unfulled cloak.
[38]Glenys Davies and Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones, 'The Body', in *A Cultural History of Dress*, 68. See, for example, Euripides, *Hec.* 495; Cicero, *Dom.* 59.
[39]Seneca, *Con.* 9.5.1. For discussion of *sordes* clothing in antiquity, see Kelly Olson, '*Insignia lugentium*: Female Mourning Garments in Roman Antiquity', *American Journal of Ancient History* 3–4 (2004–05): 115–16.
[40]Robert Garland, 'The Well-Ordered Corpse: An Investigation into the Motives behind Greek Funerary Legislation', *BICS* 36 (1989): 10. See *LSAM* 16.
[41]Daniel Ogden, 'Controlling Women's Dress: *Gynaikonomoi*', in *Women's Dress in the Ancient Greek World*, ed. Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones (London: Duckworth Classical Press of Wales, 2002), 207.

known his or her distress and provoke anger in the community against the perceived victimizer.[42] In Greek and Roman court settings, which were highly performative, defendants often dressed in filthy clothes in order to procure the sympathy of the jury.[43] People changed into dirty clothes during a political crisis or as ‘an official protest decreed by the Republican Senate during which large numbers of citizen males were encouraged to exchange their clean togas for *sordes*’.[44] One can therefore observe that in the Greco-Roman world, soiled attire was associated with death, mourning, injustice, political conflict, slavery and/or poverty but that generally people preserved status, in part, by wearing clean clothes.

Although it is difficult to delineate discretely the ‘sacred’ from the ‘secular’ in antiquity, the value of pure dress extended to the sacred realm. Proper hygiene was requisite for worship just as it was for daily activities, such as eating, and ‘clean clothes [were] essential to a display of respect or a sense of wellbeing’.[45] Shoes were often forbidden to be worn by those entering sacred precincts as they were easily soiled and could convey ordinary dirt into a sanctified space.[46] Priests, in particular, had to be fastidious about their attire. The second-century grammarian Festus states that priests’ garments are pure (*pura vestimenta*) and white, without any stains (*macula*).[47] *Macula* refers to physical blots or stains,[48] but it can also function as a descriptor of a person’s shady past, a dishonourable life or their questionable character in general.[49] In contrast, the people who had to kill the sacrificial animal, known as *victimarii*, wore a *limus* or robe that covered the lower half of their body as they would presumably be spattered with blood and debris. The differences in clothing between the priest and the man who slaughtered the victim underscored their distinctive roles and their status dissimilarity, for the term *limus* could refer to the muddiness and grime that went hand in hand with poverty and destitution.[50]

The colour white, with its luminosity and connotations of purity, figured not exclusively but importantly in many contexts.[51] Members of ascetic communities such as those at Qumran as well as the Pythagoreans apparently wore white,[52] and numerous inscriptions from throughout

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[42]See Michel Blonski, ‘Les sordes dans la vie politique romaine: la saleté comme tenue de travail?’ in *S’habiller, se déshabiller dans les mondes anciens*, ed. Florence Cherchanoc and Valèrie Huet, Métis 6 (Paris: Éditions de l’École des hautes études en sciences sociales, 2008), 41–56.

[43]See Edith Hall, ‘Lawcourt Dramas: The Power of Performance in Greek Forensic Oratory’, *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 40 (1995): 39–58; Julia Heskel, ‘Cicero as Evidence for Attitudes to Dress in the Late Republic’, in *The World of Roman Costume*, ed. Judith Lynn Sebesta and Larissa Bonfante (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2001), 133–45; Jon Hall, *Cicero’s Use of Judicial Theater* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2014), 43.

[44]Olson, ‘*Insignia lugentium*’, 115. Olson refers to Cicero, in particular, who provides the most references to the practice of *vestem mutare*. See, for example, *ad Quir.* 13; *Dom.* 55, 99; *Planc.* 87. See also Aerynn Dighton, ‘*Mutatio Vestis*: Clothing and Political Protest in the Late Roman Republic’, *Phoenix* 71, no. 3–4 (2017): 345–69.

[45]Parker, *Miasma*, 68.

[46]For example, *LSAM* 14; *LSCG* 68. See Alicia J. Batten, ‘(Dis)Orderly Dress’, in *Scribal Practices and Social Structures among Jesus Adherents. Essays in Honour of John S. Kloppenborg*, ed. W. E. Arnal, R. S. Ascough, R. A. Derrenbacker and P. A. Harland; BETL 285 (Leuven: Peeters, 2016), 575. See also Sue Blundell’s chapter, this volume.

[47]Festus, *s.v.* ‘*pura vestimenta*’.

[48]See Ovid, *Trist* 3.5.15.

[49]For example, Cicero, *Att.* 1.16.3. Jack J. Lennon provides a helpful discussion of *macula* in his *Pollution and Religion in Ancient Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

[50]See Jack J. Lennon, ‘“Victimarii” in Roman Religion and Society’, *Papers of the British School at Rome* 83 (2015): 77–8.

[51]See Carly Daniel-Hughes, ‘Belief’ in *A Cultural History of Dress and Fashion in Antiquity*, 72. See also Olson, ‘Dress and Roman Religion’, this volume.

[52]See Eibert Tigchelaar, ‘The White Dress of the Essenes and the Pythagoreans’, in *Jerusalem, Alexandria, Rome: Studies in Ancient Cultura Interaction in Honour of A. Hilhorst*, ed. F. Garcia Martínez and G. P. Luttikhuizen; JSJSup 82 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003), 301–21.

the Mediterranean evince the importance of wearing clean or white robes in sacred processions.[53] Initiates into the mysteries of Isis put on white robes[54] signifying a new sacred status. Not surprisingly, white robes figured importantly in early Christian baptismal rituals[55] and signified purity and self-control in Christian narratives from the medieval period.[56]

Clean (and white, in religious contexts) dress therefore had considerable symbolic purchase, denoting economic and social status, and purity, or at least, normalcy.[57] One might think of clothes as an extension of the body; to wear grimy, stained garb is to be unclean, literally and/or symbolically. Executioners and undertakers, for instance, were noted for physical dirtiness and obliged to live outside city boundaries because of their polluted status. Such men were manifestations of the identification of dirt with pollution even though, as discussed, such associations were and are not automatic. A law code from Puteoli states that members of these professions had to ring a bell, warning of their presence.[58] As Jack Lennon points out, such 'measures only make sense if physical contact with these men was considered plausible and undesirable or dangerous'.[59] Thus, a body polluted by physical death, and by extension, its dress, was a threat; it was a potential source of a contagion that many sought to avoid.

DIRTY LAUNDRY IN THE CHRIST CULT

Within the canonical collection of documents known as the New Testament we find a few scattered references to dirty clothes. The Letter of James contrasts the treatment of a prospective patron[60] in gold rings and fine clothes (ἐσθῆτι λαμπρᾷ) with that of a poor man in filthy dress (ῥυπαρᾷ ἐσθῆτι). The author criticizes the audience for pandering to the rich fellow by offering him the best seat while humiliating the indigent one by ordering him to stand somewhere or sit at their feet (Jas 2.3). The letter employs the example as a means of demonstrating how showing partiality to the wealthy patron is a violation of the Law (Jas 2.9) and states that it is actually the 'poor in the world' who are rich in faith and inheritors of the kingdom.[61] Ironically, the clothes of the rich wind up moth eaten (σητόβρωτα) along with their rotted riches and rusted gold and silver (Jas 5.2-3).

The reference to the dirty attire of the poor man is literal here and serves to underscore the economic and social differences between him and the rich dandy[62] that, in turn, lead to the type of favouritism that the letter writer criticizes. The scene may refer to a courtroom setting[63] in which

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[53]See, for example, *LSCGSup* 91; *LSAM* 11; *LSAM* 14; *LSCG* 65.

[54]Apuleius, *Met.* 11.7-11.

[55]See Daniel-Hughes, 'Belief', 72.

[56]See Guillemette Bolens and Sarah Brazil, 'The Body', in *A Cultural History of Dress and Fashion in the Medieval Age*, ed. Sarah-Grace Heller; A Cultural History of Dress and Fashion, vol. 2 (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), 61.

[57]Andreas Bendlin ('Purity and Pollution', in *A Companion to Greek Religion*, ed. Daniel Ogden [Oxford: Blackwell, 2007], 178) helpfully states that purity is not the opposite of pollution; rather, 'with regard to both purity and pollution, the opposite is normality'.

[58]*L'Année Épigraphique* (1971) 88. For discussion, see Jack J. Lennon, 'Contaminating Touch in the Roman World', in *Touch and the Ancient Senses*, ed. Alex Purves (London and New York: Routledge, 2018), 129.

[59]Lennon, 'Contaminating Touch', 129.

[60]See Nancy J. Vyhmeister, 'The Rich Man in James 2: Does Ancient Patronage Illumine the Text?' *AUSS* 33 (1995): 265–83; John S. Kloppenborg, 'Patronage Avoidance in the Epistle of James', *HvTSt* 55 (1999): 755–94.

[61]See Wesley Hiram Wachob, *The Voice of Jesus in the Social Rhetoric of James*; SNTSMS 106 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

[62]For more on the question of 'dandies' in antiquity, see Olson, 'Masculinity, Appearance, and Sexuality'.

[63]See Roy Bowen Ward, 'Partiality in the Assembly: James 2:2-4', *HTR* 62 (1969): 87–97.

case one could also deduce that the poor man's dirty clothes are fitting if he is indeed a defendant. Yet whatever situation the author had in mind, the references to the dress of the rich and poor assist in creating exaggeration, which continues in James 5.1 when the author describes the weeping and howling that will come upon the rich and subsequently, their moth-eaten clothes and rusty metals. This sort of hyperbole is characteristic of 'joke structures', a term that John S. Kloppenborg has applied to James building from the insights of Mary Douglas.[64] Kloppenborg perceives the contrasting descriptions and treatments of the rich and poor in James as comparable to a standard Greco-Roman rhetorical trope whereby poor people are juxtaposed to the wealthy. The point of such tropes, however, is not to identify with the poor or even to address them directly but to render explicit the vices of a situation in which unbridled pursuit of wealth and patronage is rampant. As he says, 'Joking serves as a kind of social safety valve that relieves pressures and ambivalences, without actually undoing the structures that cause those pressures.'[65] There is a lampooning of the rich in James, to be sure, but the letter is not advocating that the audience all put on dirty clothes and identify with the poor. Rather, the poor man's dirty laundry abets the author's argument about the futility of pursuing the rich man's patronage.

In addition, it is important to state that the Letter of James reflects concerns about purity and pollution. For example, James 3.6 uses the verb σπιλόω ('to stain') in its attack on the tongue, which stains the whole body. The tongue is 'a world [κόσμος] of iniquity' (Jas 3.6) and has been described as 'an agent of pollution'.[66] Earlier, the author declares that one should 'keep oneself unstained by the world' (ἄσπιλον ἑαυτὸν τηρεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ κόσμου) (Jas 1.27) and there are a variety of other elements in the letter that underscore how concepts of purity and pollution shape the behaviour and attitudes to which the author thinks the audience should aspire.[67] All this is to say that despite the author's concerns about pollution, the pauper's dirty clothes are clearly *not* a polluting influence in the scenario of James 2. On the contrary, the author objects to the preferential treatment of the finely dressed man and castigates those who 'dishonour the poor' by ordering around the man in dirty clothes. Here, soiled garments are not problematic but markers of a person who is an heir of the kingdom and rich in faith (Jas 2.5). Unlike many ancient contexts discussed earlier, a man in soiled dress should be treated well in James. His clothes may be dirty but neither he nor his garment is defiled or defiling.

James and the Letter of Jude uniquely share the verb σπιλόω ('to stain') within the New Testament. In Jude, however, it is not the tongue that stains but the 'flesh' of those whom the writer perceives to be in opposition. This flesh 'stains' the 'tunic' (χιτών) of such people. The text of Jude 22–23 is much debated as the manuscripts do not agree on wordings, making translation and interpretation difficult. The phrase μισοῦντες καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς σαρκὸς ἐσπιλωμένον χιτῶνα ('hating the very tunic

[64]John S. Kloppenborg, 'Poverty and Piety in Matthew, James, and the Didache', in *Matthew, James, and the Didache: Three Related Documents in Their Jewish and Christian Settings*, ed. Huub van de Sandt and Jürgen K. Zangenberg; SBLSymS 45 (Atlanta: SBL, 2008), 231. Kloppenborg borrows the term 'joke structure' from Mary T. Douglas, 'Jokes', in *Implicit Meanings: Essays in Anthropology*, ed. Mary T. Douglas (London and Boston: Routledge & Kegan, 1975), 90–114.

[65]Kloppenborg, 'Poverty and Piety', 231.

[66]Darian Lockett, '"Unstained by the World": Purity and Pollution as an Indicator of Cultural Interaction in the Letter of James', in *Reading James with New Eyes: Methodological Reassessments of the Letter of James*, ed. Robert L. Webb and John S. Kloppenborg; LNTS 342 (London: T&T Clark, 2007), 60.

[67]See John H. Elliott, 'The Epistle of James in Rhetorical and Social Scientific Perspective: Holiness-Wholeness and Patterns of Replication', *BTB* 23 (1993): 71–81.

[68]For a recent discussion of the textual issues, see Alexandra Robinson, Stephen Llewellyn and Blake Wassell, 'Showing Mercy to the Ungodly and the Inversion of Invective in Jude', *NTS* 64 (2018): 194–212.

stained by the flesh') in verse 23 is not disputed,[68] but it is not clear exactly to whose flesh the author refers. Throughout the letter, 'false teachers' come under considerable attack, even earning the epithet 'blemishes' (σπιλάδες) (Jude 12), but we cannot assume that Jude 23 has such people in mind when it speaks of this flesh that stains or pollutes.

The letter employs purity and pollution language throughout in its invective against the false teachers, whether they are real or imagined.[69] Interestingly, the opponents are often described as 'out of place' bearing comparisons to Douglas's definition of dirt, discussed earlier. They have entered where they do not properly belong (Jude 4) and have no place, as they are waterless clouds drifting in the winds, uprooted and fruitless trees (Jude 12) and wild waves and wandering stars (Jude 13). They are also comparable to the angels in Genesis 6 who left their proper dwelling and whom God has imprisoned in chains in the deepest darkness until judgement day (Jude 6).[70] They are morally dissolute, comparable to the immoral and sexually indulgent people of Sodom and Gomorrah (Gen 19.4-11) (Jude 7); they reject authority and insult the angels (Jude 8). They are irrational animals (Jude 10), ungodly (Jude 15), grumblers and malcontents (Jude 16).

As indicated, whether the 'stained' tunics come from the flesh of this same opposition is subject to debate. But what is clear is that the reference to the tunic stained by the flesh is symbolic language, unlike James's mention of literally dirty clothes. Jude 23 evokes an image of contagion. As J. N. D. Kelly put it:

> What this crudely vivid expression is intended to convey is that any kind of contact with these wretched people is to be shunned, even such slight and casual relations as brushing against them in the street. Their very clothing (*chitōn*: the inner garment immediately next to the body) has become contaminated or polluted by its proximity to their flesh.[71]

The image of the garment infected by its wearer's flesh is a powerful one. It may be indebted to both Judaean and Greco-Roman fears of contagion that, as discussed, informed the sensibilities of ancient Mediterranean peoples. Jude is certainly not the first example of invective to engage in such a characterization of pollution as a stain and a sign of moral corruption for such portrayals of pollution were widespread in ancient polemic in a variety of literatures.[72] Here the image of the stained tunic functions symbolically and may have been intended to invoke disgust at the debauched nature of the flesh, as the 'stain' caused by the flesh is a rather visceral illustration of how evil the flesh in question must be.

This image of the contaminating flesh reflects the notion of a 'magical law of contagion' whereby people and objects are understood to be able to transfer properties through contact, positive or negative, and these properties endure even after contact has ended.[73] Contemporary Americans,

[69]See Alicia J. Batten, 'The Letter of Jude and Graeco-Roman Invective', *HvTSt* 70 (2014): 2. Online: http://dx.doi.org/10.4102/HTS.V7011.2750 (accessed 10 June 2019).

[70]See Jerome H. Neyrey, *2nd Peter and Jude. A New Translation and Commentary*; AB 37C (New York: Doubleday, 1993), 38.

[71]J. N. D. Kelly, *A Commentary on the Epistles of Peter and Jude*; Black's New Testament Commentaries (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1969), 289.

[72]For an examination of Cicero's use of pollution in his polemical writings, see Jack J. Lennon, 'Pollution and Ritual Impurity in Cicero's *De Doma Sua*', *CQ* 60 (2010): 427–45. As Hezser ('Dirt and Garbage', 118) points out: 'The association of "dirt" with certain worldly labors that were rejected by religious leaders and philosophers is quite common in post-biblical Jewish, Christian, and Graeco-Roman writings.'

[73]Carol Nemeroff and Paul Rozin, 'The Contagion Concept in Adult Thinking in the United States: Transmission of Germs and of Interpersonal Influence', *Ethos* 22 (1994): 158–86. For the notion that positive characteristics could be transferred via a garment, see Llewellyn-Jones's chapter on the Persian dress and ceremony, this volume.

for example, evidence discomfort at the prospect of wearing an 'evil' person's sweater and some indicate that laundering the garment would not make any difference – they still would not wear it.[74] Although intellectually people understand that the 'badness', shall we say, of someone such as Adolf Hitler cannot be transferred through a garment, they remain deeply uncomfortable with the prospect of wearing a garment on their body that had been worn by a person convicted of crimes and corruption.

The letters of James and Jude share an interest in purity and pollution, but dirty laundry figures differently. In James it reflects the socio-economic level and possibly victimized poor man, who is not morally suspect but an heir of God's kingdom. In Jude, however, a stained garment is the result of the corrupt flesh of questionable persons. It is an example of moral impurity, a moral impurity that can contaminate a garment. We recall that the ancient Israelites did not view moral impurity as contagious. Yet in Jude such impurity can now infect a tunic. It is a powerful image that may have indeed prompted disgust, as images of filth often do.

The last text referring to dirty and clean laundry under discussion is the book of Revelation, which Harry Maier explores in this volume as well. Within the document as a whole, Revelation 3.4 forms part of an embedded letter to Sardis warning the audience to wake up, obey what has been taught and repent. The verse in question states that there are still a few people in Sardis 'who have not soiled their clothes' (οὐκ ἐμόλυναν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν) and who will 'walk with me in white, for they are worthy' (περιπατήσουσιν μετ' ἐμοῦ ἐν λευκοῖς, ὅτι ἄξιοί εἰσιν). Here, the references to clean and white clothing recall descriptions of human processions found in Josephus,[75] as well as in Greco-Roman sacred contexts, as discussed earlier. The clean garments are indicators of either new or well-laundered items, and, as Dietmar Neufeld also observed, 'frequency and ritual in laundering clothes indicates not only status but also concern for purity'.[76] Perhaps because Sardis was known as a centre of wealth and luxury, and expensive textiles, the author underlines the purity of white and the upright morality and discipline that it represents as a means of dissuading the residents of Sardis from pursuing a luxurious lifestyle.[77] White robes, moreover, appear on the righteous at numerous points throughout the Apocalypse (3.18; 4 4; 6.11; 7.9; 7.13). And although the image of those who have not soiled their clothing may be symbolic and point to moral fortitude, it betrays the fact that the author also seeks to preserve an element of status in the characterization of those whose name will appear in the book of life (3.5).

Revelation also describes to those who have come out of a great tribulation and who have 'washed their robes' (καὶ ἔπλυναν τὰς στολὰς αὐτῶν) and made them white in the blood of the Lamb (7.14), and later the book pronounces a blessing on those who wash their robes (Μακάριοι οἱ πλύνοντες τὰς στολὰς αὐτῶν) (22.14). In the first instance, the author describes people who will appear before the throne of God and worship the deity within God's temple (7.15). The image may recall texts from ancient Israel such as Exodus 19.11, which portrays the Lord telling Moses to command the people to wash their clothes before the Lord appears on Mount Sinai. In addition, when Joshua the high priest stands before the angel of the Lord in dirty clothes, the angel insists that his filthy garments be removed and that he be clothed in festal apparel (Zech. 3.1-5).[78] Likewise, as we have

[74]Nemeroff and Rozin, 'The Contagion Concept', 181.
[75]See, for example, Josephus, *Ant.* 11. 327, 331.
[76]Dietmar Neufeld, 'Sumptuous Clothing and Ornamentation in the Apocalypse', *HvTSt* 58 (2002): 682.
[77]Neufeld, 'Sumptuous Clothing', 681. See also Revelation 3.5.
[78]See Frederick J. Murphy, *Fallen Is Babylon. The Revelation to John*; New Testament in Context (Harrisburg: Trinity Press, 1998), 227.

seen, Greek and Roman priests wore clean and often white robes. In Revelation 22.14, the blessed ones who wash their robes will have the right to the tree of life and will be able to enter the New Jerusalem. Again, such imagery is consistent with a wide range of ancient contexts in which those in dirty attire cannot enter the sacred precincts.

The notion of being washed in blood in Revelation 7.14 may not at first make sense because blood was known to stain and was a source of pollution in so many contexts.[79] Unlike the *victimarii*, as we saw, Roman priests avoided being spattered with blood. However, sacrificial blood could also be purificatory and serve to remove pollution from places and communities provided that participants follow proper procedures.[80] In Revelation 7.14, the blood in question is the blood of Christ, the Lamb. Other texts emerging from the Christ cult, such as Hebrews 9.13-14, perceive Christ's blood to be purifying the conscience of people from 'dead works' in order to worship God.[81] Although blood procured through a violent execution such as crucifixion could bring pollution, here, in Revelation, it cleanses the robes of the worshippers who appear before the throne of God.[82]

Finally, in Revelation 19.13-14 a rider on a white horse called 'The Word of God' – that is, Christ, emerges in a robe dipped or dyed (βεβαμμένον) in blood while the armies of heaven appear in pure white linen. Interpreters debate whose blood this is. Is it Christ's own blood or that of his enemies?[83] I concur with those who think that it is the blood of Christ's enemies given the particular literary context of a great battle in which Christ bears a sword protruding from his mouth, a sword that will strike down the nations. Moreover, Christ will tread the wine press of God's anger. This wine press had been trod upon earlier, causing blood to flow for a great distance (14.19-20). The scene of Revelation 19.13 is not one in which worshippers are about to appear before God. Nor is it addressing the question of moral behaviour or preparedness. It is a combat scene depicting Christ as a fighter comparable to other warrior images,[84] and therefore the notion of Christ's robe (ἱμάτιον) drenched in blood of his opponents is appropriate for Revelation's author. Here dirty, stained clothes are not problematic, at least not those on the body of Christ.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has attempted to provide a sense of attitudes towards clean and dirty clothing in a variety of settings in antiquity, before turning to specific examples from the literature of the early Christ cult. What we have seen is that the extent to which a garment was laundered or had grime on it mattered to ancient peoples, especially within the milieu of worship. Clean or dirty dress conveyed clear messages about social status as well as, in some circumstances, moral rectitude and purity. Examples found within some of the literature that eventually became canonical in the Christian tradition both conform to and diverge from these general attitudes. The Letter of James, despite its interest in purity and pollution, defies the widespread discrimination of the filthily clad

[79]See Lennon, *Pollution and Religion in Ancient Rome*, 90–135.
[80]Ibid., 103; Murphy, *Fallen Is Babylon*, 227.
[81]See Murphy, *Fallen Is Babylon*, 227.
[82]See Craig R. Koester, *Revelation. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* Anchor Yale Bible 38A (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2018), 422.
[83]Murphy (*Fallen Is Babylon*, 388–9), for example, identifies the blood as that of Christ's enemies and sinners whereas Koester (*Revelation*, 755–6) understands it to be Christ's blood.
[84]Murphy (*Fallen Is Babylon*, 389) points out how the image of Christ in a blood-soaked robe recalls the Palestinian Targum on Genesis, depicting the Messiah who will slay his enemies and whose garments will be dipped in blood.

poor by contrasting the indigent man with the wealthy one, whose garments will be moth eaten. The Letter of Jude uses the rather visceral reference to a stained tunic in order to undergird a negative characterization of those whom it opposes. The book of Revelation, the canonical text that engages dirty and clean dress imagery the most, furnishes visions of people clothed in clean, and often white, dress in order to prepare for and enter sacred spaces and worship God. The blood of Christ is the detergent for laundering these garments. Christ's sacrificial and bloody death 'cleanses' such that these worshippers can enter the holy realm. The 'Word of God', however, appears clad in a garment stained by the blood of his enemies, whom he has defeated. There is no indication that such a stained item of clothing has polluted him in any way. In some literary contexts of this ancient movement, therefore, soiled clothes appear to have been entirely acceptable, while in others, they were not. Yet in this literature, dirty laundry was always charged with meaning.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FIVE

'He Must Buy Her New Clothes for Winter': Women's Attire in the Rabbinic Imagination of the Tannaitic Period

GAIL LABOVITZ

INTRODUCTION: 'HER FOOD, HER CLOTHING, HER CONJUGAL RIGHTS'

If, as a number of scholars who have addressed the topic agree, it is true that 'the basic items of clothing worn by Jews did not differ significantly from those worn by other inhabitants of the Graeco-Roman world', then what is there to say, as Joshua Schwartz similarly asks in another chapter of this book, about something specifically Jewish/rabbinic related to clothing, ornamentation and self-presentation?[1] Lucille A. Roussin, author of the above quote, continues with one possible answer: 'there are two traditions about Jewish garments that are distinctive: the laws of *shatnez* and *tzitzit*'.[2] The first of these, however, would probably not have been immediately visible to an observer, and the latter is likely associated particularly with men.[3] Rather than attempt to seek a unique characteristic of Jewish women's dress in the early rabbinic period, likely an unrewarding task, I turn here instead to considering aspects of the social meaning of women's clothing, particularly in the context of the marital relationship, as constructed by the rabbis of Late Antiquity. I will explore this topic by reading together a variety of interrelated sources found in tannaitic rabbinic literature,

[1]Lucille A. Roussin, 'Costume in Roman Palestine: Archaeological Remains and the Evidence from the Mishnah', in *The World of Roman Costume*, ed. Judith Lynn Sebesta and Larissa Bonfante (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), 183; as she continues, 'indeed, almost all of the Hebrew words for the clothing mentioned … are transliterations of Greek and Latin words'. See similar statements in (for example) Dafna Shlezinger-Katsman, 'Clothing', in *Jewish Daily Life in Roman Palestine*, ed. Catherine Hezser (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 367 and Steven Fine, 'How Do You Know a Jew When You See One? Reflections on Jewish Costume in the Roman World', in *Fashioning Jews: Clothing, Culture, and Commerce*, ed. Leonard J. Greenspoon (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2013), 20.

[2]For example, the prohibition of mixing wool and linen in one garment (Deut. 22.11), and ritual fringes (Num. 15.37-41), respectively. Similarly, Fine notes that fringes in depictions of Moses in the Dura-Europus synagogue are the only feature that distinguish his garments from typical Roman or Persian garb of the time: 'How Do You Know a Jew', 24.

[3]Although there is some debate around this point in rabbinic literature at the time period under consideration here; see Gail Labovitz, 'A Man Spinning on His Thigh: Gender, "Positive Time Bound Commandments" and Ritual Fringes (*MMoed Qatan* 3:4)', *Nashim* 28 (2015): 75–87.

produced by members of the rabbinic movement in the Land of Israel – known more commonly at the time as Roman Palestine – from approximately the beginning of the Common Era to the mid-third century.[4] We begin, however, briefly in the Bible and more particularly the Torah.

Exodus 21.7-11 describes a case in which a man sells his daughter as a servant, intending that eventually she will be taken as a wife by the master or his son. Should this occur, the woman must then be treated 'as is the practice of free maidens' (21.9). Moreover, if the (now) husband takes another wife, as is permitted in biblical law, 'he must not withhold from this one *she'erah, k'sutah, v'onatah*' (21.10). Leaving aside what each of these terms denotes, which I will return to momentarily, let me first note that rabbinic exegetes presumed, not illogically, that if the former slave is entitled to these three considerations upon becoming the master's (or his son's) wife/concubine,[5] then certainly a wife who came into the marriage as a free woman (or one given to the husband by her father directly for marriage rather than servitude) would be entitled to similar consideration from the husband, as in the following midrashic exegesis of the verses:

> 'as is the practice of free maidens' … Just as this one (the former slave), 'he must not withhold … *she'erah, k'sutah, v'onatah*,' so too a (free) daughter of Israel, 'he must not withhold … *she'erah, k'sutah, v'onatah*.' (*Mekilta de Rabbi Yishma'el*, neziqin 3)[6]

That is, if such rights are granted to a formerly enslaved woman transitioning to the status of wife, then all the more so they must be the rights of a free woman when married; alternately, the text assumes free women have these rights when entering into marriage, and the passage specifies that these rights are also extended to the former slave. From here, the rabbis established that any Jewish husband has these obligations to his wife/wives.[7]

What, then, are these obligations? The simplest to translate – the one that will form my focus here – is *k'sutah*. *K'sut* elsewhere means clothing in biblical Hebrew (e.g. Exod. 22.26 and Deut. 22.12) and thus the rabbis understood the term straightforwardly: '*k'sutah*, according to its plain sense' (*Mek.a deRebbe Yishma'el*, neziqin 3). The rabbinic consensus came to be that *she'erah* indicates maintenance (primarily food)[8] and *o'natah* as regular sexual

[4]Although later texts in the rabbinic canon, for example aggadic midrashic works such as Genesis and Leviticus Rabbah and the two Talmuds of Israel and Babylonia, cite sources that they identified as tannaitic, in this chapter I will limit myself to passages from texts that are considered to originate and have been edited in the tannaitic period itself (or just after its close). These consist of: (a) the Mishnah, considered the first and foundational redacted work of rabbinic Judaism and redacted at about the turn of the third century; (b) the Tosefta, which roughly follows the format and structure of the Mishnah (and typically parallels its content) and which contains material out of which mishanaic passages were likely shaped, parallel and variant versions of mishnaic material and early supplemental material to mishnaic passages, likely redacted sometime after the close of the Mishnah; and (c) the exegetical (midrashic) collections known as *Mekilta* (Exodus), *Sifra* (Leviticus) and *SipreNum* (Numbers and Deuteronomy).

[5]Rabbinically, the formerly enslaved woman becomes a full-fledged wife. How her status was to be understood in the biblical context is a question of interest but not immediately relevant here.

[6]All translations of rabbinic sources and other Hebrew works are my own unless otherwise noted. As rabbinic texts are often quite terse, explanatory additions appear in brackets as necessary.

[7]Indeed, the obligation is sufficiently binding (given its force as a Torah law) that if a man attempts to marry a woman on the condition that he will not be *not* obligated in these requirements, the condition is null; *m. Qidd.* 3.7.

[8]Thus Nahum M. Sarna, *The JPS Torah Commentary: Exodus* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1991), 121: 'It is generally agreed … that Hebrew *she'er*, literally "flesh", is an ancient word for 'meat,' perhaps, like *leḥem*, extended to cover food in general.'

contact,[9] perhaps based on a meaning of *onah* as a season or set period of time[10] hence indicating something that should happen with set regularity.[11]

Based in part on this biblical prescription, and other factors, the rabbis imagined[12] a family economy that flows through the husband/paterfamilias.[13] While women were considered economic agents, who might contribute to the family income and productivity through various types of paid labour or by activities (such as textile work) that yielded marketable commodities, a married woman's earnings were (according to rabbinic law) remanded to her husband, who was in turn required to provide for her material needs, most particularly food and clothing.[14] Moreover, tannaitic rabbis presumed that the obligations of husband to wife (and vice versa) could be quantified and delineated. Thus *m. Ketub. 5* considers how much food the wife is entitled to and how much spun wool she should produce – and what the minimal obligation is in providing clothing or a clothing allowance. In particular, this is considered under the rubric of a man who is supporting his wife through a third party, as in 5.8:

> One who provides for his wife through a trustee may not give her less than two kavs of wheat or 4 kavs of barley … And he gives her a covering (*kippah*[15]) for her head and a girdle for her loins and shoes from festival to festival, and clothing worth fifty zuz from year to year.[16]

This, then, appears to list the basic components of a woman's wardrobe. The mishnah, however, then adds a qualification:

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[9]In this case, Sarna notes that this is also the understanding found in the Septuagint and Aramaic translations but comments 'this interpretation … has no philological support' and lists several other possible understandings: *The JPS Torah Commentary*, 121.

[10]See Marcus Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*, reprint, 1886 (New York: The Judaica Press, Inc., 1996), 1054.

[11]Though the rabbis also considered the possibility that *sh'erah* indicates conjugal rights and *onatah* means food maintenance (see *Mek. de Rebbe Yishma'el,* parashah 3 and *Mek. de Rebbe Shimon bar Yohai*), and also read all three terms in relation to each other, as will be seen just below.

[12]I borrow this framing from Miriam Peskowitz, *Spinning Fantasies: Rabbis, Gender, and History* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1997). See, for example, 98: 'Ancient references to everyday life seem factual and real, but in this passage [the reference is to *m. Ket.* 5:5], we are deeply immersed in the realm of rabbinic fantasies about domesticity.'

[13]See my discussion in Gail Labovitz, 'The Scholarly Life–The Laboring Wife: Gender, Torah, and the Family Economy in Rabbinic Culture', *Nashim* 13 (2007): 8–48.

[14]See also Peskowitz, *Spinning Fantasies*, on this topic. The association of this obligation/arrangement with the marital economy between husband and wife is also demonstrated in *m. Ketub.* 6.5: 'One who marries his daughter unconditionally (i.e., without specifying a particular amount for her dowry) may not give her less than fifty zuz. If he arranged to marry her naked (i.e., without any dowry provisions, or at least without clothing as part of the dowry), the husband (to be) may not say, When I take her into my house (i.e., marry her) I will cloth her in my clothing; rather he must cloth her while she is still in her father's house.' The father is under no strict obligation to provide for his daughter (and may even deliberately arrange not to do so when betrothing his daughter); the future husband becomes obligated even from the time of betrothal, once a legal bond between groom and bride is established.

[15]Note that while this term today designates the various forms of religious head coverings worn by Jewish men, this does not mean that there is necessarily any obvious analogy to what women's head coverings in antiquity might have looked like. It is translated commonly as 'cap' or 'hat'. See the next section below.

[16]See also the following mishnah, which makes clear that the food, clothing and other allotments are a minimum, for those of limited means; wealthier husbands should provide in accordance with their means.

> And one does not give her either new (items) for the sunny season or worn/thin garments *(shehakim)* for the rainy season, but rather gives her clothing worth fifty zuz in the rainy season, and she clothes herself in their worn out remnants (*b'la'ot*) in the sunny season. And the worn garments belong to her.[17]

With this addendum, then, the mishnah appears to describe something beyond the husband controlling the funds that might be disbursed to the wife in order for her to purchase clothing items; he 'gives' her the items and must give her seasonally appropriate clothing. That is, the mishnah can be read strongly, with the implication that the husband is himself buying the clothing and presenting it to his wife.

It is also possible to understand the text such that he must provide her an allowance to purchase new clothing (and accessories) particularly at the time of the rainy season, i.e., the fall months in the Land of Israel. But complicating this latter reading is a more expansive version of this tradition found in midrashic literature, which considers reading '*k'sutah*' in light of the other terms in the biblical verse:

> '*sh'erah k'sutah*' – clothing which is appropriate for her flesh/body (*sh'erah*): If she were a young woman, he should not give her (clothing) of an old woman; an old woman, he should not give her (clothing) of a young woman. '*v'onatah*' – that he should not give her (clothing) for the sunny season in the rainy season, and not (clothing) for the rainy season in the sunny season, but rather he gives her each in its (appropriate) season (*onatah*). (*Mek. de Rebbe Yishma'el, Mishpatim,* neziqin 3; similarly *Mek.de Rebbe Shimon bar Yohai*)

The latter of these corresponds to the rule of the Mishnah, but what of the former instruction to the husband? In what way might he 'give' the wife clothing inappropriate to her age? Is he himself choosing the clothing? Is he perhaps insisting that his wife dress in certain way even if not himself purchasing the exact items he wishes for her to wear?

Moreover, while the ruling of the Mishnah – a wife should receive seasonally fitting clothes – may be understood as focused on her well-being (so that she can stay warm in cooler months and cool during the hot summer), whose interests are centred in the case of age appropriate clothing as discussed in the *Mekilta*? Is it the woman who is shamed by inappropriate clothing? Perhaps there is a concern for marital strife that might result if a woman feels embarrassed or otherwise unhappy about the clothing she has received? Or, does the shame redound to the man whose wife is seen in inappropriate clothing?

Rather than directly answer these sorts of questions posed by *m. Ketub.* 5.8 – and the midrashic and toseftan texts introduced so far – I intend in this chapter to pull further on some of the strings

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[17]'Rags were not necessarily worn, but they had value and could be used by the woman or others for many purposes and therefore the woman wanted to keep them. Needless to say, clothes would be mended many times, and remnants would be used to mend other clothing, before anything would be relegated to the dust bin.' Joshua Schwartz, 'Material Culture in the Land of Israel: Monks and Rabbis on Clothing and Dress in the Byzantine Period', in *Saints and Role Models in Judaism and Christianity*, ed. Marcel Poorthius and Joshua Schwartz (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 133. Among the other uses for worn-out clothing he lists are 'burned to maintain a fire … as a stopper … to clean … as pot holders … as bandages' (n. 41). Similarly *t. Ket*. 5.9: 'And left over food (costs) are his, and worn out remnants (of clothing) are hers.' That is, even if the worn-out clothes are apparently more than she needs to dress herself, they remain hers (and similarly if the wife does not need or use the entire food allotment provided by her husband, the unspent excess returns to him). Indeed, it appears the wife has a right of possession over clothing items she has received even before they wear out, as in a case in *m. 'Arak.* 6.5: 'It is the same regarding the one who dedicates (all) his property (to the Temple) and the one who dedicates his own value [see Lev. 27.1-8] – he does not have a claim to his wife's clothing and not to his children's clothing, and not to dyed (items) that he dyed for them, and not to new sandals that he had purchased for them' – i.e., these items are not included in the man's dedicated property.

of its fabric (so to speak), tracing particular elements of the arrangement through yet other tannaitic texts to see what larger patterns emerge regarding women, women's clothing and the significance of women's clothing to marital relationships.

GARMENTS AND VOWS

Let us start by considering two rulings from *t. Ketub.* 7, regarding vows that either the husband or the wife took regarding her clothing choices. First, 7.3 considers a vow made by the husband:

> Even if she were young and he restricted her by vow that she should not wear the clothes of an old woman; even if she were old and he restricted her by vow that she should not wear the clothes of a young girl – he must divorce her and pay the marriage settlement. Rabbi Yose says: regarding poor women, (this is so) if he did not give a (time) limit; and regarding wealthy women, (more than) thirty days.

Such a vow, it appears, is an undue burden on the wife – and this is so even regarding 'inappropriate' clothing. Even though (according to the midrashic tradition) the husband may not provide/impose such items on his wife, neither, in this toseftan passage, may he restrict her from wearing them if (it seems) these are her choice.

Yet conversely, a vow not to wear certain kinds of clothing particularly associated with women's wear[18] is (or should be?) unacceptable to a husband:

> One who betroths a woman on the condition that she has no vows upon her, and they were found upon her, she is not betrothed (i.e., the condition nullifies the betrothal) … If he married her unconditionally and vows were found upon her, she is divorced without (rights to collect) her marriage settlement. If she went to a sage and he released the vow for her, he (the husband) should retain her (as his wife) … About what sort of vows did they speak? Such as if she vowed not to eat meat, and not to drink wine, *and not to wear coloured clothing*. (*t. Ketub.* 7.8)

Questions such as those above recur: Why are such vows unacceptable, to the husband or more generally? Whose interests are at stake when a woman dresses in a particular way?

One clue may be that vows regarding a woman's use of cosmetics or other adornments (such as jewellery) are met with similar rulings and similar considerations over which party made the vow. Multiple scholars have discussed the significance of female self-beautification within the context of marriage and maintaining the wife's (sexual) attractiveness to her husband (and conversely, the dangers of a woman's ornamentation and cosmetics in making her attractive, or even signalling her intent to be attractive, to another man),[19] but also as part of what is simply considered normal, typical female practice, which a woman enjoys/desires in her own right and which additionally

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[18]On the association of coloured clothing with women in rabbinic literature, see Rivka Ulmer, 'The Rabbinic Term *Beged Tzevah haIsha*: The Semiotics of "a Woman's Colored Garment"', in *Or Le_meyer: Studies in Bible, Semitic Languages, Rabbinic Literature, and Ancient Civilizations*, ed. Shamir Yona (Be'er Sheva: Ben-Gurion University of the Negev Press, 2010), 203–21 (though note that her discussion is not limited to the tannaitic period or to tannaitic texts). See also Shlezinger-Katsman, 'Clothing', 369.

[19]Gail Labovitz, '"Even Your Mother and Your Mother's Mother": Rabbinic Literature on Women's Usage of Cosmetics', *Nashim* 23 (2012): 12–34; Ishay Rosen-Zvi, 'Masculine Adornments, Feminine Adornments: A New Look at the Religious Status of Women in the Mishnah', *Reishit* 2 (2010): 55–79 [Heb.]; David Kraemer, 'Adornment and Gender in Rabbinic Judaism', in *Envisioning Judaism, Studies in Honor of Peter Schäfer I*, ed. Ra'anan S. et al. Boustan (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 217–34; Naftali S. Cohn, 'What to Wear: Women's Adornment and Judean Identity in the Third Century Mishnah', in *Dressing Judeans and Christians in Antiquity*, ed. Kristi Upson-Saia, Carly Daniel-Hughes and Alicia J. Batten (Farnham, UK: Ashgate Publishing, 2014), 21–36.

marks her in the eyes of others as a respectable married woman. Thus, both Mishnah (*Ketub.* 7.3) and Tosefta (*Ketub.* 7.3) state that a man may not make a vow (or at least a vow over an indefinite time period) to restrict his wife from adornments; conversely, a vow made by a woman to forego cosmetics or jewellry may be annulled by her husband, or even deemed invalid from the outset (*m. Ned.* 11.1; *t. Ned.* 7.1). As Naftali S. Cohn writes, 'Adornment leading to appropriate sexual attraction is made subject to the dictates of traditional law as developed by the rabbis … If a husband's vow prevents a wife from making herself beautiful, the husband will not be attracted to the wife and the marriage will be undermined.'[20] Moreover, as I have observed elsewhere, the

> law that a man who takes a vow that would deprive his wife of cosmetics must divorce her could be read as a comment on the importance of cosmetic usage as a wifely obligation for the pleasure of her husband. And yet, the law also suggests that he has placed an unfair burden on her, one that *she* is not expected to have to tolerate for any extended period of time.[21]

The obvious parallels in the laws of vows regarding clothing strongly suggest that similar considerations apply here as well. A proper wife is expected to dress herself in a way that is attractive to (and perhaps also reflects well on) her husband, but also ought not, in a normally functioning relationship, be overly restricted in her own choices of attire.

HEAD COVERING

M. Ketub. 5.8 suggests that a head covering was a 'standard' part of a (married) woman's attire, sufficiently so that it is accounted as part of a man's obligation to provide his wife's clothing. That said, tannaitic literature nowhere describes explicitly the particular nature of appropriate (or inappropriate) head coverings for women, nor specifies unambiguously that head coverings are particularly associated with and/or required for married women (vs. all females or perhaps all adult women).[22] One context in which women's head coverings appear with regularity – typically using the words *kippah* or *sevakhah* (hairnet) – regards common household objects and how they contract, transmit and/or are cleansed of ritual impurity. Several rulings refer to the *kippah* or hairnet of a *z'kainah*, an 'old' woman, though without specifying her marital status,[23] and once there is reference in the Mishnah, with a near parallel in the Tosefta, to a girl's hairnet[24] but not a girl (married or unmarried) wearing or possessing a *kippah*. M. Šhabb. 6 (and similarly t. Šhabb. 4) considers a variety of personal items in relationship to Sabbath law – does one wear these items (permitted), or does one in effect carry them from domain to domain, which is prohibited? The listed items that women[25] might wear or carry are largely in the category of 'adornments' (such

[20]Cohn, 'What to Wear', 32.

[21]Labovitz, 'Even Your Mother and Your Mother's Mother', 26; see also 19–20.

[22]Hence, perhaps, the modal form in Bronner's statement that 'single women *may* not have covered their hair in the days of the Talmud' (466; emphasis added); she additionally writes in a note, 'There is sparse, contradictory evidence as to whether unmarried girls covered their hair in the ancient period, whether Biblical or Talmudic.' Leila Leah Bronner, 'From Veil to Wig: Jewish Women's Hair Covering', *Judaism* 42, no. 4 (1993): 475, n. 8.

[23]Examples include *m. Kelim* 24.16, 28.9, 29.1; *t. Kelim B. Bat.* 2.10, 5.16, 6.10.

[24]*m. Kelim* 24.16; *t. Kelim B. Bat.* 2.10. There are also several texts which mention head coverings and nothing about the age (or gender) of the person who wears or owns it: *m. Kelim* 28.8 and 10, *m. Zabim* 4.1, *t. Zabim* 4.4.

[25]On the highly gendered nature of this passage and its implications, see Kraemer, 'Adornment and Gender in Rabbinic Judaism', Cohn, 'What to Wear' and Rosen-Zvi, 'Masculine Adornments, Feminine Adornments'. And see also Cynthia M. Baker, *Rebuilding the House of Israel: Architectures of Gender in Jewish Antiquity* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2002), 122–6, on the spatial considerations (i.e., a woman in the public domain versus in a courtyard) also at work in the passage.

as jewellery) and include items a woman might place on her head and/or in her hair, such as a headband/ribbon, a hairnet (*qabul* rather than *sevakhah* in this case), a 'Jerusalem of gold' (a type of tiara in the form of city walls),[26] bands made of hair and wigs; mishnah 5.6 also notes that 'Arabian' (i.e. Jewish women from Arabia) women may/do go out veiled.[27]

Nonetheless, several other contexts in which women's head coverings are discussed particularly address married women or strongly suggest that they address married women. Thus, for example, testimony that a woman went to her wedding with hair uncovered is deemed by *m. Ketub.* 2.1 and 10 to be valid proof that she was a previously unmarried virgin and hence entitled to a larger marital settlement. Particularly notable in this regard is a text in *t. B. Qam.* (11.5), in which one rabbi allows a woman to conduct economic transactions in order to acquire funds to purchase a head covering:

> And one does not buy fruit, wine, oil, or fine flour neither from women nor from slaves, nor from minors. Abba Shaul says: one may purchase from a woman for five dinars, so that she can buy with them a *kippah* for her head.

The concern here is that the persons selling these items may not be authorized to do so because they do not own the items they are selling, such that the sale may amount to a form of theft if the true owner did not want the sale made and/or the seller retains the money from the sale. Rather, the items belong to the slave's master, the minor's father – and almost certainly the woman's husband; that is, there appears to be a presumption here that the woman in need of a head covering is married. The ruling, therefore, effectively relies on the obligation we have already see in *m. Ketub*. 5.8 that a woman's head covering is an item she is entitled to as part of her 'appropriate' costume, and thus it is permissible (and perhaps even desirable to the husband) that she be able to use a limited amount of her husband's property to acquire the head covering that he is in any case obligated to provide for her.

Critical here, however, is Cynthia Baker's caution that 'the fact that Abba Shaul would "enable" her to provide her own hat for her head is no gesture toward female empowerment'.[28] As she observes, '"a hat for her head" is an item very heavily invested with gendered/sexualized meaning in rabbinic parlance'. Thus, ironically, this very exception to the tannaitic domestic 'exchange' of a woman's control over her own economic activity and production for the provision of her basic needs by her husband is also proof of this arrangement's centrality. Underpinning Abba Shaul's ruling is 'an insistence that women/wives are to be under male authority and economically dependent on men … somewhere, somehow, there is ultimately a man in charge – somebody who should be providing "a hat for her head"'.[29] It further suggests that it is not only the wife's reputation that is at stake. The man who has failed to cover his wife's head properly is implicated,

[26]See Susan Marks, 'Follow That Crown: Or, Rhetoric, Rabbis, and Women Patrons', *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 24, no. 2 (2008): 77–96.

[27]'Besides covering their heads with a corner of their mantles or with a cap or a hairnet, women could use a scarf made of wool or linen.' Shlezinger-Katsman, 'Clothing', 374 (and see the fuller section, 372–4). See also 369–70, in which she notes in that paintings in the Dura-Europus synagogue, women are depicted wearing 'one corner of the mantle … fastened with a brooch above the left shoulder, whereas the other corner was wrapped around the head like a long scarf'. A reproduction of such a painting appears in Roussin, 'Costume in Roman Palestine', 187. See also Joan Taylor's chapter on Mary Magdalene in this volume.

[28]Baker, *Rebuilding the House of Israel*, 88.

[29]Ibid., 88.

and as it were 'punished', with the forfeiture of property that rightly belongs to him so that she can have the funds she needs to acquire a head covering.

> Abba Shaul is both expressing charitable concern for the woman vendor and, at the same time, calling into question her (or her presumed husband's) propriety by characterizing her as hatless … If a woman/wife is not being properly maintained (fed, clothed, and so on) by her husband (or his agent), then she has a right to earn her own maintenance. If she does so by 'stealing' goods that belong to her husband, then she must be truly degraded – her husband, it seems, is able but unwilling to treat her properly. A degraded woman/wife is a hatless woman – just as a hatless woman/wife is a degraded woman.[30]

'SHE GOES OUT WITH HER HEAD UNCOVERED'

This is not to suggest, however, that the shame of a woman with her head uncovered is only, or even primarily, a reflective shame on the man who should have provided her head covering. Indeed, removing a woman's head covering in a public space is considered punishable shaming of her, equivalent to spitting on a man or stripping him of his *tallit*, his outer cloak, as detailed by *m. B. Qam.* 8.6:

> If he split his (another person's) ear, plucked his hair, spat (at another person) and the spittle reached him, removed his cloak from him, (or) uncovered a woman's head in the marketplace[31] – he must pay (to his victim) four hundred zuz.

This is followed by a story in which a man uncovers a woman's head and is duly fined the four hundred zuz by Rabbi Akiva. The man then tricks the woman into removing her own head covering[32] so as to make the claim 'to one like *this* I should have to pay four hundred zuz?!' The rabbi, however, replies that 'one who harms himself, even though he is not permitted (to do so) is exempt; others who harm him are liable'.

Yet although neither the mishnaic law nor story mention marital status or associate marriage in particular with the shame done to a woman whose head covering is forcibly (and publicly) removed, Rabbi Akiva's leniency regarding a woman's own act of uncovering may not actually be true if the woman who removes or fails to wear a head covering is married. A set of parallel mishnaic and toseftan passages treat a married woman's act of going out bare headed into a public space (such as the market of *m.B. Qam.* 8.6) not a matter of regrettable but non-punishable self-harm; rather, her bare headedness is a violation of custom and/or law that can carry very serious consequences:

> And these (women) should be divorced without the marriage settlement: The one who transgresses the law of Moses and of the Jews/Jewish woman[33] …

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[30]Ibid., 87.

[31]I find the juxtaposition here of removing a man's cloak and removing a woman's head covering as parallel and equally punishable offenses intriguing but beyond the scope of this chapter.

[32]Which she does at the entrance to her own courtyard, a space at the boundary between public and private. As Baker writes, 'the woman's precarious position, hovering at the entry to her courtyard – neither inside nor outside, but suspended between the two – mirrors topographically the implicit uncertainty of her moral footing'. Baker, *Rebuilding the House of Israel*, 103–4.

[33]The Hebrew phrase is *dat yehudit*. The challenge for translation is determining if *yehudit* should be understood as an adjective (Judean, Jewish) or a feminine noun (Jewish woman). See Baker, *Rebuilding the House of Israel*, 208, n. 41. On the possible significance of the distinction between 'law of Moses' and 'Jewish law' in the context of classifying what sort of offense a bare headed wife has committed, see Bronner, 'From Veil to Wig', 467–8 and Baker, *Rebuilding the House of Israel*, 126–7.

> And what is (included in the category of) the law of the Jews/Jewish woman? She goes out and her head is uncovered; and she spins (yarn) in the marketplace; and she speaks with anyone … (*m. Ketub.* 7.6)

> And so too she, if she goes out with her head uncovered, she goes out and her clothing is split (open), she is (overly) intimate with her male slaves and with her female slaves (or) with her female neighbors,[34] she goes out and spins in the marketplace, she bathes and washes with anyone in the bathhouse – she should be divorced without her marriage settlement because she has not acted with him in accordance with the law of Moses and Israel[35] … (*t. Ketub.* 7.6)

> This is the characteristic of a wicked man, that he sees his wife go out with her head uncovered, go out with her shoulders exposed,[36] she is intimate with her male slaves and intimate with her female slaves, she goes out and spins in the marketplace, she bathes and jests with anyone – it is a commandment to divorce her.[37] (*t. Soṭah* 5.9)

In these passages, as in *t. B. Qam.* 11.5, head covering (at least when in public spaces) is strongly associated with appropriate wifely attire in particular. It is married women who have committed a violation worthy of punishment in being seen bare headed, and the nature of the punishment is specific to women (currently) in marriage: divorce and deprivation of the marriage settlement. Perhaps this is again suggestive that head covering was (intended by the rabbis to be) a practice expressly of married women.[38]

Moreover, in each of these texts failure to wear a proper head covering is only one of multiple possible infractions. The three passages share a common emphasis on both the woman's visibility[39] and free sociability in public and with the public. Yet while there are clearly parallels, we cannot necessarily assume that they concur in all detail. For example, Baker notes of the passage from *t. Soṭah* that its emphasis appears to be on the husband who sees these behaviours in his wife and does not respond; he is deemed wicked because 'he does not and will not properly "house" this woman' (though of course this intimates that she is hardly free of blame) and the 'commandment' to divorce her might be deemed a sanction against him.[40] Indeed, this passage does not mention depriving her

[34]But see Saul Lieberman, *Tosefta Ki-feshuta: Be'ur Arokh la-Tosefta*, second, reprint ed., vol. 3 (*Nashim*) (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1995), 291.

[35]Note that the category of 'the law of the Jews/Jewish women' does not factor here as a distinct category, but rather 'the law of Moses and Israel' functions as a single conflated category. See Baker, *Rebuilding the House of Israel*, 126–7. Also, as will be seen in the next section, at least one tannaitic text presents female (wifely?) head covering as a biblically derived obligation.

[36]Following Jastrow (*A Dictionary*, 1230), but note that the verb (*p,r,m*) is the same in the two toseftan texts, so perhaps alternately, 'with her sides (of her clothing) split'. But see also Lieberman, *Tosefta Ki-Feshuta (Nashim)*, 291, who argues based on parallel versions in later texts that the meaning of this phrase is not 'that the sides of her clothing were torn, rather that they were open, and when the woman moved her flesh was revealed'.

[37]The text then cites Deuteronomy 24.1, which allows (or even encourages) a man to divorce his wife 'if he finds some indecency in her' – that is, this passage indirectly indicates that 'indecency' should be understood to include actions such as these on the part of the woman, even if they fall short of actual adultery or sexualized contact with a man other than her husband.

[38]'The impression that the wearing of distinctive headgear (or hairstyle) distinguishes married from unmarried women in these texts is conveyed by the fact that divorce and the loss of one's marriage settlement are the only real consequences discussed by the tannaim for failure or refusal to "cover one's head."' Baker, *Rebuilding the House of Israel*, 196, n. 96.

[39]'A hat, it seems, is what stands between a woman and the stares of the multitudes; a hat decreases or disrupts the common gaze …. Needless to say, the wearing of a hat does not render a woman invisible *in fact* (on the contrary, the practice assumes women are seen, and, indeed, heavily monitored), yet it invests a woman's self-controlling gesture of subjection … with the power to diffuse (and defuse) the invasive gaze of others.' Baker, *Rebuilding the House of Israel*, 63–4.

[40]Baker, *Rebuilding the House of Israel*, 61.

of the marriage settlement. That *m.* and *t. Ketub.* do include this penalty, however, suggests that their focus is on the wife and her responsibility for her transgressive behaviour.

But even here, Ishay Rosen-Zvi argues that there are subtle differences in and even tensions between what the mishnaic passage and both toseftan versions of the tradition place at the core of the woman's impropriety, or put another way, how broadly they define that impropriety. The mishnaic list appears to prioritize the spatial dimensions, for example the wife's location; it is the very going out and being in the marketplace, among the public, that is marked as promiscuous, and she is liable for an offense as broad as 'speaking to any person'. In the Tosefta, though, intolerable promiscuity is more closely linked to (lack of) physical modesty and potentially sexualized behaviours: 'Hence: (a) "conversed with any many" becomes "*bathes in the bathhouse* with any man"; (b) A new accusation has been added: "she has no shame around her slaves … ", and: (c) ripped clothing has been added to the accusation of wearing hair loose, indicating that the issue at hand is indeed sexual modesty.'[41]

Additionally, I would note that the markers of a promiscuous woman, particularly in the toseftan versions of this tradition, track (or contrast) with the list in *m. Ket.* 5.8 of clothing items that should be provided by a husband, in several ways. The most obvious, of course, is the missing head covering. There is no indication in this case that the husband has failed in his duty to provide said head covering; rather it is the woman who has failed to avail herself of it as she should (though, as noted, if the husband sees and yet tolerates her bare headedness, some blame redounds on him). But so too the woman who is not sufficiently covered by her clothing. She may be expected to wear somewhat worn down clothing in warmer weather, and she may have possession over the ragged remnants of previously wearable items, but if she wears these (or any other) items in such a way that her shoulders are bared or her seams are ripped and/or open – she is liable to be divorced. Finally, the woman in the public bath has shed her clothes altogether. The woman depicted in these passages seems to have rejected the proper clothing – clothing fitting for her body, her age, her station – which her husband was required to provide for her. Might we even see a logic here that presumes that when a woman does not cover herself properly, her actions may be read as a rejection of the conditions of the marital economy between husband and wife, including his provision of proper clothing, and hence a rejection of the husband and the marriage itself?

SOTAH (THE SUSPECT WIFE)

The considerations of a woman being stripped of her (head-)covering and failing to cover herself properly – or being forcibly uncovered – converge again in the tannaitic recreation of the '*sotah*' trial, the biblical trial by ordeal for the woman whose husband suspects her of infidelity but lacks proof thereof (Num. 5.11-31).[42] As Rosen-Zvi has emphasized in his extended analysis of the

[41]Ishay Rosen-Zvi, *The Mishnaic Sotah Ritual: Temple, Gender and Midrash* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 40, n. 63, emphasis in the original. Thus this move in the Tosefta may even be read as one which 'moderates the extensive grounds in the Mishnah', 43, n. 75. See also Baker, *Rebuilding the House of Israel*, 208, n. 45; reading *m. B, Qam.* 8.6 in light of these texts, she concludes that 'the involuntary removal of a woman's head covering is tantamount to sexual assault, and her own removal of it tantamount to sexual exhibitionism'.

[42]The verbal root used throughout the passage for the wife's (possible) betrayal is *s,t,h* – hence the woman who is so suspected is known as a '*sotah*'.

mishnaic account of the ritual, the procedures it describes include significant details not present in the biblical account. According to Numbers 5.16 and 18, at the start of the procedure, 'the priest shall bring her forward and have her stand before the Lord … After he has made the woman stand before the Lord, the priest shall bare the woman's head'. *SipreNum.*, *piska* 11, even posits that this verse demonstrates the scriptural status of this female practice: 'It teaches about the daughters of Israel that they (must) cover their heads.'[43] The mishnaic account, however, lists additional actions of the priest – and in doing so, also pictures the woman's attire when she is brought for the rite:

> The priest grasps her clothing; if they tore – they tore, if they split – they split, until he uncovers her 'heart'. And he unravels[44] her hair …[45]
>
> If she were wearing white garments, he would dress her in black garments[46]; if she had on gold items and necklaces and nose-rings and rings, he would remove them from her in order to disfigure her; and afterwards he would bring a twisted rope and tie it above her breasts. *(m. Soṭah* 1.6 and 7)

While *m. Soṭah* describes the woman's appearance at the outset of the ordeal, *t. Soṭah* also imagines[47] her attire and acts as she committed the adulterous act for which she is now being tested and connects these to the steps of the ordeal itself as a form of 'measure for measure' punishment:

> She spread a sheet for him, therefore the priest takes the cap from her head and places it under her feet; she plaited her hair for him, therefore the priest unravels it … She let him see her flesh, therefore the priest tears her tunic[48] and shows her disgrace to the public; she girded herself with a belt for him, therefore the priest brings a twisted rope and ties it above her breasts. (*t. Soṭah* 3.3 and 4)[49]

Clearly the intent of the ritual is to humiliate and shame the woman, and additionally, as *m. Soṭah* 1.7 says explicitly, to disfigure her, make her appear ugly. Moreover, the ways in which this is done – her head is uncovered, her clothes are torn and her body is bared – have obvious echoes with a number of other sources already discussed.

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[43]Although the passage references the 'daughters of Israel' without mention of marital status, perhaps this is implicit in the very context, as a woman must be married to be suspect of adultery.

[44]Based on the use of the verb *s,t,r* here rather than the biblical *p,r,'a*, Rosen-Zvi argues that the uncovering of the woman's head is a given in the mishnah (in that this is how the biblical term is otherwise typically interpreted), while the point is to *add* the unraveling of her hair (in contradistinction to *SipreNum* interpretation of this element of the rite): 'The Mishnah's language aims to emphasize the need to unbind the hair, as opposed simply uncovering it.' Rosen-Zvi, *The Mishnaic Sotah Ritual*, 78, and see the surrounding discussion, 76–9.

[45]To here, similarly *t. Soṭah* 1.7.

[46]Similarly *SipreNum.*, *piska* 11, which adds, 'if black garments were attractive for her, they would take them off and dress her in ugly garments'.

[47]As Rosen-Zvi observes, 'The Tosefta's structuring of the list – a chronological progression of the sin matched with corresponding stages of the ritual – is meant to create the impression that the ritual is a response to sin. The literary reality is of course reversed, since the *sotah*'s sin is hidden, and in any way there is not just one form of adultery. The sin … is obviously a construct inspired by the ritual, rather than vice versa.' Rosen-Zvi, *The Mishnaic Sotah Ritual*, 137.

[48]*Haluk* – on this garment, see Roussin, 'Costume in Roman Palestine', 183, and Shlezinger-Katsman, 'Clothing', 367–8.

[49]There are in fact multiple variants of this tradition; note that Lieberman presents that of the Vienna manuscript (translated here) and the Erfurt manuscript side by side; Saul Lieberman, *The Tosefta according to Codex Vienna, with Variants from Codices Erfurt, Genizah Mss. and Editio Princeps*, vol. 3 (The Order of Nashim) (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1973), 159, and see also Rosen-Zvi, *The Mishnaic Sotah Ritual*, 134, n. 3. Compare also *m. Soṭah* 1.7, which presents a similar concept but with less detail.

Baker, for example, considers the uncovering of the *sotah*'s head as an 'inversion' of the uncovered head that is the hallmark of the virgin bride at her wedding (*m. Ketub.t* 2.1). Just as the bride's 'uncovered head appears to serve as public certification of her virginity (and its impending loss)', so too the forcible removing of the *sotah*'s head covering 'serves as a public certification of her sexual status – this time, as accused adulteress. In each case, the uncovering of a woman's head to the common gaze is clearly a sexually charged act denoting the sexual availability (sanctioned or unsanctioned) of that woman'.[50] Of course, that difference between 'sanctioned' or 'unsanctioned' stands at the crux of the humiliation and public shaming involved in the *sotah* ritual.

Thus, in a related vein, Rosen-Zvi draws out the connection between these images of the *sotah* and that of the woman whose behaviour demands that she ought to be divorced, discussed in the previous section: 'The sources construct two typological feminine figures distinguished by their attire: the adulteress and the promiscuous woman.' Whereas the one 'goes out in public with loose hair, wearing clothes torn at the seam', the adulterous woman imagined by *t. Soṭah* 'braids her hair and wears pretty clothes'. So too, 'The former exposes her body in public, whereas the latter adorns and covers herself, exposing her body only to her lover in their hiding place.'[51] The (or at least one significant) point of this part of the ritual, then, is to transform the *sotah*, who keeps her sinful behaviour secret, into the visible image of the promiscuous woman.[52] But this implies that at the other end of the spectrum is a third woman, the woman the adulteress pretends and visibly appears to be, the virtuous wife. As Rosen-Zvi continues, 'She adorns herself like any other woman, but *her* adornments are aimed at a man who is not her husband.'

Yet her clothing and adornments are not only supposed to be *aimed* at her husband – by the ruling of *m. Ketub.* 5.8, those items should have been *provided* by her husband. In this light, at issue here is not only a misdirection of her self-adornment and dress but a misappropriation. The husband was obligated to give her appropriate clothes, but she then used that clothing to attract her lover. Even as she is brought to the Temple for the rite, it appears she 'disguises' herself in accessories, a head covering and attractive clothing. Is this perhaps even clothing (and jewellery and so on) that was provided by the husband she may have betrayed? In any case, the priest strips her of these things, and both changes the clothing she is wearing for items that make her appear unattractive (black for white, ugly for black if flattering to her) and tears them from her. The texts create, as it were, a continuum: a good wife can make appropriate warm-weather use of worn-out clothing, a promiscuous one wears them as they are, torn and letting her body show, while the adulterous wife has her clothes deliberately torn from her. The good wife resists visibility through clothing and head covering even or especially when in public space, the promiscuous one reveals her head and her body publicly to anyone, the *sotah* pretends to cover but reveals herself to her lover, and so is uncovered – head and body – in the (public) ordeal.

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[50]Baker, *Rebuilding the House of Israel*, 208, n. 45.

[51]Rosen-Zvi, *The Mishnaic Sotah Ritual*, 80.

[52]There is an additional association in that both *m. Soṭah* 1.6 and *SipreNum.*, *piska* 11, allow (or even encourage) anyone who wants to view the *sotah* ritual (and hence the humiliated woman at its centre) – 'except for her male slaves and female slaves because she is familiar with them' – obviously reminiscent of the fact that one of the divorceable offenses of the promiscuous woman is over familiarity with her slaves. Although Rosen-Zvi discusses the import of prohibiting the woman's slaves from viewing the ritual, he does not emphasize this connection: Rosen-Zvi, *The Mishnaic Sotah Ritual*, 89–94.

CONCLUSION: THE WAR CAPTIVE

In his own attempt to seek intertexts to the tannaitic descriptions of the *sotah* ritual, Rosen-Zvi states that 'I know of only one other rabbinic ruling where defacement of women is a desirable end'.[53] This is the case of a woman whom an Israelite soldier captures and wishes to take as a concubine/wife (Deut. 21.10-14), and here again is one more example in which clothing, provided by a man, also figures in a context of sexual possession and marriage. The biblical passage describes a series of measures by which the captive 'shall trim her hair, pare her nails, and discard her captive's garb', and 'shall dwell in your house and lament her father and her mother for a month's time' (21.12-13). A midrashic passage, however, reimagines what is presented in its original context as a gesture of mourning, to serve a different purpose:

> 'And she shall discard her captive's garb' (Deut. 21.13) – this teaches that he removes from her fine clothes and dresses her in widow's garments. For (other) nations are cursed; their daughters adorn themselves in war in order to lead others into sexual licentiousness after them. (*SifreDeut.*, *piska* 213)

Note that the text presumes that 'captive's garb' is not clothing given to the woman in her captivity, nor even ordinary women's garb, nor that her clothing might have been torn or dirtied by the circumstances of or even violence done to her in the course of the battle or her capture. Rather the woman was (deliberately) wearing fine and attractive clothing at the time she was captured by the Israelite soldier. The purpose of the change in garments is, then, according to the midrash, to make her unattractive to the man (and to contrast her to a properly adorned and attractive Israelite woman/wife) thereby inducing him to reconsider; he is supposed to house her in his own dwelling such that he regularly encounters her in her disgraced and disfigured state.

Note also that what was her act in Deuteronomy ('she shall remove … ') becomes something he must do to her ('he removes from her … ').[54] The man 'dresses' her – he determines what she wears, it seems he even provides what she wears. And so, should the man persist in his desire for the captive woman, then the outcome of this process is intended to be, as Deuteronomy 21.14 states, that 'she shall be your wife'. It is at this point that the midrash notes – and here we come, as it were, full circle to where we began:

> in accordance with what is said, 'he must not withhold … *she'erah, k'sutah, v'onatah*' (Exod. 21.10)

Much like the former enslaved woman married to her once master or his son, the former captive takes on the status of a full-fledged wife, thereby entitling her to the same rights as any other Israelite wife – or perhaps it is the very granting of these rights that establishes her status as a wife. In any case, among those rights is receiving clothing – clothing which is appropriate to the season, appropriate to her age and appearance, clothing to make her (once again) attractive to her Israelite husband – clothing which signals that she is no longer foreign but assimilated into the Israelite marital economy as a proper Israelite woman.

Although I did not highlight this point at the outset, in returning here at the conclusion to the slave woman turned wife, I want to point out that she is a woman without agency. She is sold by her

[53]Rosen-Zvi, *The Mishnaic Sotah Ritual*, 82.
[54]A point noted by Rosen-Zvi, *The Mishnaic Sotah Ritual*, 83, n. 68.

father, married by her master or given to his son. The conjugal rights and financial maintenance she is granted in marriage, biblically and rabbinically, should not obscure that the marriage does not happen with her active participation. Despite their different national origins and paths to marriage, she has much in common with the war captive, another woman whose desire – or lack thereof – to enter into a marriage with her Israelite captor is in no way relevant to her fate.

Furthermore, in the hands of the rabbis, every woman's maintenance becomes tied to her economic subordination to her husband, in an 'exchange' of his right to all she produces and earns for her food – and her clothing. But though he is largely at liberty to use her earnings as he sees fit, she has far less freedom to determine how to wear the clothing provided to her. Misuse (wearing it an overly revealing manner) or failure to use it (going bare headed into public) becomes a rejection of the marriage itself, grounds that ought to obligate him to divorce her.

In conclusion, I also want to bring in one more observation of Rosen-Zvi's regarding the tannaitic picture of the *sotah*, her sin as the tannaim imagine it and the ritual by which she is tried:

> The Tosefta's adultery is the result of feminine activity through and through … Even the act itself is portrayed as initiated by the woman … The entire narrative of the adultery, from start to finish, consists of the woman's acts …. As an antidote, the ritual is structured inversely, with an active priest and a completely passive woman.[55]

At issue in this account is not 'sin, the husband's agony or the expected damage to the family lineage and status', but rather female freedom in dress and association that moves from promiscuity to betrayal. Thus, he continues, the ritual 'is a reinstatement of the natural order of the world. Feminine pro-activeness is replaced by a masculine one, and the sexual act returns to its proper form – a masculine initiative met with feminine passivity'.[56] In contrast to the *sotah* who is stripped of her head covering and whose clothes are torn for all to see, then, we may conclude that the proper married woman's clothing symbolizes not only her (obligation to maintain her) sexual attractiveness to her husband, nor just her economic subordination to him, but also, in some combination of these, her sexual subordination to him.

[55]Rosen-Zvi, *The Mishnaic Sotah Ritual*, 138–9.
[56]Rosen-Zvi, *The Mishnaic Sotah Ritual*, 139.

CHAPTER TWENTY-SIX

Textual Problems in Textile Research: The Use of the Talmud in Studies of Ancient Jewish Dress

KATIE TURNER

INTRODUCTION

For historians interested in dress and adornment, material remains – textiles, jewellery and accessories, footwear – provide our most tangible resource. These are the personal items that past peoples arranged on their bodies each day, worn to denote their sense of self. However, material remains do not come to the historian collated as 'complete outfits', and they are often fragmentary (textile remains in particular). Artistic representation and literary references to clothing and dress behaviour are invaluable resources, therefore, as they can clarify and contextualize the material artefacts: providing information on how items were arranged on the body; what styles were popular during specific periods; what was considered 'appropriate' or 'normative' dress behaviour; and how gender, class, occupation, ethnicity, geographic location, trade and religion affected one's appearance. Still, one must be careful to avoid using art and literature as 'tools' for interpreting material artefacts, but instead recognize that they too were created in response to many of the same factors that influence clothing construction and dress behaviour. Considering, then, the context and motivations underlying the creation of any artistic or literary work used in one's analysis of clothing and dress is an important part of the research process.

Looking specifically to Jewish clothing and dress in antiquity, one finds an impressive quantity of clothing artefacts from the Roman period, preserved primarily in the Dead Sea region (and surrounding locales).[1] In contrast to this wealth of material, however, one also finds a challenging lack of artistic representation. Biblical prohibitions regarding idolatry (Exod. 20.3-6; Lev. 26.1; Num. 33.52; Deut. 4.16, 27.15) were generally understood as a proscription against all depictions of the human form. The earliest instance of Jewish self-representation is found in a mid-third-century synagogue in Dura-Europos: numerous frescos depicting biblical scenes decorate the

Many thanks to Dr. Laliv Clenman and Ann Helfgott for their invaluable help with the talmudic literature.

[1]Thousands of Roman-era textile remains, as well as additional dress items (belts, shoes, pins and fibulae, jewellery, hairnets, veils, etc.) known to have belonged to Jewish people have been discovered at Masada, Qumran, Nahal Hever (the Cave of Letters), Nahal Mishmar, Nahal Qidron (in a site known as the Christmas Cave), Wadi Murabba'at, Wadi Ed-Daliyeh and Ketef Jericho.

interior, displaying both Greco-Roman and Parthian-Iranian dress styles.[2] Additional examples of Jewish self-representation come even later, in the fifth and sixth centuries (cf. the mosaic floors in the Zippori [Sepphoris] Synagogue, the Beth Alpha Synagogue and the Huqoq Synagogue).

Literary references are more numerous and, seemingly, more illuminative. Those found in biblical texts tend to be regulatory in nature: the law of *sha'atnez* (שעטנץ) prohibits the mixing of animal with plant fibres (Deut. 22.11); the law of *tzitzit* (ציצית) prescribes the addition of knotted tassels on the 'four corners' of a man's garment (Deut. 22.12); Numbers 15.38 requires the inclusion of a blue thread, *tekhelet* (תכלת), in *tzitzit*. Other passages focus on issues of appearance (cf. Deut. 22.5; 1 Tim. 2.9; 1 Pet. 3.3-4) or relay details of dress within unrelated discussions (notably, 2 Tim. 4.13; also Mt. 9.20, 23.5; Mk 15.17; Lk. 8.44, 23.11; Jn 19.2, 23; and the apocryphal 3 Macc. 2:28-29). The passages with the greatest level of detail and visual description deal specifically with the sacred vestments of the High Priest Aaron and his sons (Exod. 28, 39; Lev. 8.7-9, 23; Ezek. 44.17-18). Further description of the Priestly vesture is found in the first-century writings of Philo of Alexandria (*Spec. Laws* 1.83) and Flavius Josephus (*Ant*. 3.152-78, 4.80, 20.216-18).

Rabbinic discussions of dress provide our greatest collective Jewish resource, and it is to this literature that scholars frequently turn when evaluating and contextualizing Jewish material remains from the Late Roman period.[3] From some of the earliest rabbinic texts (Mishnah and Tosefta) we learn that the textile production process was long and arduous (*m. Šabb*. 7.2; t. *Ber.* 6.5), and men (*m. Šabb* 13.4; t. Ber. 6.5) and women (*m. Ketub*. 5.5, 9; m. *B. Qam*. 10.9; m. Neg. 2.4) participated. We can tell from context that two main articles of clothing were the *haluq* (חלוק, tunic or shirt) and *tallit* (טלית, equivalent to the Greek *himation* or Latin *pallium*, possibly with *tzitzit*; *m. Me'il*. 5.1; *m. Šabb* 10.3; *t. Meg.* 1.6; *t. Tehar.* 8.9).[4] A small passage implies that a *haluq* was constructed from two sheets of fabric (m. Neg. 11.9). Garments were white (*m. Šabb* 1.9, 15.3), vibrantly hued (*m. B. Mesi'a.* 2.2; *m. Neg.* 11.4) or were a combination of both.

RABBINIC LITERATURE: CONTEXT AND CONSIDERATIONS

Overall, the rabbinic material is an excellent source, but it is also our most challenging. As with all written material, the texts have been filtered through the lens of the authors and their contexts, with all the biases that may imply: generally, this means elite, literate and male. In this respect, the rabbinic material, produced from within the rabbinic community and centred around rabbinic concerns, is little different. Beyond that, the challenge to the historian is quite specific to this body of literature. The entire catalogue of rabbinic writings (Mishnah, Tosefta, Midrash, Talmuds Yerushalmi and Bavli) are the products of various geographic and cultural environments, spanning

[2]The full catalogue of murals from Dura is available to view at 'Dura-Europos: Excavating Antiquity', *Yale University Art Gallery*, http://media.artgallery.yale.edu/duraeuropos/dura.html

[3]Roman writing is generally more descriptive than rabbinic. For example, Quintilian discussed the proper length of one's tunic and how one should wear a belt (*Inst. Orat.* 11.3.138-9), while Ovid wrote long passages on attractive dress behaviour for men and women (*Ars Amoria* I.XIV, III.II-V). Still, the rabbinic literature offers a wealth of information with which to engage.

[4]On *tallitot* with *tzitzit* in antiquity, see Catherine Hezser, *Rabbinic Body Language: Non-Verbal Communication in Palestinian Rabbinic Literature of Late Antiquity* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 39–41, 47–8; Orit Shamir, 'Special Traditions in Jewish Garments and the Rarity of Mixing Wool and Linen Threads in the Same Textile in the Jewish Tradition', in *Prehistoric, Ancient Near Eastern and Aegean Textiles and Dress: An Interdisciplinary Anthology*, ed. Mary Harlow, Cécile Michel and Marie-Louise Nosch, Ancient textiles series (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2014), 298–398.

a composition and redaction period of over 600 years. Each 'text' is a compilation of oral and written material, not easily classifiable, redacted and co-authored across generations.[5]

At some stage along this process, as Sacha Stern writes, the 'redacted works began … to be treated as single, identifiable entities': this is how the Bavli considers the Mishnah.[6] Furthermore, although authorial attributions exist, and some are indeed credible, most are rooted in tradition and faith, much like the Gospels. Moshe Levee argues that attributions attached to 'later developments' may simply be a means of imbuing them with the authority of 'earlier generations, and to sages from the Land of Israel'.[7] Consequently, dating the rabbinic material with precision is exceedingly challenging. Still, some texts can be placed in 'compilation eras' more reliably than others. The earliest set of texts – the Midrash Tannaim, the Mishnah (edited *c*. 200 CE) and Tosefta (edited *c*. 250 CE) – all 'composed' in Hebrew, emerged late in the Tannaitic period (1–250 CE).[8] The aggadic Midrashim, Talmud Yerushalmi (Jerusalem/Palestinian Talmud) and Talmud Bavli (Babylonian Talmud) came later, during the Amoraic (250–500 CE) and, for the Bavli, into the early Geonic (*c*. mid-sixth century) periods. The Talmuds, 'composed' in Hebrew and Aramaic, each reflect their geographically disparate schools of thought (developing from within the Palestinian and Babylonian rabbinic academies, respectively) and display dialectical differences between Western and Eastern Aramaic. The Yerushalmi was completed first, redacted sometime between the third and mid-fifth centuries, in a Late Roman and Early Byzantine context. The Bavli, displaying stronger editorial involvement (a unifying 'voice') than any of the previous rabbinic texts, was redacted sometime between the fifth and eighth centuries in Persia.[9]

The use of rabbinic literature in clothing and dress research is further complicated by authorial motivation. Naftali Cohn explains:

> According to the Mishnah itself, rabbis were a relatively small group within the complex social landscape of Roman Palestine, and the majority of Judeans did not follow rabbinic teachings. Even though the rabbis were not particularly powerful or influential, they still saw the relationship between themselves and the entire Judean people as one of instruction.[10]

Rabbinic literature represents the rabbis' specific (male-centric) notion of idealized behaviour and practice. Furthermore, as Isaiah Gafni writes, 'the variegated corpus of rabbinic literature did not preserve any work that might point to an effort on the part of the rabbis at producing a

[5]Charlotte Elisheva Fonrobert and Martin S. Jaffee, *The Cambridge Companion to the Talmud and Rabbinic Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 2–3.

[6]Sacha Stern, *Jewish Identity in Early Rabbinic Writings* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), xxiii.

[7]Moshe Lavee, 'No Bounderies for the Construction of Boundaries: The Babylonian Talmud's Emphasis on Demarcation of Identity', in *Rabbinic Traditions between Palestine and Babylonia*, ed. Ronit Nikolsky and Tal Ilan (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 116.

[8]'Some talmudic material predates the destruction of the Second Temple … from groups or individuals other than rabbis, since the earliest rabbis lived after … The Talmud does not explicitly distinguish this material from Tannaitic statements per se … Much of this material has been rabbinized, that is, made to conform to rabbinic standards.' Richard Kalmin, *Migrating Tales: The Talmud's Narratives and Their Historical Context* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2014), x–xi.

[9]Works addressing the content, composition, redaction, cultural contexts and dating of the rabbinic literature are plentiful (cf. many of the texts cited throughout this chapter). Due to developments in the field, one is advised to refer to more recent scholarship.

[10]Naftali S. Cohn, 'What to Wear: Women's Adornment and Judean Identity in the Third Century Mishnah', in *Dressing Judeans and Christians in Antiquity*, ed. Kristi Upson-Saia, Carly Daniel-Hughes and Alicia J. Batten (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 23.

systematic and critical study of the past'.[11] Of course, no ancient author 'recorded history' in a modern, academic sense. Still, the rabbis did not apply a natural causality to historical events (in the classical fashion) and often incorporated anachronistic elements in their treatment of the past.[12] This does not mean that there is no valuable historical information contained within the corpus of literature, but instead that we must first understand the motivations, desires and methods employed by the various rabbinic communities as they discussed and evaluated both the biblical past and their contemporary situation.[13]

JEWISH DIASPORA AND THE TALMUD

One topic that weighed heavily on the Jewish mind, addressed both biblically and rabbinically, was the very existence of a Jewish Diaspora. The migration patterns of Israelites were interpreted not simply as the consequences of war, economic needs and other factors common to human history but as a result of disturbances to the connection linking God to his people and therefore to the land promised to them. This plays a large role in the shaping of all rabbinic literature post-70 CE, but specifically within the diasporic Babylonian population. As Ronit Nikotsky and Tal Ilan write, 'the importance of narrative in creating a sense of a unified group becomes very clear in cases of diaspora'.[14] The desire to maintain group identity outside of one's homeland, to prevent total assimilation to the local culture, functions as an undercurrent, pulling at and shaping the creation and compilation of the Bavli. There is, for example, a preoccupation throughout the texts with various 'others', undoubtedly a by-product of post-Temple diasporic identity formation. Lavee demonstrates a distinctly different attitude towards conversion between the Yerushalmi and the Bavli as one iteration of this concern:

> Palestinian rabbinic sources portray positively the spread of Jewish customs and beliefs among the gentiles … They drew gentiles near, brought them to recognize God, the value of the people of Israel and their norms, and in rare cases even stimulated their conversion. Babylonian parallels of these sources tend to 'convert' these traditions, internalise them, and present them as an inner-Jewish issue.[15]

There is a preference in the Bavli, Lavee writes, 'to reject liminal modes of identity, and to mark people as either fully here or completely there'.[16] Undoubtedly, these concerns would have affected

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[11]Isaiah Gafni, 'Rabbinic Historiography and Representations of the Past', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Talmud and Rabbinic Literature*, ed. Charlotte Elisheva Fonrobert and Martin S. Jaffee (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 295.

[12]Bohak finds examples of rabbis using the tools of 'Hellenistic historiography' (cf. *y. 'Abod. Zar.* 3a:1) a rarity. Some 'demonstrate how disinterested the rabbis really were in Greek-style historiography'. Others can reveal 'positive attitudes' towards the Greco-Roman world (cf. *Gen. Rab.* 12:2). Gideon Bohak, 'The Hellenization of Biblical History in Rabbinic Culture', in *The Talmud Yerushalmi and Graeco-Roman Culture*, ed. Peter Schäfer and Catherine Hezser (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002), 3–16.

[13]The 'trustworthiness' of rabbinic narratives must be evaluated with an understanding of how the community producing the material interacted with the world around them (a different experience for the Palestinian and Babylonian communities), as this affected how they depicted the past. Richard Kalmin, 'Jewish Sources of the Second Temple Period in Rabbinic Compilations of Late Antiquity', in *The Talmud Yerushalmi and Graeco-Roman culture*, ed. Peter Schäfer and Catherine Hezser (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002), 17–54.

[14]Ronit Nikolsky and Tal Ilan, 'From There to Here, Rabbinic Traditions between Palestine and Babylonia: An Introduction', in *Rabbinic Traditions between Palestine and Babylonia*, ed. Ronit Nikolsky and Tal Ilan (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 2.

[15]Lavee, 'No Boundaries', 107.

[16]Ibid., 112.

both one's personal presentation and interpretation of appearance as it related to the notion of 'self' and 'other', and to one's place within the increasingly insular diasporic community.[17]

Due credit has not thus far been given to the ways in which the differing temporal and cultural contexts of the rabbinic communities – and the subsequent divergent forms of identity construction presented in the rabbinic literature – may have impacted Jewish clothing and dress behaviour recorded therein. Christina Katsikadeli observes that

> the study of possible differences due to regional factors has been played down by generalizing conclusions, stating that Jewish people would more or less share the same 'basics' with other inhabitants of the Roman Empire.[18]

Even less attention has been given to Jewish dress farther East and to the evidence in the Bavli from within its own context.

Diaspora and dress behaviour: Tzitzit as exemplar

Take, for example, one distinctly Jewish aspect of clothing: *tzitzit*. Although some early rabbinic references (cf. *Midr. Num. Rab*. 27.5) indicate that *tzitzit* (with *tekhelet*) acted as a desirable visible marker of identity, whether this biblical prescription was adhered to during the Roman period remains ambiguous: no Greco-Roman author mentions this aspect of Jewish clothing, and neither does Philo or Josephus;[19] the archaeological record is absent of any examples of *tzitzit*;[20] and though fringe seems to be depicted on the edge of some mantles illustrated at Dura-Europos, whether this should be interpreted as *tzitzit* is debatable.[21] By contrast, and as Joshua Schwartz has also mentioned in his chapter in this book, the pseudepigraphical *Letter of Aristeas* (158) mentions 'symbols of remembrance' of God worn on 'our garments'; there is an unambiguous reference made to *tzitzit* (Greek: Κρασϖεδον) in Matthew 23.5, denoting the author's, and his community's, familiarity with this adornment;[22] and, in his *Dialogue with Trypho* (46), Justin Martyr notes the biblical commandment to remember God through *tzitzit*.

Turning back to the talmudic literature, one finds only a few references to *tzitzit* in the Yerushalmi. The Bavli, by contrast, displays a protracted concern with adherence to *tzitzit*, including the necessary addition of *tekhelet* (*b. Menah*. 38a–44a). Catherine Hezser persuasively argues that references to *tzitzit* (and other aspects of dress and appearance) in the Mishnah and Yerushalmi

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[17]Some rabbinic passages may be interpreted as condemnation against assimilation, even in appearance (cf. *Sifre Dev*. 81.4).

[18]Katsikadeli's re-evaluation of one such oft-repeated conclusion (on supposed Greek and Latin loanwords found among rabbinic clothing terminology) provides a good companion piece for this chapter. Christina Katsikadeli, 'Jewish Terminologies for Fabric and Garments in Late Antiquity: A Linguistic Survey Based on the Mishnah and the Talmuds', in *Textile Terminologies in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean from the Third to the First Millennia BC*, ed. Cécile Michel and Marie-Louise Nosch (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2010), 153–63, 55.

[19]Shaye Cohen's well-known argument for assimilated Jewish appearance in antiquity is largely based on this absence: Shaye J. D. Cohen, 'Those Who Say They Are Jews and Are Not: How Do You Know a Jew in Antiquity When You See One?', in *Diasporas in Antiquity*, ed. Shaye J. D. Cohen and Ernest S. Frerichs (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1993), 25–68.

[20]Shamir, 'Prehistoric', 304–6.

[21]Carl H. Kraeling, *The Synagogue* (New York: Ktav Pub. House, 1979), 81–2, especially fn. 239; Steven Fine, 'How Do You Know a Jew When You See One? Reflections on Jewish Costume in the Roman World', in *Fashioning Jews: Clothing, Culture, and Commerce*, ed. Leonard J. Greenspoon (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2013), 24; Hezser, *Rabbinic Body Language*, 45, fn. 85.

[22]κράσπεδον is also mentioned in Matthew 9.20 (also Lk. 8.44). It can translate to either (1) an edge/border or (2) a tassel/corner. Given the context in Matthew 23.5, only the second definition, 'tassel' (i.e. *tzitzit*), makes sense and thus other instances of the word, though more ambiguous, are best understood accordingly.

should be treated as examples of 'staged' *rabbinic* identity: a desire on the part of the rabbis to visually mark themselves as sages, separated from their compatriots by their unique wisdom and piety.[23] This differs significantly from that found in the Bavli, which instead focuses on adherence to the Law within the wider Jewish population and on Jewish identity within the gentile world. Though some scholars have looked to the Bavli when studying *tzitzit* in Greco-Roman Judaea,[24] it is worth considering whether this is appropriate. Babylonian references to *tzitzit* may be better analysed in relation to diasporic identity formation in easterly communities of Late Antiquity/the Sassanian period. Did visible markers of identity hold greater importance and/or were they emphasized in one's dress more so than in earlier, more westerly Jewish populations? The Bavli's focus on *tzitzit* would suggest so, but this must be studied further. The historical realities and motivational needs behind the composition of rabbinic literature necessitate a careful evaluation before one uses these texts as carriers of historical detail or as historicity proof texts.

NEW METHODOLOGIES IN RABBINICS AND THEIR RELEVANCE TO TEXTILE RESEARCH

Among rabbinicists, methodologies have progressed significantly since the 1960s; not only are historical- and literary-criticism being employed but, as Nikolsky and Ilan explain, 'historians are conceding the significance of the literary components of rabbinic literature, [and] literary criticism is rediscovering the importance of context, including historical context'.[25] Rabbinicists once believed that the Bavli and Yerushalmi originated from within the same cultural milieu and could therefore be read and understood synthetically (i.e. 'if the Palestinian text displayed difficulties, scholars believed that the explanations supplied by the Bavli were the ones intended by the original authors of the texts'). Now the consensus is that it is 'unsound to assume that the Greco-Roman backdrop [appropriate to study of the Yerushalmi] is *a priori* the correct one against which to study the Bavli'.[26] Babylonian rabbinic culture is increasingly studied alongside Sassanian, with the Bavli read in the company of Middle-Iranian languages and literature (keeping in mind rabbinic concerns about the Diaspora).

I would contend that this same thought process should be applied when looking at rabbinic texts in conjunction with material remains. When comparing textiles discovered in Jewish sites of the Roman East – particularly those dated to the Second Temple period and the two revolts against Rome (*c.* 70 and 132–135 CE) – to references found in rabbinic literature, the earliest and most contextually related texts – the Mishnah and Tosefta, chiefly, as well as the Yerushalmi – should be given preference to the Bavli.[27] Moreover, references to clothing and dress behaviour should be

[23]Hezser, *Rabbinic Body Language*, 24–68. Perhaps this 'staged identity' began among the Pharisees, the forbearers to rabbinic Judaism, accounting for Jesus's rebuke of the Pharisees 'long κρασπεδον' found in Matthew 23.5.

[24]cf. Yigael Yadin, *The Finds from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1963), 183–7, 221; Jodi Magness, *Stone and Dung, Oil and Spit: Jewish Daily Life in the Time of Jesus* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2011), 112–15.

[25]Nikolsky and Ilan, 'From There to Here', 18.

[26]Ibid., 9–10, 25–6; Also, Hezser, *Rabbinic Body Language*, 20.

[27]Dafna Shlezinger-Katsman argues similarly: 'The focus must be on Palestinian rabbinic sources, [although] at times a cautious use of traditions transmitted in the Babylonian Talmud is necessary … Additional research must focus on the study of ancient Jewish literary references to garments worn by Jews, both in rabbinic and Greek Jewish literature, [as] little has been done in this regard, particularly from a historical-critical and gender studies point of view.' Dafna Shlezinger-Katsman, 'Clothing', in *The Oxford Handbook of Jewish Daily Life in Roman Palestine*, ed. Catherine Hezser (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 365, 78.

evaluated from within the temporal and cultural contexts in which the texts were composed and redacted. Approaching the rabbinic literature in this manner should lead to many fascinating and diverse studies on Jewish dress, its regional differences, nuances and particularities.[28] Additionally, some key conclusions drawn about Jewish clothing in previous decades should be re-evaluated in light of these developments within rabbinics. For the remainder of this chapter, I will briefly readdress one such conclusion.

'imrah as clavi

In his monumental study of the excavation of the Cave of Letters, Yigael Yadin analysed and contextualized material remains using the full catalogue of rabbinic literature. Looking to the construction of the tunics (sewn together from two rectangular sheets), he settled a dispute on the etymology of *haluq* and confirmed its translation as 'tunic'. Yadin continued:

> The identification of the tunics found in the cave with the talmudic *haluq* brings forth another matter, the term *'imrah*, often used together with the word *haluq*.[29]

Yadin examined talmudic references to *'imrah* (אימרא) in relation to recognizably Roman *clavi* (two decorative bands running from shoulder to hem) found on Jewish-worn tunics and presented his now widely accepted conclusion that *'imrah* should be identified as the Hebrew equivalent to *clavi*.[30] Yadin begins by citing *y. Qidd.* 42a (65b):

> R. Avun in the name of R. Pinchas: They stood themselves out like *'imrah* on a *haluq*.

It was customary for men (and less frequently, women) to display their *clavi* by draping their outer garment, their mantle, in a way that left one tunic shoulder, with its decorative *clavus*, exposed.[31] This style is frequently depicted in Roman-era art, notably on many Fayum mummy portraits

[28]cf. Hezser's study of rabbinic self-presentation, *Rabbinic Body Language*, as recorded in the Palestinian texts asks how rabbinic aspects of non-verbal communication (including dress) may have differed from that of the wider Jewish population, as well as from other sages and philosophers of Greco-Roman and early Christian societies. Like Heszer, Cohn's, 'Women's Adornment and Judean Identity in the Third Century Mishnah', looks beyond the simple (though no less important) conclusion that Jewish populations dressed as their neighbours did, recognizing that even as this holds broadly true, clothing and bodily adornment may still have been worn in a way to express specifically Jewish identity, ideologies and beliefs (with variations across sects, communities, geographic regions and temporal lines). See also the chapter by Joshua Schwartz, this volume.

[29]Yadin, *The Finds*, 210.

[30]Ibid., 209–11; Lucille Roussin, 'Costume in Roman Palestine: Archaeological Remains and the Evidence of the Mishnah', in *The World of Roman Costume*, ed. Judith Lynn Sebesta and Larissa Bonfante (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994); Orit Shamir, 'Dress, Hellenistic and Roman Period', in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Bible and Archaeology*, ed. Daniel M. Master (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Orit Shamir and Naama Sukenik, 'Qumran Textiles and the Garments of Qumran's Inhabitants', *Dead Sea Discoveries* 18, no. 2 (2011); Jodi Magness, *Debating Qumran: Collected Essays on its Archaeology* (Leuven: Peeters, 2004).

[31]On Roman-era dress, see Norma Goldman, 'Reconstructing Roman Clothing', in *The World of Roman Costume*, ed. Judith Lynn Sebesta and Larissa Bonfante (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994); Alexandra Croom, *Roman Clothing and Fashion* (Stroud: Amberley, 2010); J. C. Edmondson and Alison Keith, eds., *Roman Dress and the Fabrics of Roman Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008). On its relation to Jewish dress: Shamir, 'Dress, Hellenistic and Roman Period'; Joan E. Taylor, *What Did Jesus Look Like?* (London: T&T Clark, 2018); Katie Turner, 'The Representation of New Testament Figures in Passion Dramas' (PhD Thesis, King's College London, 2018 [unpublished]). On *clavi* specifically: Lise Bender Jørgensen, 'Clavi and Non-Clavi: Definitions of Various Bands on Roman Textiles' in *Purpureae Vestes III. Textiles y Tintes en la Ciudad Antigua*, ed. C. Alfaro et al. (Naples: Universitatde Valencia, 2011). See also Bender Jørgensen's chapter in this volume.

and on the Greco-Roman figures depicted in the Dura synagogue murals.[32] The above passage certainly reads like a comprehensible Roman-era expression when Yadin's interpretation of *'imrah* as *clavi* is applied. In his full analysis, however, Yadin used rabbinic sources from the Bavli and Yerushalmi interchangeably, with no consideration for differing contexts (changing time periods, geography and authorial motivation), a methodology now considered outmoded and problematic. For example, Yadin cites *b. Šabb.* 118b:

> And R. Yose said: In all my days, the walls [or, beams] of my house never saw *the 'imrah of my tunic*

as well as a similar verse in *y. Yoma* 38d (5a):

> She told them: there should come over me if the beams of the roof of my house even see the hair on my head, *and the 'imrah of my tunic*.

While both passages deal with modesty, the passage from the Bavli refers to male dress behaviour, while the Yerushalmi describes the dress of a woman, Qimchit. Interestingly, Yadin does not mention this important dissimilarity; he does not include the opening 'she told them' (אמרה להן) in his reproduction of the Yerushalmi text, as he does when he notes that R. Yose spoke the words recorded in the Bavli.[33] Because dress behaviour could differ considerably between the genders, this distinction should have been taken into consideration as he sought to understand the terminology being used.

Looking at *y. Yoma* 38d first, we find Yadin's interpretation of *'imrah* is acceptable. The full portion tells us that Qimchit's seven sons all served as High Priest, in part due to her extraordinary modesty. Women were more likely than men to cover their bodies completely with their mantle, or with a mantle and veil, in such a manner that their tunic would not be seen.[34] This type of veiling, however, was generally part of public behaviour (*m. Šabb* 6.5-6). It is noteworthy then that Qimchit is said to cover herself thusly within the privacy of her own home.

Applying Yadin's conclusion to *b. Šabb* 118b meanwhile, we may reason, as Lucille Roussin did, that 'in Roman Palestine' 'the tallit [covered] the entire tunic'.[35] However, this is likely an overgeneralization. There is little evidence for widespread usage of this draping style by men in the Greco-Roman world (the 'expression' in *y. Qidd*. 42a would be less intelligible if there had been). Nearly all Greco-Roman figures illustrated in the Dura synagogue have part of their tunic exposed. Only David is illustrated with his mantle draped over both shoulders, covering his tunic (*Samuel Anoints David*, WC3). Perhaps the talmudic passage represents a rabbinic way of dressing. As Hezser writes, 'the midrashic text … implies that [the scholarly wrapping style] was different

[32]For a selection of mummy portraits: David L. Thompson, *Mummy Portraits in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Malibu, CA: J. Paul Getty Museum, 1982); Susan Walker, ed., *Ancient Faces: Mummy Portraits from Roman Egypt*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art Publications (New York: Routledge, 2000).

[33]Yadin, *The Finds*, 210.

[34]There is a considerable amount that can be said on veiling in antiquity. Suggested here is a brief but varied selection: Douglas Cairns, 'The Meaning of the Veil in Ancient Greek Culture', in *Women's Dress in the Ancient Greek World*, ed. Lloyd Llwellyn-Jones (London: Duckworth, 2002); Mary Rose D'Angelo, 'Veils, Virgins, and the Tongues of Men and Angels: Women's Heads in Early Christianity', in *Women, Gender, Religion*, ed. Elizabeth A. Castelli and Rosamund C. Rodman (New York: Palgrave, 2001); Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones, *Aphrodite's Tortoise: The Veiled Woman of Ancient Greece* (Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 2003); K. Olson, *Dress and the Roman Woman: Self-Presentation and Society* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 33–5; Turner, 'The Representation'.

[35]Roussin, 'Costume in Roman Palestine', 184.

from that of ordinary non-rabbinic Jews'.[36] Furthermore, by the late fourth century, prior to the Bavli's redaction, this style is seen more frequently in Christian images seeking to depict Jesus as a Mediterranean rabbi.[37]

Nonetheless, when one reads R. Yose's full statement on his modesty, one finds a discussion on *the exposure of male genitalia*. Not only were the *'imrah* of R. Yosi's tunic concealed from the beams of his house, but he never looked at his own circumcision and never put his hand below his belt. As *clavi* were usually associated with the shoulders, or upper body (the area left exposed by one's mantle), Yadin's interpretation would make that section less compatible with the other two. Further, one must ask, were the redactors, compilers and readers of the Bavli familiar with Roman *clavi*? If not, what would they have understood *'imrah* to mean? How would this anecdote about R. Yosi have been visualized within the Babylonian rabbinic community?

The Jewish settlement in Babylonia lived under Assyrian (until 538 BCE), Persian (538–333 BCE), Hellenistic (333–247 BCE), Parthian (247 BCE–224 CE) and Sassanian (224–651 CE) rule before the Bavli's completion. At no point did the clothing of these dominant cultures include tunics with decorative *clavi*. The Parthian tunic, an antecedent to the Sassanian tunic, was distinctly different from the Greco-Roman tunic: it was long sleeved and featured decorative borders around the neck and hemlines. Alternatively, one may have worn a jacket, wrapped around the chest and belted, in place of a tunic. Jackets were also decorated at the lapels and along the hem with, as Vesta Curtis has catalogued, 'a variety of floral, astral, geometric, and even animal-shaped motifs'.[38] The tunic or jacket was worn over trousers. Outerwear consisted of a long-sleeved coat or cloak wrapped around the shoulders. In some regions, with more contact with the Greco-Roman world, the rectangular mantle (*himation*) may also have been worn.[39] In this context, Marcus Jastrow's earlier definition (*c*. 1895) of *'imrah* as 'border' may be more comprehensible. R. Yosi was asserting that the bottom border of his tunic (the area closest to his genitalia and a part of the Parthian and Sassanian tunic that would have had its own decoration) remained modestly concealed.[40] This interpretation conforms with another passage from the Bavli cited by Yadin (though he does not discuss it in this way).[41] In *b. B. Bat.* 57b we find that the tallit of a Torah scholar may be worn in any fashion, so long as 'a handbreadth' of one's tunic is not visible from beneath it. R. Yosi was seemingly following the appropriate attire of a Torah scholar.

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[36]Hezser, *Rabbinic Body Language*, 41.
[37]Ibid., 45, fn. 88.
[38]Vesta Curtis, 'The Parthian Costume and Headdress', in *The Arsacid Empire: Sources and Documentation*, ed. Josef Wiesehöfer (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1998), 62; For more on Parthian and Sassanian dress: Trudy S. Kawami, 'Archaeological Evidence for Textiles in Pre-Islamic Iran', *Iranian Studies* 25, no. 1/2 (1992); Elsie H. Peck, 'CLOTHING iv. In the Sasanian Period', in *Encyclopædia Iranica* (1992); Joel Walker, 'Iran and Its Neighbors in Late Antiquity: Art of the Sasanian Empire (224–642 C.E.)', *American Journal of Archaeology* 111, no. 4 (2007); Vesta Curtis, 'A Parthian Statuette from Susa and the Bronze Statue from Shami', *Iran* 31 (1993).
[39]This raises an important question regarding the *tallit* in Babylonia: If rectangular mantles were not commonplace, were Rabbis notable for their inclusion of this garment in their daily attire? Or were *tzitzit* attached to another form of outwear? On clothing in border regions: Bernard Goldman, 'Graeco-Roman Dress in Syro-Mesopotamia', in *The World of Roman Costume*, ed. Judith Lynn Sebesta and Larissa Bonfante (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994); Vesta Curtis, 'The Parthian Haute-Couture at Palmyra', in *Positions and Professions in Palmyra*, ed. Tracey Long and Annette Højen Sørensen (Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, 2017).
[40]Marcus Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature; with an Index of Scriptural Quotations* (New York: GP Putnam, 1926), 51.
[41]Yadin, *The Finds*, 210.

It is worth considering that the understood meaning of *'imrah* changed over time and/or across cultural contexts. This would not be unusual, of course. Clothing terminology retained in common usage through generations or across geographic regions often holds multiple meanings. For example, *thong* carries distinctly different meanings based on region: in American and British English, *a thong* is a specific type of undergarment, while in Australian English, it is a type of sandal. Both definitions are accepted in all three language variants, but each also maintains a preferred understanding. Accordingly, Yadin certainly did not misstep in suggesting that *'imrah* be interpreted as *clavi*. Nevertheless, the word likely also meant 'border', particularly in the Bavli.

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INDEX